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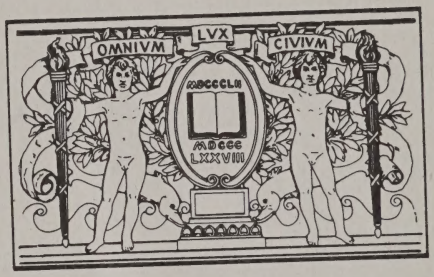


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THE

# NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

VOL. CVIII.

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BOSTON:
FIELDS, OSGOOD, & CO.
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JANUARY, 1869.

ART. I.—1. *Gottfried Wilhelm Freiherr von Leibnitz. Eine Biographie.* Von G. E. GUHRAUER. Breslau. 1846.
2. *Des Freiherrn von Leibnitz Kleinere Philosophische Schriften, mit einer Vorrede* HERRN CHRISTIAN WOLFFS. Jena. 1740.
3. *Monadologie. Deutsch mit einer Abhandlung über Leibnitz' und Herbart's Theorieen des wirklichen Geschehens.* Von DR. R. ZIMMERMANN. Wien. 1847.
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6.—LEIBNITZII, G. W. v., *Opera Philosophica quæ exstant Latina Gallica, Germanica omnia.* Edita recognovit J. E. ERDMANN. Berlin. 1840.

IT is a significant enough fact, that of the philosophers of Germany those are comparatively most appreciated who move in a region of diffuseness and darkness. The art-criticism of the Schlegel-Schelling school is accepted with far greater avidity than the learned, thorough, and lucid criticism of Lessing; the mathematical exactness of Fichte's phraseology and method is thrown aside for the obscure, but, on that account, more awe-inspiring, diffuseness of Hegel; and how much higher a place is assigned to Spinoza than to Leibnitz as a philosopher! So true is it that the human race flies from light as if it were an enemy, and binds itself in subjection to mystery.

The transparent style of Leibnitz seems so commonplace in comparison with Spinoza's mystic utterances, that men cannot persuade themselves that it is not vastly inferior. What should become of them, indeed, if the former succeeded in making the whole structure of the universe as clear as the demonstration of a triangle? Would not mankind die of sheer *ennui*, if light were thrown into every region of human knowledge? Accordingly men — and more especially, at all times, the "upclearers," "friends of enlightened views," and "prophets of a new liberal religion" — rally around the incomprehensible, forswear the authority of the Bible for the authority of Jacob Boehme or Spinoza, and glory in the fact that there is still something beyond, some dark shadow, — generally called Being, — which we do not know. The two men of all others who have pursued this dark shadow and spectre of unknown Being into its most hidden recesses, and lit it up by the sunlight of reason, — Leibnitz and Fichte, — have, in so far as their labors had this object in view, labored in vain. Leibnitz is known as an excellent mathematician and scholar of most various attainments, and Fichte is cherished in the memory of Germany as a man of rare honesty and an earnest patriot; nay, some few have even heard of the curious theory of *Monads* of the one, and of the equally curious theory of the *Ego* and *Non-Ego* of the other: but that each of these men — both honest and in earnest search of truth, and neither of them in the least likely to deceive himself about the extent and range of his discovery — did discover, or said he had discovered, a universally valid science of knowledge, which settled all possible disputes about metaphysical problems, and left open for advancement and discussion only the natural sciences, — this is neither understood nor investigated, and probably will not be for a century, — not until this race of ours has grown to be less cowardly and more self-reliant than it is now. Nevertheless, it is well enough, once in a while, to repeat this statement, if merely as an historical fact; for amongst the younger generation it is always possible that there may be some who will feel sufficiently interested to make the investigation, and who again will incite others of the succeeding generation to a

like endeavor. In the case of Leibnitz this is all the more proper, as he rather lived his system than elaborated it in writing. Whenever he did so elaborate it, it was in a fragmentary way, the completest of his fragments being the "Monadology." An interest in the life of Leibnitz will therefore lead of itself to an interest in his philosophy, and perhaps even to a comprehension of its nature.

Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz was born on the 21st of June, 1646, in the city of Leipsic, where his father was established as a notary-public; and in the family Bible the latter has chronicled, that, on the occasion of the child's baptism, it opened and raised its eyes when the water was sprinkled upon it, which record is followed by this prophetic prayer: "And thus I wish and prophesy that this may be a sign of faith, and the best pledge that this my son will live a godly life, with eyes uplifted to God throughout all his life,—that he may burn with love to God, and through this love may do admirable deeds for the glory of the Highest, as well as for the welfare and growth of the Holy Church, and for the salvation of himself and us all!"

The father died when the child was but six years old; and yet he departed this life with full and oft-expressed conviction of that child's future celebrity. The mother — a pious, intelligent woman — now took sole charge of the education of her son. She sent him to school, where he soon evinced an uncommon love of knowledge, and a quickness of parts which excited general admiration. In a quasi autobiography, Leibnitz thus describes the manner in which he, characteristically enough, learned Latin. "I should doubtless have learned Latin with the customary slowness, had not accident led me upon a peculiar way. In the house where I lived I found two books which had been pawned by a student: the one, as I remember, was a Livy; the other, the Chronological Thesaurus of Calvisius. Scarcely were they in my hands when I began to devour them. Calvisius I understood easily enough, having a German book on general history which contained pretty much the same matter. In Livy, however, I often got stuck; for as the affairs and the manner of writing of the ancients were unknown to me, and as writers of history have, moreover,

a peculiar diction, remote from the common intelligence, I at first understood not a line of it, to speak the truth. But as it was an old edition, full of figures and wood-cuts, I carefully examined these, read here and there the subjoined words, caring little about obscure phrases, and skipping what I did not comprehend. When I had done this repeatedly, and had looked through the whole book, I understood more and more each time. Delighted at my success, I thus continued without a lexicon till most of it was clear to my mind. In the mean while, happening once to quote some passages which had fixed themselves in my memory, one of the teachers seemed surprised, and asked me how I had learned these things. When I confessed and communicated to him what I remembered, he grew silent. But he went to those who directed my education, and requested them to prevent my regular studies from being disturbed by premature reading. Livy, he told them, fitted me as well as a cothurnus would fit a pygmy. A boy of my age ought to be debarred from books written for a riper age, and to be kept to his little catechism and the picture-book of Comenius. He doubtless would have convinced them, had not a cultivated nobleman of the neighborhood, and a friend of our landlord, happened to be present. Struck with the schoolmaster's — shall I say envy or simplicity? — he told him how unfair and intolerable it would be, if the first germs of developing genius in a child were blasted by the brutish prejudices of teachers. He then called me, and receiving no absurd answers from me to his inquiries, he did not desist till he had forced my relations to promise him that I should have access to my father's private library, which had been kept so long under lock and key. How I triumphed, as if I had found a treasure!"

Thus he plunged deeply into antiquity, and in Latin acquired such fluency, that, at the age of thirteen, on the occasion of a recitation in school, he undertook to write three hundred faultless hexameters within the hours from daybreak to noon. Frequently, in later years, he referred to the early freedom and self-reliance which led him to the study of the ancients as of incalculable benefit to his whole character and life. The clearness and precision of expression in which the German

was at that time more wanting than any other European language, and which, since the days of Lessing and Schiller, it has again been losing to a deplorable degree, Leibnitz learned from the classics to value so highly, that, at that early age, he already resolved upon two rules for his whole future life: always to seek *clearness* in *words* and other mental symbols; but in *things* ever to look to *utility*.

Interested as he was in making Latin verses, this interest soon relaxed before the study of logic. "I saw at once," he writes, "as well as a boy of thirteen could see, that there was something great concealed in logic." No sooner had he seen this than — as throughout his whole life — he applied it. The divisions and subdivisions of logic he immediately began to employ for arranging his thoughts and recollections under such heads as tended much to facilitate his command of them. He used these categories, as he expressed it, "as a net wherewith to catch flighty game," namely, acquired treasures of mind. On the same principle he devised also *an art of questioning*, which might enable travellers in foreign lands, at any time and under any circumstances, to propound such questions as alone would be generally important. "These two circumstances," writes he to a friend, "that I was *self-taught*, and that immediately upon approaching a science, even when I scarcely understood its rudiments, *I sought for something new in it*, have been of extraordinary service to me. For thus I gained a twofold benefit: first, that I did not fill my mind with matters soon to be forgotten, and which are usually learned more out of respect to the authority of teachers than from any intrinsic value; and, secondly, that I never rested until I had discovered the first principles of every science I studied."

A closer study of those categories of logic led Leibnitz in his very boyhood to the conception which constituted the basis of all his future discoveries in the various sciences. "I hit," writes he, "upon the wonderful idea, that it would be possible to invent a certain alphabet of human thoughts, and that from the combination of the letters of this alphabet, and an analysis of the words formed out of them, everything could be discovered as well as judged. Scarcely had my mind seized this idea when I shouted in triumph, though certainly with a boy-

ish joy, for at that time I did not yet grasp the full greatness of the subject."

The idea here alluded to is perhaps better explained thus. There is a necessary connection in our knowledge of all the manifold parts of the universe, and this connection may be apprehended from the analysis of any one fact in that knowledge. Given, therefore, a single fact of consciousness, and it is possible *a priori* to construct out of it by mathematical analysis the whole system of the universe in all its details. Nay, more: since even the products of freedom, in so far as they manifest themselves through the medium of objective Nature, are limited by the laws of that Nature, it is even possible for the philosopher to construct *a priori* every possible free product of reason. Every possible piece of music, every possible work of art, can thus be known and described beforehand. As the whole infinity of number, with all its combinations and order of sequence, lies involved in the 1 and the 0, so does every fact of consciousness, as the synthesis of the Ego and the Non-Ego, involve all possible facts of consciousness, as well as their combination and order; and if this order could but be established in the latter case (in philosophy) as it has been established in mathematics, the human race would have made an advance more important than any revolution since the coming of Christ. Such a science of the order of the synthesis of the Ego and the Non-Ego, such a true science of knowledge, would be an instrument wherewith every problem could at any time be solved by one who understood its mode of operation.

But the great obstacle to the communication of such a science — not to its first full comprehension by the original inventor — would be the absence of signs for those orders and sequences of acts of the mind. In arithmetic we deal with numbers, which no person can mistake, and in geometry with lines, which can be perceived; but in this science of knowledge we should only have intellectual contemplations, acts of the mind, which there are no means of verifying or of communicating to others. True, we use terms of language to designate such of them as have in the course of human life arisen into consciousness, and hence such terms as *substantiality*, *causality*, are supposed to designate certain conceptions; but

we can never feel sure that the person to whom we wish to communicate an act of the mind under such a name will have a true comprehension of that which it is intended to designate. This latter consideration suggested to Leibnitz the plan of inventing a philosophical terminology after the manner of algebraic signs, since mere signs would clearly be the best guaranty against misconception of existing words; and through his whole life he busied himself with this thought, as did a century later Fichte, who, in his "Sun-clear Statement," confesses the same necessity for a philosophical algebra. But as Leibnitz did not need it for himself, but only for communication, he left the project, like many others of his life, unrealized.

Thoroughly in possession of all the subtilties of logic, and having, moreover, completed a course of study of the Schoolmen, Leibnitz, in 1661, at the age of fifteen, entered the Leipsic university to prepare himself for active life by the study of law. He excelled here as everywhere. In 1663 he read his dissertation, *De Principio Individui;* and in 1666 published a little work, *De Arte Combinatoria*, wherein all his future achievements in philosophy are already contained, as it were, in the germ, and which led him later to the discovery of the Differential Calculus. But, to his great chagrin, he found it impossible, by the rules of the Leipsic university, to obtain the degree of *Doctor Juris* until after the expiration of five years; and when finally this time had expired, he was rejected by the Board of Examiners, there being a number of older candidates for promotion, whom it was considered expedient to admit in advance of the younger ones. Longing to establish himself professionally in the law, he felt extremely annoyed at this action of the board, and having already acquired a name of some celebrity abroad, and his mother having died meanwhile (in 1664), he resolved to emigrate. Accordingly in the autumn of 1666 he left Leipsic, — which he never afterwards liked to revisit, — and went to the university at Altdorf, where, by his excellent dissertation, *De Casibus Perplexis*, he immediately obtained the degree which his native city had churlishly refused him. "I thus received the title of Doctor," he writes, "in my twenty-first year, amidst general approval. For at the public

disputation I spoke so happily, and developed my thoughts with such clearness, that not only the auditors admired this new and, particularly in a lawyer, unusual sort of precision, but even my opponents expressed their extreme satisfaction. . . . . One professor stated publicly that never yet had verses been spoken from the platform like those which I spoke at the promotion." So successful was he on this occasion, that efforts were made to retain him at the university as a professor; but Leibnitz had other objects in view. He remained during the winter in Nuremberg, studying the works of Kepler, Galileo, Bacon, Gassendi, and Descartes, perfecting his law studies, and in an odd way becoming also somewhat of a practical chemist. There was in Nuremberg a society of Rosicrucians, of which Leibnitz had a great inclination to become a member. But being, as he thought, too young and unknown to make admittance probable, he set to work to read various profound chemical and mystical works, noting the obscurest phrases, and from them composing a letter to the president, which he himself could not understand. The president, however, was so overwhelmed by the learned nonsense, that he pronounced the writer one of the greatest chemists living, and not only invited him to join the society, but made him its secretary.

It was while at Nuremberg, in the spring of 1667, that Leibnitz made the acquaintance of the celebrated statesman, Baron Boineburg, formerly prime-minister of the Elector John Philip of Mentz, but who now lived a retired life in Frankfort, more devoted to the sciences than to politics. Boineburg soon recognized the genius and uncommon acquirements of the young lawyer, and at his solicitation Leibnitz accompanied him to Frankfort. Leibnitz was then of rather an ambitious disposition, and immediately upon his arrival at Frankfort made himself thoroughly acquainted with the political complications then enveloping Europe. In order to gain an entrance into political life he wrote his famous essay, *Methodus Nova discendæ docendæque Jurisprudentiæ*, which he sent to the Elector of Mentz, proposing to supplement it by a chart *which would enable any lawyer or judge to decide immediately any given case of law according to the fixed principles of jurisprudence*, — a conception which, like other

projects, arose naturally from the fundamental idea already described, and set forth by him in *De Arte Combinatoria.*

John Philip was so much pleased with the essay, that he appointed Leibnitz to a somewhat lucrative office at his court, as assistant to Dr. Lasser in the elaboration of a reformed code of Roman law for the Electorate. Leibnitz soon made himself the chief of this work, although his time was largely taken up by labors in the interest of Boineburg. But his facility of labor fully equalled his extraordinary knowledge. Hence Boineburg was able to say of him: "He is a young man of twenty-four years, learned beyond anything that can be said or believed. Philosophy he understands thoroughly; and he is a happy mediator between ancient and modern philosophy. He is a mathematician, knows physics and medicine, is very much devoted to mechanics, and exceedingly industrious and zealous. In religion he is self-reliant, but a member of the Lutheran Church. He is master of the principles of jurisprudence, and at the same time, what is remarkable, is well versed in the practice of the law." Besides his political and legal writings, Leibnitz, among other things, made a catalogue of Boineburg's extensive library, — "a catalogue," writes Leibnitz himself, "such as has never been seen before," — that is, in the way of arrangement and for easy reference. During this time his name became so generally known throughout Germany, that he received repeated offers from different courts, all of which he declined; and after a few years his unremitting devotion to the interests of the Elector of Mentz was properly rewarded by his appointment as member of the Chief Court of Appeal of the Electorate, the highest tribunal of that state.

We have not space to dwell at length upon the particular relations of Leibnitz to Boineburg during this time. Suffice it to say that he supported with great acuteness both the political measures of this statesman, and his endeavors to bring about a reconciliation between the Protestants and Catholics. Throughout his life he followed up this latter project with incredible perseverance, and it was indeed in discussions with Boineburg on the question of the real presence of Christ in the host that he attained the first great

insight which in natural philosophy carried him beyond the standpoint of the Cartesians: for the Cartesian theory, that the whole essence of bodies consisted in figure, extension, and motion, was irreconcilable with the theory of both Catholics and Lutherans respecting the Eucharist. Leibnitz was thus led to investigate the problem whether the conception of a body is merely that of an extended moving figure or atom, and soon came to the conclusion that it was not, but that it also involved the characteristic of substantiality or self-activity, — in short, the atoms became monads; and through this result he believed that he had paved the way for a union of Protestants and Catholics, at least on the subject of the real presence, since the Protestant doctrine of the real presence seemed to him now identical with the Catholic dogma of transubstantiation. During the autumn of 1671, Leibnitz carried on a correspondence with the Jansenist Arnaud in Paris on this subject, — a correspondence which caused M. du Fresne, the ambassador of the Elector at the French Court, to write of him as "*ce merveilleux Saxon*," — adding, "*C'est un prodige d'esprit à étonner les autres.*"

But Boineburg did not put all Leibnitz's time in requisition for the discussion of theological questions. Important political problems demanded unusual measures. Louis XIV. threatened all Germany; and the Elector of Mentz was much disposed to resist his encroachments, and for that purpose to effect coalitions with the other German princes. But Boineburg, more prudent, strenuously insisted on pacific measures and friendly negotiations; and his reputation as a statesman of uncommon shrewdness gave to his advice, which was always sought, a peculiar influence.

Leibnitz zealously supported the views of Boineburg, and at a meeting of the Electors of Mentz and Trèves, which Leibnitz attended with Boineburg, he elaborated an important memorial, which on the 8th of August, 1670, he submitted to these princes. In it he earnestly deprecated making an enemy of France, pointing out the dangers of such a policy for all the princes of the Rhine countries, but at the same time advocated an alliance of the German princes, which, though not openly directed against France, and hence unobjectionable to

Louis, might nevertheless serve to unite Germany against all future encroachments. After sketching the details of such an alliance, Leibnitz proceeds: "Certainly, whoever elevates his view, and takes in the state of Europe with one glance, as it were, will concede that this alliance is one of the most useful projects ever invented for the general good of Christendom. Germany is the centre of Europe. Germany has in past times always been a terror to her neighbors. But now that she is divided, France and Spain have grown formidable, and Holland and Sweden more powerful. Germany is the Eve's-apple, as was Greece in former times, and in later times Italy. Germany is the ball thrown by those who play the game for a universal monarchy, and the battle-ground upon which the fight for the supremacy of Europe is waged. In short, Germany will not cease to be the subject of her own and of foreign shedding of blood, until she is aroused and united, and has thus taken away from all her wooers the hope of ever becoming her masters." Together with this alliance, Leibnitz conceived the plan of a union of all Christendom against the Turks, — Germany to undertake the war in Europe, and France in Egypt and Algiers. The more this plan was revolved in Leibnitz's mind, the more earnestly he cherished it. If Louis XIV. could be induced to undertake such an expedition against Egypt, Germany, he thought, would be safe from all danger from France. He communicated his scheme to Boineburg, who heartily indorsed it; and as Louis was then meditating his enterprise against Holland, Leibnitz drew up an elaborate memorial, urging him to abandon a direct war against the Dutch, and stating that the writer of the memorial knew of a project which, if undertaken by France, would quite as certainly, and with far less risk, destroy Holland by ruining her trade. This memorial was sent by Boineburg to Louis with a note, speaking of the author in favorable terms, and stating that the latter was ready to explain the project hinted at in a private interview. The king replied in the early part of 1672, through his Minister of Foreign Affairs, that he would be happy to learn the nature of the project from the author of the memorial either in person or by letter. Excited to the bold-

est hopes by this favorable answer, Leibnitz, on the 19th of March, set out on his remarkable journey, with the following note from Baron Boineburg to Arnauld de Pomponne, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs.

À Mayence, le 18 Mars, 1672.

Monsieur : —

Voilà celui que le Roi a demandé par celle qu'il vous a plu de m'écrire. C'est un homme qui, quoique l'apparence n'y soit pas, pourra fort bien effectuer ce qu'il promet, et dont je voudrais que les bonnes qualités fussent uniquement appliquées au service de sa Mté pendant son séjour auprès de vous. Je vous supplie de lui prêter le bien de votre protection et votre faveur, et de permettre incessament, qu'il s'explique avec vous, ou avec celui que le Roi commandera, le sujet nommé ; étant prêt de répondre de plus au plus à tout ce qu'on en trouvera soumis à des difficultés, qui semblent au commencement un peu surprenantes et quasi insurmontables. La plupart et le fond et le sort de l'affaire consiste dans le dernier secret et dans une mûre considération des circonstances actuelles, laquelle soit par piéces bientôt achevée, sans quoi la chose paraît sujette aux intrigues du temps. Vous apprécierez donc mes instances, par lesquelles je vous prie de prendre un soin très particulier, que cet homme soit entretenu sans bruit et sans discommodité pour songer seulement à son fait, et qu'on lui rende les avances, qu'il a reçues ici pour son voyage à Paris. Il est seul avec un valet, n'a rien de son chef qu'il puisse contribuer, si non son étude, sa fidélité, et son application, qu'il employera parfaitement à l'exécution des ordres de sa Majesté. Je m'en remets à votre disposition, et vous assure de nouveau, qu'il n'y a plus de personne, qui soit autant que je le suis, Monsieur,

Votre très obéissant, &c.,

J. C. Baron de Boineburg.

The details of Leibnitz's interview with Louis XIV. have never been made public. His project was doubtless unconditionally rejected by a monarch astute enough to see the true purpose which had prompted its suggestion. Nevertheless Leibnitz remained in Paris, partly on political duties for the Elector, and partly to transact some business affairs of Boineburg. His leisure time he devoted to the acquisition of additional learning in the various branches of science and industry. He buried himself in the splendid libraries of Paris, made extensive historical researches, and, above all,

perfected his mathematical knowledge, which hitherto had been comparatively neglected. He visited the various large manufactories of the city, watched the operations of the laborers, and sought to make himself acquainted with all the details of their arts, — often courting the personal acquaintance of the workmen, in order to learn from them professional minutiæ. Through his wonderful *art of combining*, he was always ready with practical applications of his fundamental principle, and his head thus became filled with innumerable inventions and projects of inventions. Having heard of Pascal's calculating-machine, he at once set about the invention of one far more perfect, and which won for him the admiration of the scientific men of Paris. He intended to add to it a geometrical calculating-machine, with which "it would be easy to calculate all conceivable figures and lines of whatever curve," together with an instrument to enable navigators to discover their whereabouts at sea without the aid of sun, moon, or stars. He also invented a ship, "to be driven by compressed water, which could sail against any storm," — besides various other machines, which he mentions at length in a letter to the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. He was interrupted in these labors by news of the death of his friend Boineburg, in 1673, which obliged him to leave Paris for London on political affairs and business matters of the Boineburg family. But he had been scarcely a month in London, when he was recalled by the still sadder news of the death of the Elector of Mentz. He did not return home, however, but obtained leave to remain in Paris, where he continued his studies with a zeal heightened by his short stay in England, and his introduction to some of the famous scientific men of that country. Through his political position he formed an extensive acquaintance in the French capital, and obtained access to the highest circles of society. He thus perfected his knowledge of the French language, then in its bloom under Racine and Molière, and a relish for the life of a great metropolis, which made him resolve to buy a state office and permanently settle down in Paris. He therefore twice declined an offer from the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg of a position at his court; and it was not until he found himself unable to pur-

chase the office he desired — his family having refused an advance of money for this purpose, from the fear that he would join the Catholic Church, if he remained in Paris — that he accepted the Duke's third offer. He left France for Hanover in 1676, just at the time when he had hit upon the discovery of the Differential Calculus, by applying the same principle to geometry which in *De Arte Combinatoria* he had announced as applicable to number.

The calculation of infinite quantities was a difficulty which to mathematicians had always seemed insurmountable, — there appearing to be no possible method of handling them, except in an indefinite way. "Every determined quantity is a finite quantity," — so ran the argument, — "and hence to have an infinite quantity is to have an undetermined quantity, or nothing." The problem was, therefore, to show the possibility of handling infinite quantities and relations of quantities in a determinate manner, and hence with the same absolute certainty as finite quantities. Leibnitz solved the problem by showing that *finite* and *infinite* are merely terms reciprocally determining each other; that the infinite is therefore as much determined as the finite, and the finite as much undetermined as the infinite.

If we take, for instance, the fraction $\frac{1}{3}$, we can resolve it at once into the infinite series 0.3333 . . . , which we can never compass, which ever eludes our grasp because imagination always extends it, and which is therefore called by Spinoza an infinite of the imagination. On the other hand, we can again change this infinite series into the determined relation $\frac{1}{3}$, which is then an actual infinite, but can be taken hold of like any finite. In like manner the finite 2 can be resolved into the infinite series $1 + \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$, etc. The fundamental principle upon which this interchange of the terms *finite* and *infinite* rests Leibnitz developed at length, and it may be concisely expressed as resulting from the fact that the ego must always limit itself by positing a non-ego, a finite, in order to apprehend itself as the infinite. Hence, likewise, we can posit space both as a determined totality, an actual infinite, (like $\frac{1}{3}$ above,) and as an undetermined infinite series, an imaginary infinite; and hence also — and it was this consideration which led Leibnitz to his doctrine of Monads — we may regard every smallest

particle in the universe as not only an atom, a non-ego, but likewise as a monad, or ego.

To make possible a calculation of infinite quantities, therefore, all that is necessary is to change the infinite of the imagination into a determined relation; and in that manner, although we never may know all the links of a series like $1 - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} \ldots$, we know, that, however far this series may extend, it will always have the determined relation $+ \frac{1}{4n+1} - \frac{1}{4n+3}$; precisely as, after all possible relations between the ego and non-ego have been deduced, we know that every possible event or fact in the universe is subsumable under one of those relations, although the infinitely possible links of such events or facts must remain forever unknown to us.

A still greater difficulty, however, than the calculation of infinite quantities in number is presented by the problem of the calculation of infinite quantities in extension; and hence it was quite natural that Leibnitz should have finished his *arithmetical* calculating-machine before hitting upon the invention of a *geometrical* calculating-machine. For number embraces merely one sort of infinity, namely, that of time, but geometry adds to it the infinity of space; and it is upon the combination of these two kinds of infinity that the famous puzzles of Achilles and the tortoise, of the squaring of the circle, of the impossibility of motion, etc., rest. Thus, if the sides of a square are lengthened, the area of the square increases in a certain proportion to the increase of the length of the sides. Through arithmetic this ratio can of course be computed for a *determined* increase. If the length of the sides increase, for instance, from ten to eleven feet, the area has increased from one hundred to one hundred and twenty-one feet. But this ratio is for a determined time, and is not the absolute ratio; nor is it possible for mere arithmetical analysis ever to fix this ratio absolutely. Achilles can never catch the tortoise, since time and space are equally infinitely divisible. By seizing this difficulty, and demonstrating how a finite formula may with absolute correctness express this infinite relation between two factors, Leibnitz established the Differential Calculus. And here it also clearly appears how

Leibnitz was necessarily led to say, that, although everything else can be reduced to mathematics, mathematics must be based upon philosophy; since the conception of pure relation, without any regard to actual quantity, and yet applicable to all quantity, the science of mathematics can in no way obtain from itself.

Before proceeding to Hanover, Leibnitz revisited London, and upon his return passed through Amsterdam, where he called on Spinoza, the sun of whose life was then near setting. At Hanover many efforts were at first made to convert him to the Roman Catholic Church, but his courteously firm rejection of these overtures soon put a stop to further attempts. In 1678, the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, in recognition of his many labors in the interest of science and the country, the extent and variety of which appear almost incredible, conferred upon him the rank of Councillor, which made him a member of the Supreme Court. Besides the judicial duties of this office, the political cares which devolved upon him as friend and general counsellor to the Duke, and his voluminous correspondence in favor of church union, Leibnitz took almost exclusive charge of the extensive mining operations which the Duke was then conducting in the Hartz. He studied not only the practical details of the art of mining, but likewise mineralogy in general, and thus was soon led to a study of comparative geology, a science then scarcely known. He made extensive collections, sought information as to the structure of the earth in all quarters to which his correspondence extended, and worked out a detailed plan for a geological examination of all Europe. In like manner he began to interest himself in the study of philology, and to investigate the construction of languages. Amidst these labors he yet found time to write his work, *De Jure Suprematus Principum Germaniæ*, wherein he developed his views on law, politics, and religion.

In 1679 the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg died, and was succeeded by his Protestant brother, Ernst August, afterwards Elector of Hanover. Leibnitz nevertheless retained his position and continued his labors as before, nor did he relax his efforts in behalf of a reunion of the churches. His extensive correspondence shows his earnest interest in this cause; and the basis upon which he hoped to perfect it is

perhaps best exhibited in a small pamphlet which he had elaborated as a sort of philosophical statement of the Catholic dogmas. In most matters he certainly leaned more to the Catholic than to the Protestant side, particularly in the matter of church organization, which was indeed the chief object he had in view in his agitation of this subject: for Leibnitz could not hold a theoretical conviction without immediately endeavoring to realize it in practice. His conviction of a moral world within the natural was the breath of his life; and this moral world could find realization only in the Church, particularly as all forms of civil government were in his time rotten to the very core. It seems to have been the great dream of his life to labor for the establishment of such a compact church organization of all Christendom as the Catholic Church in some degree possessed, and by extending it through missions all over the world, and making it likewise the protector of science, to constitute it effectively the ruling power of the earth. Hence in his work on jurisprudence, before mentioned, he does not treat law separately, as a pure and complete science in itself, such as Fichte in later days set forth in his Science of Rights, but in connection with and subordination to morality or the Church.

But all these labors have faded out of sight in comparison with Leibnitz's important achievements in the field of mathematics during this time, beginning with his discovery of the Differential Calculus, which he made public in 1684, and followed up by applying that Calculus to the various branches of science, and inviting all fellow-laborers to free and generous competition. Two years later, in 1686, Newton published his *Principia*, and it is of interest to observe the persistent opposition which Leibnitz made to Newton's theory of gravitation, announced therein. Not that Leibnitz denied the validity of that theory, so far as it involved a mathematical truth; but what annoyed him was the term "attraction," as implying an actually existing and occult force, operative in the various planets and stars. The conception of such a force he held to be an absurdity, since no ground could be assigned for it. Hence, in his letters to Dr. Clarke, Leibnitz was always very careful to add to his objection to the theory of attraction,

"when we take that force in its *scholastic* sense." "For how," he writes, "can it be shown that the sun attracts the earth through vacant space? Is it God through whom this attraction is effected? This would certainly be a greater miracle than any other. Or are there some immaterial substances, or certain rays of spirit, . . . . or something else, which serves as such a means of attraction? According to Dr. Clarke, the force of attraction is invisible, not susceptible to touch or sensation, and not mechanical. I might add at once that it is an inexplicable, incomprehensible force, accepted without proof, having no ground, and not to be confirmed by any example. But, says Dr. Clarke, it obeys a certain order, is constant, and hence natural. I reply, that it cannot be regular, if it is not at the same time rational, and that it cannot be rational, unless it can be explained through the nature of things. . . . . *It is a pure thought of the brain*, an occult quality of the Schoolmen." *

Now in this argument Leibnitz is as correct as Newton is in his theory. One body moving around another, no matter in what curve, *may be viewed* as moving in obedience to two forces, — its own centrifugal force, which always remains the same, and an attractive, centripetal force of the central body, which varies with the squares of the distances. From this necessity of viewing the motion arises the *a priori* certainty of Newton's theory, which, precisely because it is purely *a priori* and mathematical, is indisputable and universally valid. At the same time it is equally clear that this is merely a mode of viewing a phenomenon, ("a pure thought of the brain,") and Newton was very careful never to claim anything more for it. Nor do modern astronomers pretend that there are actually such centrifugal and attractive forces. Mechanically — and mechanically we must view all Nature, when we want to explain it upon natural grounds — there is only one force, which occurs through one body impelling another, and such a force will always impel bodies in straight lines. As Leibnitz expresses it: "Matter is an incomplete affair;

* Swedenborg, in his *Principia*, also opposes Newton's theory with great energy, on nearly the same grounds.

it shows merely the source of an act. Hence, if an impression be given to a particle of matter, that particle comprehends nothing beyond this impression. Therefore matter is not capable of observing a circular movement, if left to itself; since such a movement is not simple enough for matter to recollect it, if I may say so. Matter can only recall what happened to it in the last moment, or rather *in ultimo signo rationis*, that is to say, the direction in the tangent, — and cannot recall *a rule* for moving away from this tangent, which it would be necessary for it to do, if it should always continue in a circular movement. Hence bodies follow no circular movement, although they may have begun it, unless there is a special cause for their doing so. Thus an atom can move only in a straight line, it is so very simple and imperfect. But quite different is it with the soul, . . . . which not only remembers its movement, like the atom, but likewise *the rule of a change* from this movement, or the law of the curve, which an atom cannot remember."

Leibnitz, with that firm conviction of mechanical order in the universe which resulted from his view of the relation between mathematics and philosophy, could not possibly admit a force in Nature not reducible to mechanical impulse, and therefore held it incumbent upon a thorough philosophy of Nature to explain all movements in Nature by mechanical causes. Hence all rotary, or rather spiral, movement was looked upon by him as the final result of various impulses acting upon a body, and the famous theory of vortices was regarded as the only one which had truth in it, however conveniently Newton's theory might come in as an easier means of calculation. Leibnitz consequently clung all his lifetime firmly to that theory of vortices which Descartes had elaborated, — and which perhaps no one has supported with so much profundity, or exhibited in its applicability throughout Nature with more erudition, than Swedenborg, in his — almost unknown — *Principia*. How unsatisfactory Newton's postulated force is, when regarded "in the scholastic sense," that is, as an actually existing force attracting bodies through space, probably all students have experienced; and some astronomers still hold it probable, or at least possible, that there may be bodies in the universe of which that force cannot be predicated.

But what made Newton's theory still more objectionable to Leibnitz was its denial of the law of continuity, and assertion of empty space. To the mind of Leibnitz it was an absurdity to speak of space without matter filling it, or as anything more than the mere product of our imagination. "If space were aught else than the mere order of things," he says, "we should never be able to show why God placed bodies in it as He did, and not rather in the reverse order, — why, for instance, He did not make the sunrise sunset, and *vice versa*. But precisely because space is nothing but the order or relation of things to each other can we show clearly the ground of this order: for no matter how He had arranged it, we should see it in the same manner; the two *status*, namely, the universe as it now appears to us, and the universe as it would be if reversed in order, would be one and the same. The distinction between the present order and the reverse would be only in our imagination; in point of fact there would be no distinction at all, and hence no one would have any right to ask why one state of things was preferred by God to another."

This argument, which Fichte also loves to use, Leibnitz applies likewise to those who foolishly ask why God created the world at a certain time, and not long before. "Of course," he replies, "if time were anything else than the order of things which happen in it, no reason could be assigned why God did not create the world before He did. But *when we show that a beginning of the world is a beginning, no matter at what time we place it*, the whole question why it was not at another time becomes absurd." By the same argument he loves to demonstrate the infinity of space and matter. "For show me," he asks, "a sufficient reason why matter should not be everywhere." And in another place he argues, rather more in a theological way, "Let us assume that God did actually put all the perfections into things which He could put into them without detracting from their other perfections. Now let us imagine an empty space, and we shall find that God could certainly have placed matter in it without taking in the least from the other things. Hence He must have done so; and hence there can be no perfectly empty

space. . . . . The same conclusion proves, moreover, *that there can nowhere be a smallest body which is not again divisible into more bodies.* . . . . For the perfection of matter is related to the perfection of empty space as something to nothing; and the same holds good of indivisible atoms. What ground could, indeed, be brought to show that Nature must have an end, where it can no longer divide? Such notions are pure inventions, based upon our arbitrariness, and unworthy of true philosophy."

The whole direction of English literature at that time could not, indeed, but be unsatisfactory to the comprehensive mind of Leibnitz. For in England, — as in our own country at present, — only two one-sided tendencies of mind had been developed: the one a Puritan orthodoxy, believing in an enthroned man-God, who ruled the world according to a capricious pleasure, and of this tendency Newton's system showed the unmistakable influence; the other a materialistic scepticism, represented by the school of Locke. Admirably has Leibnitz criticised Locke in one of his letters. He says: "He did not clearly see into the nature of the mind and of truth. Had he sufficiently considered the distinction between necessary truths, or truths which can be demonstrated, and those truths at which we arrive through induction to a certain degree, he would have perceived that necessary truths can be proved only from principles ingrafted in the mind, or from innate ideas; for although the senses teach us what occurs, they do not teach us what occurs necessarily." In other words, only *a priori* truths are *known;* all *a posteriori* facts are merely assumed with a greater or less degree of certainty. And again: "Nor has Locke observed that the conceptions of Being, of Substance, of the One and the Same, of the True and the Good, are inborn in our minds, *because* the mind *is itself* inborn in itself, and in itself apprehends all this. For *nihil est in intellectu, quod non fuerit in sensu, nisi ipse intellectus.*"

In conferring upon Leibnitz a judicial office, it had been specially agreed that its duties should never interfere with his more important scientific labors. Hence, when, in 1687, it was deemed advisable to send him to Italy, (as Goethe a cen-

tury later was in somewhat similar manner sent,) it was easy to procure leave of absence from his court. Various motives had inspired the project of this journey, some of a political nature, and looking to an improvement of the prospects then opening for the Houses of Brandenburg and Hanover, — the Princess Sophia Charlotte of Hanover, Leibnitz's pupil, having married the Prince of Brandenburg, future king of Prussia, — together with others, to Leibnitz probably the most important, of a generally scientific nature; but the chief purpose of the journey, and around which all other objects centred, was to collect materials for a history of the House of Brunswick from its earliest origin. Leibnitz proposed to make this a work such as should not have its like in all literature, and it in fact became the great work of his life, although, strange to say, it has never been printed, and is still, with many other unpublished manuscripts of his, rotting in the Hanoverian Library. With a view to secure the requisite materials, Leibnitz travelled slowly through Germany, visiting libraries and cloisters, examining tombstones, and picking up all sorts of curious information. He also visited the manufactories, noted any original productions and modes of workmanship, and made the acquaintance of such men as had a repute for learning or eminence in any branch of science. The libraries of Vienna, where he arrived in May, 1688, were a perpetual delight to him; and nothing can give a better insight into the wonderful industry, ease of labor, and many-sidedness of the man, than to observe him, during his stay in Vienna, intriguing for the House of Brandenburg, corresponding in the interest of a union of the churches, visiting the gold mines of Hungary, copying a Hebrew writing in the great library for a Rabbi friend whom he had met on his travels, and offering to copy with his own hand a rare Greek work for the library of Colbert, the French Minister of War. In January, 1689, he left for Venice, where he visited the quicksilver mines. On his return, in crossing in a boat, a storm arose, and he heard the sailors, who did not know that he understood Italian, agree among themselves to throw the heretic overboard, as the probable cause of the storm. Whereupon he quietly drew a rosary out of his pocket, and began counting the beads, —

whence the sailors concluded, that, being evidently a pious Catholic, the storm could not be owing to him.

His sojourn in Rome was almost one prolonged ovation,—and this not simply from the admiration inspired by his celebrity and genius, but also because of his courteous, amiable behavior, endearing him to everybody. There was not a learned society in the city which did not elect him a member. Nay, the important position of custodian to the great library of the Vatican, with the prospect of a cardinal's hat, was offered him, on the sole condition that he should join the Catholic Church, which of course made him decline it. All the treasures of the various libraries and public institutions were placed at his disposal. These courtesies Leibnitz richly repaid. He exerted himself to reconcile the Church with Science, and to convince the Catholic clergy that the cause of religion and the progress of the natural sciences do not conflict with, but rather support, each other. With much zeal he pointed out the immense advantages which might be drawn from the cloisters, by employing the monks to gather astronomical, geological, philological, and other observations, and make experiments. He insisted that their piety would thus be increased, and that knowledge would advance more in ten than it had done in the past hundred years, if his plan were carried out. With missions established all over the globe, Leibnitz had hopes that a grand and comprehensive scientific organization might thus be realized. He arranged a permanent correspondence with the famous Jesuit missionary Grimaldi, who was then leaving Italy for China, pointing out to him the vast importance of a comparative study of languages, and particularly of the languages of Asia. For Grimaldi he also elaborated his science of Dyadics with 0 and 1, wherewith to prove to the Chinese the creation of the world out of nothing. His curious letter on the subject of this proof, accompanying a medal made for the emperor of China, is published in Erdmann's edition of his works.

From Rome, Leibnitz went to Naples, and thence to Florence, arriving at the close of the year at Modena, the real end of his travels, where he discovered, as he had expected, the connection between the German house of Brunswick and the

Italian house D'Este, and, moreover, assisted in arranging a marriage between the Duke of Modena and the Princess Charlotte of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. He returned to Hanover by way of Vienna, and shortly after his return was appointed custodian of the Wolfenbüttel Library, made famous in later days through Lessing. Of his many labors, during this period, he thus speaks, in a letter dated September, 1695.

"It is scarcely to be expressed how extraordinarily diversified my activity is. I hunt up various matters in the archives, and examine old papers, or collect unpublished manuscripts, with a view to gain more light for my history of the House of Brunswick. I receive and reply to a very large number of letters; and I have so many new things in mathematics, so many thoughts in philosophy, and so many other literary observations, which I would not like to see perish, that often I do not know what I ought to do first. It is twenty years since the French and English first saw my calculating-machine, and since then Oldenburg, Huygens, Arnaud, and others have frequently requested me to publish a description of it; yet I have always postponed doing so, because I had only a small model of the machine, sufficient for the demonstration of the mechanism, but not for common use. But above all things I should like to complete my Dynamics, wherein I believe I have discovered the true laws of material Nature, and by means of which I can solve problems concerning the activity of bodies, which previous rules are unable to solve. My friends, who have a knowledge of the higher geometry founded by me, urge me to publish my Science of the Infinite, which contains the basis of my new analysis. Add to this many general matters of invention. But all these labors, except the historical ones, I do by stealth, as it were: for you know that politicians seek and expect quite other things." In another letter on the same subject he closes with these memorable words: "If you consider all this well, you will doubtless pardon my neglect, and will wish that I had assistants, young men, and other friends of learning, talent, and industry, who might help me. For I can suggest many things, but I cannot myself carry out everything that suggests itself to me; and cheerfully would I leave this to others, if they could thereby obtain glory, pro-

vided it would serve the commonwealth, the welfare of the human race, and thus the glory of God."

Ernst August, who had in 1692 become Elector of Hanover, died in 1698; and although his successor, George, — future king of England, — retained Leibnitz in his position, the charm which the Hanoverian court had hitherto possessed for him was now gone. Under the new *régime* little interest was manifested in science or general culture. Leibnitz, therefore, gratefully accepted permission temporarily to follow his former pupil, the Princess Sophia Charlotte, to Berlin. Here he established the scientific society which has since grown into the famous university, and lent all his energies to assist in the development of the embryo kingdom. He showed much zeal in attempting to introduce the culture of silk, caused measures to be adopted for the more thorough study of medicine and anatomy, and with persevering energy urged the establishment of Protestant missions in China. He also spent much time to realize what even at this day seems an impossibility, — a social union of all learned men for the advancement of science, — each one to attend to a particular department, in order to insure thoroughness and systematic progress.

His *Projet de l'Éducation d'un Prince* was written about this time. In it he developed his ideas upon education, taking ground in opposition to the purely classical system then in vogue. "Time is life," says Leibnitz, in that most interesting work, alluding to the necessity of educating a prince in the practical sciences, — a significant variation of the maxim, "Time is money." He adds: "The great use of money is, that it enables us to gain time through the assistance of others," and by this addition, moreover, reverses the latter saying into "Money is time." On this subject of education he wrote thus to a friend who had urged him to lend his aid in behalf of the cause of education in Germany.

"Whenever I meditate upon the ways of promoting the general welfare, I always arrive at the same conclusion which you correctly hold, that the human race will perfect itself whenever the education of the young shall have been reformed. But this is not possible without the aid of those men who,

through their position, knowledge, and good-will, are prominent in a country. The Jesuits could have accomplished great things, particularly as their projects had the support of religion; but looking at their results to-day, we must confess that they remained below mediocrity. Amongst ourselves those who undertake similar efforts lack assistance, and their labors are treated with contempt. Nay, although there is nothing more important to religion and piety than education, still piety shows it no favor, and religion no reverence. I have often thought that a society might be formed by those who in different places exhibit zeal and knowledge. But mutual acquaintance and connection are wanting, and many who hold certain opinions demand that all others should indorse them. . . . . Thus, while they have the same end in view, they stand opposed to each other through a pitiable error; whereas, if they understood each other, most of their wishes could be realized."

In 1700 Leibnitz again went to Vienna, partly to negotiate some matters in connection with the establishment of the new kingdom of Prussia, and partly to make a further attempt to unite the Protestant and Catholic churches. He returned to Berlin at the end of the next year; and at that time made the acquaintance of his future great scholar, Wolff. In Berlin he began to feel the influence of English scepticism, which had already worked its way considerably into France, particularly through Bayle, the precursor of Voltaire, and was now beginning to take root also in Germany. To the comprehensive mind of Leibnitz the shallow reasoning of this scepticism could not be otherwise than repugnant. He felt called upon to combat it, and to vindicate the eternal truths of Christianity against the attacks of Locke and Bayle, as Kant defended them many years later against Hume and Voltaire. Leibnitz was not a one-sided partisan, however. He did full justice to the materialistic views of his adversaries. Their whole case could not be stated more fairly than he states it in the following passage.

"I have found that the majority of sects are in the right, as regards a good portion of what they assert, but not as regards what they deny. Thus the formalists, as the Platonists and

Aristotelians, are in the right when they find the origin of things in the final and formal causes; but they are wrong when they neglect the effective material causes, and conclude that there are appearances which cannot be mechanically explained. On the other hand, the materialists are wrong in rejecting all metaphysical studies, and in pretending to explain everything through the action of the imagination. I flatter myself that I have penetrated into the harmony of the various sciences, and have seen that both parties are in the right: *that everything in the appearances of Nature occurs at the same time both mechanically and metaphysically, but that metaphysics is the source of mechanics.* It was not easy to discover this mystery, for there are few who take pains to unite these two studies. Descartes did so, but not sufficiently. He had adventured too rashly in most of his dogmas, and it may be said that his philosophy stands in the antechamber of truth."

Leibnitz's public opposition to the materialistic tendencies of English empiricism was due to the solicitations of the queen of Prussia, who had been reading with him Locke's "Essay concerning Human Understanding," and Bayle's famous Dictionary. She incited him to reply to their arguments, and he was thus led to write his *Nouveaux Essais* and his *Théodicée*. The former work he did not finish before the death of Locke, and, with rare considerateness, refused to publish it, now that the man who was to have refuted it was dead; the latter has gained a celebrity even beyond that of the "Monadology." But the noble queen to whom he dedicated the *Théodicée* died soon after, in 1705,—"to see with my own eyes," as she said, "those things which I have so often discussed with Leibnitz." The death of the queen was a sore blow to him. He now busied himself more than ever with science, leaving no occasion neglected to advance its cause. Thus, when, in 1711, he met Peter the Great at Torgau, he induced that far-sighted monarch to have observations on the magnetic declination undertaken throughout his dominions, to found libraries and observatories, and to make common the latest useful inventions. Peter was so much interested in Leibnitz, that the next year he invited him to a second conference at Carlsbad, appointing him at the same time Councillor, with a considerable

pension. In 1716 Leibnitz met the Czar once more, "full of admiration," as he writes, "not only for the humanity, but also for the rich mass of knowledge and the quick judgment of this monarch."

In 1714 Leibnitz visited Vienna for the last time,—a visit which resulted in the most famous and complete of his works, — the "Monadology," — which he wrote for Prince Eugene, who held it so precious that he kept the manuscript in a locked box as a sacred relic. This "magnificent poem," as some Frenchman calls it not improperly, was Leibnitz's swan-song. Soon after it was finished, his master, the Elector George, who was then about to leave for England to assume the regal crown, ordered him to return home at once and attend to his official duties. Leibnitz had entertained hopes of accompanying his master, but the Elector was somewhat displeased with him, and did not respond favorably. Leibnitz arrived in Hanover too late for a personal interview. He therefore settled down quietly, took up his life-work, the History of the House of Brunswick, which he finished; and in the midst of some scientific labors, whereof he himself said, "Ce siècle n'est point fait pour les recevoir," death overtook him, on the 14th of November, 1716. Not a single courtier, not even a clergyman, no one but his friend Eckhard, followed him to the grave.

In passing from a review of the life of the man to his so-called "system," no better method of effectively representing what is characteristic of this system seems possible than to take up separately the distinguishing points upon which he has laid most stress in his writings. Among these stands foremost

*The Principle of the Sufficient Ground.* The significance of this principle is best explained by Leibnitz in his second letter to Clarke, where, alluding to Clarke's assertion that the doctrines of the materialists do much to support wickedness and infidelity, Leibnitz replies, that this cannot well be so, as long as the materialists remain logically within the limits of mathematical science, and do not contradict themselves by entering the field of speculation to prove speculation im-

possible. The materialists, he says, are not so much at fault in the mathematical principles of science, since these same principles are upheld by, and are valid for, Christian philosophers, as in the fact that they do not go beyond matter; whereas Christians assert a substance as the ground of matter. The materialists accept the existence of matter as manifested through the senses as an indisputable fact, and reject all further questioning concerning the ground of such matter. They are therefore worshippers of authority, and dogmatic, holding up, as they do, something incomprehensible as the ultimate of human knowledge. But true philosophy asks for the sufficient ground of matter, and in the course of its investigations discovers this ground to be the ego (or monad); and since the ego could not be an ego, if it could show a higher ground for itself, it is the "sufficient cause" for itself, and all inquiry for a higher cause is now cut off, not by the positing of an ultimate incomprehensible, but by establishing that the inquiry cannot at all be rationally put in the case of the ego, and hence by the same proof that establishes the ideality of time and space.

Leibnitz develops this in the above letter by the following statement. The fundamental principle of mathematics is the principle of contradiction or of identity, namely, that a proposition cannot be both false and true, and that, if A be A, it cannot be at the same time not-A. "This principle alone," he says, "is sufficient for the proof of arithmetic and geometry, or of all mathematical science. . . . . But in the higher region this principle does not suffice, as I have shown in my *Théodicée*. There we need another, namely, that of the sufficient ground, which must show why this is so, and not rather otherwise" (i. e. why A is A, and why it cannot be at the same time not-A). "Even Archimedes, therefore, when proceeding from mathematics to physics, establishes in his book *De Æquilibrio* a particular instance of the *principium convenientiæ*. He accepts as certain that the two arms of a scale, if exactly balanced, will be at rest, because there is no sufficient ground why one arm should fall below the other. Through this one principle of a sufficient ground, natural religion, or the science of metaphysics, proves a Divinity; nay,

in a certain manner, through it we confirm the first principles of the natural sciences, in so far as they are not based upon mathematics, — as, for instance, the doctrine of dynamics, or of the forces of motion."

Nowhere does the harmony of the philosophy of Leibnitz with Fichte's Science of Knowledge appear with greater clearness than in this letter. The very example of A = A and not-A not = A, is the one from which the Science of Knowledge proceeds, asking, as is proper, for its ground, and showing that ground to be, The ego posits itself, and posits at the same time a non-ego. The great obstacle which prevents the acceptance of this settlement, and therewith the recognition of the Science of Knowledge, is this, that every one asks again for *the sufficient ground of the self-positing of the ego.* But the inquiry is absurd, since the conception of the ego and the conception of self-positing are identical, and since, consequently, the inquiry demands, in point of fact, the sufficient ground why the ego should not be self-contradictory. This strict *reductio ad absurdum* Leibnitz applies everywhere to prove contested points, and Fichte has employed it in the same manner; yet such is the self-distrustful character of men, that they cannot content themselves with the independence of reason, but must go on and ask why reason should be independent, — by that very question thinking of it again as dependent.

The next most important principle of Leibnitz's system is his

*Doctrine of Monads.* To apprehend this famous doctrine correctly, it is necessary to remember that in all philosophical inquiries the question should be, not what this or that is, but how we must view it. Thus it will appear, that, precisely as in physical science we must view all matter as composed of infinitely small particles or molecules, so must we also view the ego as present everywhere, and in this omnipresence in space we must view it as an infinite space full of ego-points, or ego-atoms, limited by equally infinite atoms of matter. For the ego, being an infinite activity, or self-positing, posits itself everywhere. And since, in order to posit itself, it must limit itself, it posits not only itself, but also a limiting matter. In so far as it posits itself everywhere, it

posits all matter infinitely divisible or porous; in so far as it posits matter, it posits an infinite number of atoms. The conception of every possible point of concentration of the ego is the conception of a monad; and as thus all possible individual points of the ego differ only in position, it follows both that all must have the same world, and that each must be different from the others. For the ego is in every one altogether the same, and being nothing but the power of self-positing and whatsoever this self-positing involves, it in each one develops itself according to the same order and laws, an exhaustive representation of which laws results in a science of the ego or of knowledge. But the ego is likewise in every one of these monads determined differently, through the limit; and hence, in so far as every monad is not pure ego, but determined through a non-ego, it differs from every other. No two monads are alike in so far as they are determined through a non-ego; but they are all one and the same in so far as they are pure ego. In so far as they are pure ego, they posit the pure ego, and are thus equal; but in so far as through their "dark consciousness they posit matter, in order to arrive at clear consciousness through it," to use the words of Leibnitz, they are unequal.

Infinitely filling up all infinite space, and each monad self-active, that is, a motive power, there thus arises the conception of infinite directions of motion crossing each other, each, however, a direction in a straight line, and straying from it only in obedience to another direction.* The science of these motions is the science of mechanics, and explains the whole universe. Each monad is thus impelled by all other monads; and if each had complete self-consciousness of all the determinations which thus occur in it through motion, each would have a *complete* knowledge of the whole universe. But as each has clearest consciousness only of what happens up to its limit, that is, within its body, and more and more dim consciousness of motions which occur at greater distances from that body, — a dim consciousness which may be said to be the reason why the monad creates matter, —there arises that fa-

* Fichte also describes the ego as a power of line-drawing.

mous gradation of monads which extends from the lowest worm to the highest seraph. All possible monads (and every dust-speck is an infinity of monads, — and the distinction between organic and inorganic matter is wholly arbitrary, since the whole universe is one infinite mass of living beings) are distinct from each other as monads only in this greater or less degree of consciousness. There is no death in the universe, nor is there perfect creation, but everywhere development into self-consciousness and self-determination. There is no increase nor decrease of matter, nor is there any increase or decrease of force; for every infinite atom of matter, being a monad, has an infinite force or self-activity.

Force is never destroyed: for a monad cannot be destroyed: only its relation changes, and the whole interchange of forces is "like changing large money into small." There is only one force: for all monads are alike: but this force has greater or less degrees of movement, and through this difference of movement one force changes into an infinite number of correlated forces, and every monad becomes different from every other. From the conception of a self-active concentration-point,* moving and re-moving its self-posited limitation, — from this pure conception of a line-drawing ego, the whole structure of the universe explains itself, with its wonderful variety of motion, which motion changes according to this variety into heat, or electricity, or light, or tree, or stone, or sun, or star, or the nebulæ of Orion. In the concentration-point of the ego everywhere, in the mind of every man, the everlasting order of the stars moves on its course, and the history of the whole race accomplishes itself.

Not only does the quantity of force remain the same, however, but likewise the direction of that force, — a point which Descartes had overlooked, — and hence arises the third great principle of the

*Pre-established Harmony.* For if, in Nature, not only the sum of force and its manifestation, but likewise the sum of its

* It is interesting to compare Swedenborg's Natural Point in his *Principia* with Leibnitz's Monad, as also the Maximus Homo of his theological works with Leibnitz's Highest Monad, and his Law of Correspondence with Leibnitz's Pre-established Harmony.

directions, must be viewed as always remaining the same, only the sum of motion increasing and decreasing in mechanical order, it follows that every movement in Nature, in so far as it has a direction, may be viewed as purely the result of a mechanical force; and since it will be possible to trace it thus to a mechanical source, it will be impossible to prove it to be originated by the self-conscious soul. If every movement of and through our body can thus be explained as the result of the universal mechanical law of motion, clearly "our body operates as if there were no soul in it, and our soul as if there existed no body." Hence the possibility of a pure mathematical science of Nature, without reference to a God or soul as a power in Nature, and of an explanation of all possible phenomena upon mechanical principles.

But this would exclude all relations between the monads as such, that is, as concentration-points of the pure ego. No ego could ever become conscious of itself, if the movements of Nature could be explained altogether by the law of mechanics. The ego could not be for itself an ego, and, since it is ego only in so far as it is for itself, could not be at all. The question arises, How can the characteristic of intention or the conception of an end find expression in movements which can be comprehended at the same time as purely mechanical? And the answer is: Absolutely because it can. There is a *harmony* between the world of rational ends and mechanical changes in Nature which makes this possible; and this harmony is absolute, has no external ground. When a rational being sees a piece of material Nature which has been moulded for the expression of some rational end, that expression makes itself absolutely known to the beholder.* To ask how would be absurd; since, if you could assign a ground, you would be merely pushing a new link between reason and matter, without at all making the relation between reason and the new link clearer. Thus you might continue to ask for a further ground, and insert new links, without at all approaching nearer to the solution. On account of the absoluteness of this relation between mind and matter, Leibnitz usually terms it a harmony;

* Compare Fichte's Science of Rights.

and it is this harmony which shows how we must view the existence of a world of the pure ego within a world of pure mechanism. The world of mechanism "corresponds," as Swedenborg would express it, to the world of intelligence; or, in Fichte's terminology, the world of Nature can be comprehended *in its relation to the ego* only as a moral world.

The same principle which lies at the basis of the doctrine of a pre-established harmony fixes Leibnitz's exposition of freedom. Precisely as every change in Nature effected by reason may be viewed as the product both of moral reason and of mechanical Nature, so may every act of freedom be viewed as both free and determined. For the ego, in so far as it posits itself, posits itself as the absolute totality of all activity; and only in so far as it posits itself as limited does it posit this totality of activity as an infinite series of acts. It may view itself either way; both modes of viewing are merely different expressions of the same thing; and reason would not be reason, if it did not view everything in this double synthetical manner. The truth lies in neither view, but in comprehending that this duplicity of views is necessary for a rational being. Act, and you *are* free; but the moment you begin to reflect upon that act, in order to see whether it is an act of freedom, you subsume it under the laws of all reason. You manifest your freedom in one of the infinite series of acts; but when you begin to reflect, you find that you must also think it as determined by the totality. Without strictly scientific utterance, Leibnitz clearly enough points out this general synthesis of freedom and determinedness in all moral acts. "The fact," says he, "that God has, in being impelled by the highest cause to select amongst infinitely many orders of things and possible worlds such a one, wherein free creatures would frame such or such resolutions, although not without His assistance, most decidedly determined and fixed once and forever that order of things, by no means limits the freedom of those creatures; for this divine resolve changes nothing in their freedom, but only *makes visible their free nature*. . . . . In like manner it is no detraction from freedom, if a wise being, and more particularly God, the wisest, selects the best; since so to select is rather the highest freedom, and presupposes freedom. . . . .

Nor is it a contradiction of freedom to hold that our choice is always determined by motives; for these motives do not act upon the soul like weights in a scale; but it is rather the soul that acts through the motives. . . . . If the soul were to act in opposition to its strongest motive, it would act in opposition to itself, which is a contradiction." In other words, we may view the soul as acting under both absolute self-determination and impelling motives; the two are merely different views of the same act.

In like manner Leibnitz's pre-established harmony is the clew to his doctrine of God, perhaps the least clearly expounded part of his system. The harmony of the infinite series of monads must certainly have a ground, if each monad is to be regarded as an independent, absolute ego. But it is not so to be regarded; and hence, in our present exposition of it, we have stated the relation in this manner: The pure ego, in order to posit itself, must posit itself in an infinite number of ego-points, or monads. To ask now for a further ground of the pure ego, or of a harmony between the infinite series of ego-points, would be absurd and self-contradictory, since this ground is already posited in the pure absolute ego. Reason is self-sufficient, and cannot properly ask for any further ground of itself. But when each individual monad thinks the unity and harmony which unite all with it into one, it has the conception of a Divinity, of whom there can, therefore, be predicated no category of Being, — since all Being is the pure creation of the ego, — but merely categories of activity. The conception of God is, therefore, not properly that of the highest monad, although Leibnitz sometimes, for the sake of analogy, expresses it thus, but rather the conception of the totality of activity of all monads. It is the conception of the harmony, regularity, and wise arrangement of the monad universe, the conception of the totality of that universe of which each individual monad apprehends itself only as one of an infinite series. To the conception of this totality all monads are to elevate themselves, and sensuously to represent it upon this earth is more particularly the duty of mankind. In so far every man is an artist, and the process of turning the world of Nature into a world of reason is the great art-work

upon which humanity is engaged. To accomplish this, now that the science of eternal truths or of knowledge has been discovered, it is above all things necessary to gather facts and make experiments, in order to arrive also at a knowledge of the truths contained in these facts. Hence the incessant efforts which marked Leibnitz's life to establish academies, observatories, etc., and to collect empirical data on all possible subjects, in order by means of them to arrive at a knowledge of such truths. This is accomplished by arranging them in tables, and, in Leibnitz's phrase, "using them like logarithms." They must be combined, on the principle announced in *De Arte Combinatoria;* that is to say, they must be gathered into regular order, as we gather numbers into tens, hundreds, etc., and must thus, as it were, be harmonized in this regularity. The great object of mankind's art-work is, indeed, this elevation of all facts, data, objects, etc., into regular harmony, so that all of them shall ultimately combine in one unity. This clear, harmonic agreement and regularity are what fills us with æsthetical joy; and hence, in proportion as our knowledge of this harmony advances, our delight increases. Thus the true, the good, and the beautiful are one and the same; and to know is to be happy and to be good; and to be happy is to know and to be good; and to be good is to know and to be happy. Knowledge, goodness, and happiness can be equally traced back to order and regularity; and nothing proves more clearly that the mind of man is created in the image of God than this order and proportion of all things.

A. E. Kroeger.

## Art. II. — The Mental Faculties of Brutes.

The vigorous efforts now making in some of our principal cities to prevent unnecessary cruelty to animals doubtless proceed from a strong benevolent impulse, the basis of which is not very clearly defined in the minds of those who experience it. These special friends and protectors of the brute creation ask no warrant for their proceedings beyond the instinctive sympathy of the mass of men with sufferings which they feel are closely allied to their own. But the ground on which they stand would be much firmer, and the dignity and value of their efforts likely to meet with a more speedy recognition, if it were fairly shown that "the brutes that perish" are "our poor relations," not only by virtue of possessing mere animal sensibilities in common with mankind, but from being endowed with all the essential faculties of the human race. We therefore judge the present time not unfavorable for a brief consideration of these two leading questions, often, though seldom satisfactorily, discussed: "Are animals endowed with all the mental powers possessed by man?" and "Do any animals possess mental powers denied to the human race?"

Other men are so like us in external aspect, and their actions so closely resemble ours, that, even if we were not endowed with the gifts of speech and hearing, we should doubtless infer that they were possessed of minds like our own. Spoken language is only an aid, and not an essential means of intercommunication between members of the human family. It is but a second system of chiefly artificial signs, addressed to the sense of hearing, and supplementing the alphabet of Nature, which is for the most part dumb, and related only to the sense of sight. We understand the deaf and dumb man, and he us, though very often imperfectly. But, for that matter, who thoroughly understands any one else? or who can communicate to another the exact phase and the perfect fulness of his thoughts and hopes and affections?

The principle that like effects are to be referred to like causes lies at the foundation of all our knowledge of the characters of other men. We judge Shakespeare and the

idiot by the same inflexible law. Believing in the essential unity of the human race, whatever faculties we find common to all the men whom we have ever known we consider fundamental, and embrace such accounts as we can give of them in our attempted definitions, or rather descriptions, of the human mind. Just so must it be with our efforts to fathom the consciousness of the animal creation. It is only in so far as brutes are in reality "our poor relations," possessed of the same mental faculties with us, that we can have any adequate conception of their inner life. We interpret their actions as we do those of our fellow-men. We even find it convenient at times to characterize human traits by their qualities. One man is "as cross as a bear"; another "as sly as a fox," or "as cunning as a weasel." Even "He who spake as never man spake" could find no more fitting words than these with which to address his twelve disciples: "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves." Literature is full of such similes, and we need not go beyond this fact for proof of at least a partial community of nature between the minds of men and brutes. Like qualities point to a like subject, and, whether this is material or immaterial, the principle remains the same.

Altogether unphilosophical, then, are those theories which, while acknowledging a close resemblance between very many of the actions of men and of brutes, yet ascribe these similar acts to dissimilar causes. Descartes could not, or would not, see any essential difference between an animal and a watch; because, forsooth, if animals had souls, would they not be immortal like men? and his human pride could not brook that degree of equality. We will not stop now to inquire whether immortality is a necessary attribute of mind, as Descartes seemed to think it. We only wish to protest against that false mode of philosophizing which hesitates to accept legitimate conclusions when they seem likely to lead to unwelcome inferences. Descartes, however, in spite of his philosophy, could not help sometimes speaking of the manifestations of brute intelligence in precisely the same language as other men, though protesting in the same breath that they were purely physical phenomena, dependent on the structure of the bodily

organs. Though himself no materialist, he committed the same error with the materialists, in ascribing to matter functions of which it is not capable.

Sir Isaac Newton erred in a somewhat different direction. Although his language is rather obscure, he appears to have thought that animals had no minds of their own, like men, but that the Deity immediately caused or directed all their actions, without any intelligence on their part. This made God more immanently present in the brute creation than in the human race, and certainly would have justified the philosopher in sacredly protecting, if not worshipping, not only monkeys, after the manner of some of the ancients, but animals of every kind.

There were not wanting other more superficial thinkers to echo the doctrine, much older, however, than Newton, and disclaimed by him when stated in this form, that "God is the soul of brutes." Addison, in the "Spectator," declares that "instinct cannot be accounted for by any properties in matter, and at the same time it works after so odd a manner that one cannot think it the faculty of an intellectual being," — and that, for his part, he looks "upon it as upon the principle of gravitation in bodies, which is not to be explained by any known qualities inherent in the bodies themselves, nor from any laws of mechanism, but, according to the best notions of the greatest philosophers, is an immediate impression from the first Mover, and the divine knowledge acting in the creatures." Even Pope took up the refrain, singing thus: —

> "And reason raise o'er instinct as you can,
> In this 't is God that acts, in that 't is man."

One is at a loss to see what is gained by such a theory as this, since by it brutes are made less manlike only to become more godlike, and are thrown out of our own family only to be adopted into a nobler one. Perhaps, however, if we are well rid of them, that is all that is necessary. But, seriously, one cannot help wondering that such a mind as Newton's did not perceive that this hypothesis lacked two most essential elements, — necessity and consistency. The existence of created mind was just as adequate to the explanation of the phenomena

of animal as of human intelligence; and there was no reason for supposing that the Creator had departed from His usual mode of acting mediately, and not immediately, upon organized matter. It is a true principle of philosophy as well as of the drama, that divine aid is not to be needlessly invoked in the solution of difficulties. But waiving for the moment these objections, what, upon this theory, shall we say of those cases in which animal instinct (and Newton seems to make all actions of brutes instinctive) goes astray, as it were, and apparently fails of its end? When the ape of which Blumenbach tells us picked out the painted pictures of beetles from a book of natural history, and ate them down as though they were the living animals, is it consistent with our conceptions of the Deity to suppose that this was His immediate act? And when the sheep eats the poisonous laurel and dies, is it an infinite or a finite intelligence that errs?

These theories of Descartes and Newton have not met with very general acceptance, especially that of the former,—which, by the way, can be traced back substantially to some of the ancient philosophers. The anonymous author of "A Moral Essay upon the Soul of Man," published in the year 1700, seems to hold to the two theories in conjunction, without being conscious of their incompatibility. While declaring that the Deity conducts animals "to those Ends for which he hath created them, by secret Springs which he hath plac'd in them, which are diversly determin'd, according to Accidents, to make a thousand sorts of different Movements, according to their different Business and Occasion," and that it is not "by any Sentiments of Duty that Dogs love and follow their Masters, any otherwise than by Instinct, or by the necessary effect of the *Mechanick* Disposition of the Springs which serve to move them," he repeatedly uses language which implies the direction and control of these brute mechanisms by the Creator. In one thing, however, he is perfectly consistent throughout, and that is in denying to brutes the least particle of real sensation, or perception, or intelligence of any kind. He stoutly protests against giving them the least chance to prove their spiritual relationship to us, lest they should take advantage of it to claim some portion of our inheritance. According to his

philosophy, it is not safe to allow that the dog can wag his own tail as an evidence of satisfaction, when his master holds up before him a piece of meat: for satisfaction is an attribute of mind; and if a dog may experience this emotion, where is there any necessary limit to his possible emotions? Neither can the dog really know that it is meat which his master is offering him, or that his master is offering him anything at all, or in fact that he has any master, or that there is any such thing as a man or a dog: for to know is to have a mind; and who shall fix the possible limits of mental development? No! All that happens is merely something like this, if we will accept the teachings of our philosopher. From the fatty portions of the meat which the master holds up before his dog certain subtile odors are wafted by currents of air or fall by the mere force of gravitation about the head of the canine mechanism. Such of these oleaginous particles as come in contact with the anterior surface of the eye serve to lubricate it and give it an unusual degree of lustre. Other particles passing through the nostrils into the mouth so soften and relax the muscles which close the jaws that the mouth falls open. As Nature abhors a vacuum, the oily atoms pass on towards the empty stomach, on their way causing rapid vibrations in the vocal chords, which send forth a sudden bark. In consequence of their acquired velocity, and the *vis a tergo* received from other particles pressing upon them, they do not stop until they reach the roots of the tail, and here, their whole force being concentrated upon the main-spring of this intricate organism, the whole tail rapidly wags. When the master drops the meat into the animal's mouth, all this atomic influence of course ceases, the mouth suddenly closes, and the former equilibrium is everywhere restored. When everything can be so easily and naturally explained on mechanical and physiological principles, why be so unphilosophical as to go beyond these?

The following passage from this writer will show that we have not been indulging in caricature. He says: "It is an indisputable Maxim of Physick and good Sense, That *we must never place in Nature an useless Principle, and without an Effect to which it is necessary.* It would, for Example, be ridiculous to be willing to put a Soul endu'd with a true knowl-

edge, either into a Clock or a Windmill to make them go, since all their Movements may be made without any such Principle of Knowledge to direct or determine their Movements. And without doubt it is no less ridiculous, to put into Animals a Principle of Knowledge and true Sentiment like unto ours, and a true Light to instruct them, if there be no need of such a Principle to make them do everything which they do: Now so it is, that there doth not anything appear in Beasts that is a necessary and inseparable Effect of such a Knowledge, of such a Sentiment, of such a Principle; since there is nothing that Beasts do, which may not be easily explain'd *mechanically*, as we say, or which requires that there should be a true and proper Principle of Knowledge in Them." But, with all his vagaries, this anonymous writer is much to be praised for his persistent defence of the principle, that one real act of intelligence is as good as a million for proving the existence of a rational animal soul.

We must not take leave of Newton's theory without mentioning, that, in our own time and country, no less distinguished a writer than the author of the Lowell lectures on "Metaphysical and Ethical Science" has looked upon it with considerable favor. After a lengthy consideration of the phenomena of instinct, (and he is inclined to allow to brutes no acts indicating intelligence, excepting such as are instinctive,) he says, in a concluding note: "I hardly need observe how much the phenomena considered in this chapter tend to confirm the doctrine of immediate divine agency." As he denies to man the possession of any instincts, properly so called, he is to be ranked among those who hold to a difference in kind as well as degree between the faculties of men and brutes.

However, like most of those who hold to this view, he is far from being consistent in his language, and it is only by disregarding minor discrepancies and looking at the whole scope of his argument that his true position can be learned. For instance, while he declares that almost all, and probably all, the intelligent actions of animals are purely instinctive, and that, "as we affirm confidently that mind is not material, so we may find sure reason to believe that it is radically different from instinct," he yet does not hesitate to speak of "the brute mind,"

and of the "mental constitution," "mental endowments," and "mental nature" of brutes. At the very outset he proposes (to use his own words) "to examine *the only case* within the sphere of human observation *where intellectual are not combined with moral qualities, and where, consequently, enjoyment for the time must be regarded as the sole end of existence*," adding, "I refer, of course, to the mental constitution of brutes." Is not this a distinct, though it may be an unintentional, acknowledgment that brutes do possess both intellectual and sensitive faculties, neither of which can be predicated of anything but mind? And can that be legitimate philosophizing which entirely throws out of account one very striking class of phenomena, which cannot be readily referred to the workings of instinct? Yet our author says: "I say nothing of the feats which animals may be trained by man to accomplish, because these may all be traced to the blind and unconscious faculty of imitation or mimicry, and to the continued association of reward or punishment with certain actions." Now there may be some fortuitous resemblance or coincidence of action without any conscious design, and this is sometimes called imitation; but it is not the kind of imitation of which he is speaking, for it can in no sense be termed a faculty. He is evidently referring to imitative acts in which we can observe the relation of cause and effect, that is to say, in which the primary action suggests and furnishes the motive for the secondary imitative act. Such imitation involves consciousness in the imitating animal, and to speak of the "unconscious faculty of imitation" is to join together ideas which the very laws of mind have put asunder. And just so it is with regard to "the continued association of reward or punishment with certain actions": this clearly involves both consciousness and the association of ideas, and even much more than this, as we shall presently see.

The theories which have been considered are the only ones of any importance which assume an entire contrariety of nature between animal and human souls. It would be interesting to examine the speculations of those philosophers who allow to brutes a limited degree of intelligence outside of or in connection with the operations of instinct; but this is not essential to our present purpose. The theory of French, that

the bodies of beasts are the abodes of spirits, both good and evil, deserves a passing mention, as a striking instance of those freaks of fancy to which scientific men even nowadays are sometimes subject.

The general statements which we have made with regard to the similarity of the actions of men and brutes, and the inferences which are to be drawn from this similarity, need to be supported by a more complete induction of facts, before they can be made available for the solution of the questions proposed at the outset of our inquiry. The necessary completeness can be attained only by going through with the fundamental faculties of the human mind in some systematic order, and determining with regard to each whether its equivalent is to be found in the brute mind. Brougham attempted this method in his "Dialogues on Instinct"; but in consequence of the imperfection of his philosophy, his reasoning is often far from being satisfactory. It is true, there is not even now absolute uniformity of opinion as to which are the fundamental faculties of the human mind, — a fact which may, of course, introduce some uncertainty into our results, but only such a degree of it as attaches to all human speculations. The *fundamental* faculties alone have been spoken of as being the objects of our present consideration; because, if these are identical in men and brutes, any differences which may exist in the power of combining simple mental acts will only go to prove a difference of development, and not of nature.

There is no action of the human mind which is not an act either of knowledge, feeling, or will. There is but a single faculty of willing, while our acts of knowledge and feeling are the product of several special and distinct faculties. In many of our complex mental operations, and even in some of those which appear to be the simplest, all the faculties of knowledge, the power of the will, and some one or more of the feelings, are brought into action. In the following instance of brute intelligence we shall find, upon careful consideration, that the case is precisely the same. The story will be given substantially in the words of the journal from which it is taken.

In the Garden of Plants, in London, the keepers were recently engaged in destroying a great number of rats, when one

of them escaped and ran to the spot allotted to the elephant. Seeing no other refuge, in the twinkling of an eye the rat snugly ensconced himself in the trunk of the elephant, very much to the elephant's dissatisfaction. He stamped his foot and twisted his trunk around like the sail of a windmill, and then stood suddenly still, apparently reflecting on what it was best to do. Presently he ran to the water-trough where he was accustomed to drink, plunged in his trunk and filled it, and then raising it dashed out the rat in a torrent like that which issues from the hose of a fire-engine. When the rat struck the ground, the elephant seized him and made him undergo the immersion and projection four times. The fourth time the rat fell dead. The elephant, with a quiet, but majestic air, crushed it under his foot, and then went round to the spectators to make his usual collection of dainties.

In considering the mental operations involved in, and indicated by, the actions of the elephant in this contest, we will begin with the knowing or cognitive faculties. In the first place, he could not have become aware of the presence of the rat in his proboscis, except through an act of perception, — that faculty which gives to the mind its knowledge of external things. But perception involves self-consciousness: for the mind cannot become aware of the existence of something besides itself, without perceiving a difference between that something and itself; and the perception of differences presupposes a knowledge of the things which differ. Thus the elephant must have been conscious of his own existence at the same time that he was conscious of the present relation of some external object to his senses. He must have had, for aught we can see, as clear an idea of the *me* and the *not-me* as belongs to most men. This is not asserting that the elephant is a philosopher, but only that he possesses the essential groundwork of intelligence.

But the mental operation already described involves the exercise of other faculties than those of perception and self-consciousness. In distinguishing itself, the percipient subject, from the perceived object, the mind compares the two, and affirms that they are not the same. We have here comparison and judgment, the prime elements of all reasoning. However

complicated any train of thought, it is capable of being resolved into a succession of simple acts of comparison and judgment. It is this fact which leads so many to deny to brutes the possession of these two allied faculties. The course of reasoning adopted is something like the following. One of the faculties of the human mind is the faculty of relations, or the power of comparing and judging. To the exercise of this power are to be ascribed all the grandest achievements of the human intellect, such as the discovery of the law of gravitation, and the evolution of the fundamental principles of ethical and metaphysical science. No animal has ever accomplished such results, and therefore the brute creation does not possess this faculty.

In the first place, this argument is faulty in assuming that we are to test the existence of any faculty by specific instead of generic results. Since all reasoning, even the most abstruse, is made up of simple acts of comparison and judgment, the last link in the chain of thought which yields to us a most profound generalization does not differ, *as a mental act*, from the simplest thought of the most ignorant man. There is no single step in any, even the most complex, deductive or inductive process, which involves any power *different in kind* from that by which the most stupid savage of the wilds of Africa guides the practical actions of his daily life. All the discoveries of Newton and La Place, all the demonstrations of Euclid, all the splendid results of modern science, have for their component elements propositions as simple as the school-boy's "two and two make four." Not results, then, but processes, are the test of identity with regard to faculties of the mind. To deny this would lead us into extreme absurdities.

But it is said that the possession of the faculty implies the possibility of the highest attainments in the direction of that faculty, and that, if a pig can reason, there is nothing to hinder his becoming a Newton. But what if there should be something to hinder, nevertheless, which our poor reason cannot discover? If our own intellects were infinite, if we did not at every step strike our bewildered heads against the prison-bars which limit the possibilities of human thought, we might have some reason for believing in the infinite possibilities of brutes.

As it is, we should do better to accept the simple fact, that the reason of brutes is actually much more limited in the range of its operation than our own, than utterly to deny them reason through fear of making them our equals.

To cite a specific instance of this fallacy against which we have been contending, take the case of Coleridge, who would not allow that a brute animal could have the conception "black is not white," because this would constitute him a reasoning being, capable, as he thought, of all human intellectual possibilities. It is not easy to conceive how this philosopher would have explained the apparent perception by animals of the distinction between day and night, to say nothing of other less general distinctions pertaining to color. When the cock, at the rising of the moon in the middle of the night, crows as lustily as at daybreak, what have these two seasons in common which could produce the awakening, except the transition from darkness to light? Vision, in fact, is impossible without some discrimination of colors, or at least of light and shade; so that either the higher animals know black from white, or else their eyes were given them in mere mockery, and they are by some mysterious contrivance made to act precisely as they would do, if they were not blind. If, however, Coleridge only means to say that animals cannot reflect upon the abstract notions of blackness and whiteness, and determine that they do not agree, he not only affirms that of which he has no evidence, but which, if it were true, would be nothing to the purpose: for, as we have already shown, it is not necessary, in order to prove the existence of the reasoning faculty in any given case, to demonstrate the presence of all the effects which have been seen in other cases. Abstraction is not an independent faculty of the mind, but only the reasoning power applied to certain ideas to the exclusion of others, and brutes might be without it and yet be reasoning beings. But, in point of fact, it is easy to show that brutes have this power. Just as it is only by a process of abstraction and generalization that we are able to classify the manifold objects of Nature, without which classification we should be bewildered because of their multiplicity and diversity, so we must conceive it to be with the animal kingdom. One object which we

see for the first time we know to be a man, another a rock, and another a tree, because we have previously learned from experience what are the characteristics of these objects, which is the same thing as saying that we have formed abstract ideas corresponding to the words *man*, *rock*, *tree*. There would seem to be no question but that, by virtue of these same powers of abstraction and generalization, the dog knows that a man whom he meets for the first time is a man, and not a dog or a fox. One of the English Quarterly Reviews tells the story of a dog which, having been taught to beg for food by sitting upright, was in the habit of assuming that posture whenever he wanted a favor of any kind, for instance, the opening of a door. This animal evidently must have conceived the notion that there was some relation between the longing for food and other desires; and the conception of a *class* of desires is a pure generalization. — But it is time we were examining still further the story of the elephant and the rat, in search of other fundamental faculties.

The action of the elephant in going to the trough for water indicates, in the first place, the presence of memory and imagination. It is of no consequence to our present inquiry whether the former faculty should be divided into two, memory proper and reminiscence, or whether there is nothing which can properly be called memory apart from reminiscence: if the observed phenomena are identical in kind in man and brute, the question of simplicity need not be raised. Now the elephant would not have gone to the trough as he did, had he not remembered that water was kept there; and when by an act of memory the idea of water had been recalled to his consciousness, the faculty of imagination, or the representative faculty, must have come into exercise in order to keep this idea before the mind and enable it to determine the subsequent actions of the animal.

One of the two great schools of philosophy at the present day would excuse us from searching for any manifestations of what is sometimes called the regulative faculty, by which is meant the power of the mind to evolve from itself, without the aid of reasoning, certain fundamental truths and laws, called first principles, or intuitive truths; but our sympathies being

with that school which acknowledges the existence of such truths, we cannot excuse ourselves from reckoning the intuitive faculty among those which are fundamental. In order, however, to meet the requirements of the intuitional philosophy, it is not necessary to show that brutes equal us in the extent of their intuitive knowledge, but only that they have *some* knowledge of this kind, indicating the possession of the corresponding faculty. To demand anything more than this would be to repeat the fallacy already exposed, of looking for coextensive results instead of identical powers. The case we are examining furnishes us with several phenomena which, if the elephant were a man, would be considered conclusive evidence of the possession of intuitive knowledge. The idea of the necessary relation of cause and effect is accepted by philosophers of the intuitional school as a first principle or self-evident truth. Of course the great majority of men never state this principle to themselves in any set form of words; but every man, however ignorant, acts upon it every hour of his life. When the elephant perceived a certain unusual sensation in his proboscis, he evidently attributed it at once to the presence of some foreign object, the removal of which would relieve him from the unpleasant sensation. The effect was promptly assigned to a cause, and means were deliberately adopted to secure its removal. What clearer evidence could a *man* give of a practical recognition of the relation of cause and effect? But first principles, according to some, are of two kinds, namely, *necessary* and *contingent* truths. We have been considering a specimen of the former: we have ready at hand one of the latter. A practical belief in the uniformity of the operations of Nature is the only principle on which we can account for the action of the elephant in adopting the means which he did for getting rid of the rat. What water has done water will do, was his simple intuitive logic, — the same logic which leads us to believe that the sun will rise to-morrow, and that death will one day come to all.

We have now completed the list of the fundamental cognitive faculties, and found none of them wanting in our representative animal. That we must also credit him with the possession of the faculty of will seems inevitable; for no hu-

man being ever gave clearer evidence of a deliberate purpose to free himself from unpleasant circumstances than did this elephant. To say that his acts were entirely involuntary and automatic is a use of terms that robs them of all meaning.

Unlike the other faculties, the sensibilities are not found combined in action to any great extent. Their several phenomena are called forth by such different circumstances, and the characteristics of some of them are so completely contradictory to those of others, that the presence of one sensation or emotion often virtually necessitates the absence of almost every other. All that our narrative warrants us in affirming with regard to the feelings experienced by the elephant and the rat is this, — that the sentiments or internal feelings in active exercise were in the rat fear, and in the elephant resentment, accompanied in both cases by desire and hope, — and that the external sensations, so called, of hearing, sight, and feeling, were doubtless experienced by both.

We now leave this case, and cite common experience, as well as other special cases, in order to determine the presence or absence in brutes of other feelings than those just mentioned. No one will deny that the remaining external senses, those of smell and taste, are possessed by many animals. Even if we enlarge the list beyond the customary five, and allow special senses of heat and cold, wet and dry, hunger and thirst, weariness, nausea, shuddering, etc., there is not one among them all which any man of observation would deny to the higher classes of brutes, and some of them seem to be possessed by animals even of the very lowest rank.

In searching for manifestations of the sentiments, or internal feelings, we perhaps cannot do better than to follow the order adopted by Professor Haven in his classification of the faculties of the mind, taking up first what he calls the simple emotions, secondly the affections, and thirdly the desires.

We hardly need to cite special instances in order to show that many animals manifest that general state of mind known as cheerfulness, and also its opposite. Brutes not having, except to a very limited extent, the use of a vocal language intelligible to man, and possessing but little power of facial expression, the presence of this feeling, as of many others, often escapes the attention of a careless observer.

Closely connected with this feeling is sorrow for the loss of friends, which many animals manifest in a striking degree. Examples of this emotion in domestic animals will readily occur to every one. Forbes, in his "Oriental Memoirs," tells us that a friend of his having shot a female monkey and carried off the body, forty of the animals soon surrounded his tent, and, making a great noise, gave evidence of an inclination to attack him. On the presentation of his gun, all retired except one, who appeared to be the leader: he stood his ground, chattering furiously. As the man did not fire, the monkey at last came to the door of the tent and began a lamentable moaning, and by the most expressive gestures seemed to beg for the dead body. When it was given him, he took it sorrowfully in his arms and bore it away to his companions.

Whether brutes sympathize with the happiness and sorrow of others might at first sight seem doubtful; but facts like the following compel us to decide the question in the affirmative. The story is taken by Brougham from an apparently trustworthy French authority. "A swallow had slipped its foot into the noose of a cord attached to a spout in the Collége des Quatre Nations at Paris, and by endeavoring to escape had drawn the knot tight. Its strength being exhausted in vain attempts to fly, it uttered piteous cries, which assembled a vast flock of other swallows. . . . . They seemed to crowd and consult together for a little while, and then one of them darted at the string and struck at it with his beak as he flew past; and others following in quick succession did the same, striking at the same part, till, after continuing this combined operation for half an hour, they succeeded in severing the cord and freeing their companion. They all continued flocking and hovering till night; only, instead of the tumult and agitation in which they had been at their first assembling, they were chattering as if without any anxiety at all, but conscious of having succeeded."

The emotion of satisfaction at success, and the opposite emotion of dejection at failure, as well as that self-satisfied feeling which we call pride or self-esteem, are often exhibited in the actions of domestic animals: it is not necessary to specify instances.

Although we should hesitate to affirm that there are many animals which have a sense of the ludicrous, yet it can hardly be denied to the ape and monkey tribes, or to parrots.

Surprise, curiosity, and the enjoyment of the new, all of which may be considered modifications of one and the same feeling, are noticeable in all the higher animals. Dogs meeting for the first time especially exhibit this emotion.

That birds apparently delight in the brilliant plumage of their mates is an indication that they are capable of enjoying beauty. The fact that brutes do not seem to manifest any appreciation of the sublime cannot be considered as due to any radical defect in their natures, so long as the philosophers make no fundamental distinction between the sublime and the beautiful.

Closely connected with the enjoyment of the beautiful is the enjoyment of the good, which, with reference to our own actions, we speak of as the approving voice of conscience. Philosophers have generally denied to brutes the manifestation of this emotion, and it must be acknowledged that those actions of domestic animals which often seem to involve a consciousness of merit or demerit may generally, perhaps always, be referred to the stimulus of hope and the love of approbation, or of fear and the dread of disapprobation. Both this and the preceding topic would demand a more extended treatment, were it not for the consideration that the enjoyment of the beautiful and the good presupposes a conception of their nature, and if these intuitive conceptions are wanting, (and as they are merely facts, and not faculties, their absence does not imply the lack of any fundamental power,) then of course the corresponding emotions must be wanting. In failing to possess a knowledge and appreciation of the beautiful and the good, (supposing this to be the fact,) brutes lack somewhat of our mental furniture, but not, on that account, any elementary power. They may be free agents, even if they are not free *moral* agents, and in this simple distinction consists the chief glory of man. Add to the brutes no new *faculty*, but merely the *idea* of right and wrong, and you make them capable of virtue and vice.

The benevolent affections of love of kindred, friends, bene-

factors, and home, as well as the malevolent feeling of resentment, and its modifications, envy, jealousy, and revenge, are manifested by different animals in widely different degrees, yet must all be ranked among the faculties common to men and brutes.

Those desires which arise from the physical constitution of man are too evidently shared by other animals to need anything more than this passing mention.

If happiness may be defined as satisfaction with one's present condition, then the desire of happiness is the longing for some absent condition which, if present, would produce satisfaction. The efforts which brutes put forth to secure their own welfare, as well as other ends, often seem to be stimulated by this desire.

The practically limited range of the discursive faculty in animals, already spoken of, may be considered as affording a sufficient reason why we see in them so few manifestations of a desire of knowledge. Within certain narrow limits, however, all the higher animals give evidence of the possession of this desire, in the eagerness with which they seek for those objects which are related either to their daily wants or to some special demand of their natures. This knowledge is not to be compared for a moment with the knowledge which men may acquire; nevertheless it comes through the same faculties. It is also to be noticed, that, while men often desire knowledge for its own sake, with brutes this seldom, if ever, seems to be the case.

That many animals are fond of power, and have a desire for superiority, is acknowledged even by most of those who claim a wide distinction between the faculties of men and those of brutes. The same may be said of the desire of possession, the desire of society, the desire of esteem, and the feelings of hope and fear; it is therefore unnecessary to cite special instances of these. The last two have been already exemplified in the case of the rat and the elephant.

We have now gone through with the commonly acknowledged faculties of the human mind; and if in the course of our inquiry we have made no unreasonable assumptions, the reply to the first of the two questions propounded at the outset must be

evident, namely, that the difference between the faculties of men and brutes is one of degree only, and not of kind, and that all the faculties of the human mind have their parallels in the brute creation. This, of course, does not exclude great mental differences in different races of animals; in fact, the most limited observation shows that between the highest and the lowest animals there must be a far greater distance in point of intelligence than between the higher animals and man. Moreover, our examination has not proved that any one animal possesses all the faculties belonging to man, but only that brutes, taken as a whole, lack none of the elementary powers with which the human race is endowed.

Our second question, "Do any animals possess mental powers denied to the human race?" must, from lack of space, be treated much more summarily. Instinct is supposed by some to be a faculty peculiar to brutes. Without rehearsing the many different and even contradictory definitions which have been given of the word, we will venture to say that all the essential truth contained in them may be summed up in this single statement, that instinctive actions are those which are not based either upon instruction or experience. It is to be noticed that the term *instinct*, as commonly used, includes the outward manifestation as well as the mental act, and even points more particularly to the former. But evidently the only question to be considered in the present connection is this: "What is the inward cause of the outward phenomenon?" And here, as in our preceding inquiry, we must insist upon the application of the philosophical principle, that no new faculty is to be assumed, unless it shall be absolutely necessary in order to explain the facts.

Those automatic physical acts which are produced by reflex nervous action, having a purely physical origin, may at once be left out of the account, although they are sometimes spoken of as instinctive. Those spasmodic motions of the body which are produced by sudden or unforeseen contact with objects which are sharp, or hot, or cold, are specimens of this class. The involuntary processes of respiration, circulation of the blood, etc., being carried on without any mental effort, are not, in the strict sense of the term, instinctive. The definition

which we have given ought, for purposes of mental science, to be so restricted as to cover only such acts as call into play some mental force. Leaving out of account, then, the two classes of acts just referred to, we may say, in the first place, that the physical element of instinctive acts must be immediately under the control of the will. Whatever the mental impulse may be, it can control the body only through the medium of the power of volition, acting upon the nerves of voluntary motion, unless we accept the exploded theory of Descartes or Newton. The beaver *wills* to build his dam, or he would not build it; he *wills* to fell with his teeth each particular tree, and to perform every other individual act which goes to make up the building of the dam, or else no muscle would move towards the execution of the work. The acts of instinct, then, are not involuntary, as is frequently asserted, but have every appearance of being excited by the will. This, of course, also brings them within the domain of consciousness. This consciousness, however, does not necessarily extend beyond the present act, so that the animal *may be* ignorant of the *ultimate end* to be subserved by his work.

But there must be some impulse to move the will, and that an impulse acting with great uniformity, since regularity of operation is a striking feature of instinct. Our definition excludes all motives derived from instruction and experience; so that the intuitive faculty is the only one with which we are already acquainted which can possibly furnish the necessary stimulus, and this faculty seems adequate to the task. There is a striking similarity, if no closer connection, between instinct and genius; for the latter, too, works from the fresh impulse of Nature, instead of following the beaten track of experience. Everybody believes that the true poet is born, not made, and that a sort of inspiration distinguishes greatness from mediocrity. Doubtless it would be a strange thing, if a man were born with a plan of the Parthenon or an image of the Rhodian Colossus in his brain; but are we quite sure that these triumphs of genius do not after all partake, in some sort, of inspiration? It may be suggested, then, that special forms of instinct are to animals what special forms of genius are to men, only that the former are more limited in their range

and mode of action. The genius of Michael Angelo was not limited to the production of one masterpiece; but the bee never departs from the one pattern shown to her by the great Architect. In its lower forms instinct differs little from what in men we call tact, except that the former is generally limited to some one kind of work, and that, too, specially related to the preservation of the animal or the perpetuation of the species.

Although the bee is a perfect house-builder from the beginning and without instruction, while the human architect only by patient toil makes himself master of that skill and knowledge which the experience of decades of centuries has gathered, yet this proves no superiority of intellect on the part of the brute, even in that direction in which he seems especially to excel. The animal knows only the rule, man the law. The animal is but a journeyman, working after a plan prepared by another; man is a master-builder, second only to Him who guides the work of the brute. That man has only in these last centuries found out the wonderful mathematical laws which are embodied in the structure of the honeycomb, while the first bee that buzzed about the flowers of Eden built as skilfully as his descendants of the ten thousandth generation, is an indication, not of the superiority of the insect, but of his hopeless and irremediable degradation to the rank of a mere plodder, and of the infinite capacities of the teachable human soul. But in no other way than this could creatures of a day be so well constituted either for enjoyment or for the fulfilment of any other specific end. If the bee had been obliged to learn by experience how to build her cell and elaborate honey and wax, her race would have become extinct with the first generation.

The conclusion of the whole matter seems to us to be this: that the Creator has given to every animal, as a compensation for its limited endowment in other respects, a certain kind and amount of innate potential knowledge, adapted to the purposes for which the animal was created, and that this knowledge rises into consciousness at such times and so often as is necessary for the execution of these purposes. We do not conceive that animals are moved like blind machines by this force of instinct, but that an impulse, conscious, though irresistible, arising from the depths of their own natures, urges

them on to the accomplishment of their destiny. When other mental powers coexist with this, (and in most, if not all animals, this must be the case,) they blend with it, forming as perfect a harmony as exists in man between intuition and reason. Tact, insight, intuition, genius,—these are the terms by which we designate our human instincts; and through these, no less than through our faculties of reason, we are connected with "our poor relations."

GEORGE L. CARY.

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ART. III. — THE TARIFF OF THE UNITED STATES: SHALL IT BE AUGMENTED OR DIMINISHED AT THE COMING SESSION OF CONGRESS?

DURING the last quarter of a century the commerce of the British Isles has greatly expanded. Their shipping has grown to seven million two hundred thousand tons. Their exports and imports exceed two thousand millions of dollars. For the last decade their imports have exceeded their exports two hundred millions yearly, and during this time their wealth has increased and their specie accumulated in the vaults of the Bank of England, in apparent contempt of the old theory of the balance of trade. Some ascribe this excess to the low valuation of exports; but this reason seems insufficient. Others trace it to large remittances from India and the colonies by merchants and officers who expect to return to England with fortunes, or attribute it to freight-money, to interest on loans to foreign states, and to the profits on foreign shipments. Certainly seven million tons of ships and steamers, mostly in foreign trade, must earn a large amount; and several hundred millions of pounds invested in foreign loans, or in French, Indian, Russian, Spanish, and American railways, must yield large returns. Fortunes, too, are often realized by Englishmen in Asia, Africa, and America. But however this may be, the commerce of the empire has made great progress during the last twenty-five years.

If you ask Englishmen how they account for this progress,

in nine cases out of ten they will ascribe it to free trade. This the British merchant is forward in recommending to all foreigners; nor can there be any doubt that it has ministered to the prosperity of England. Before she adopted it, she had, under liberal institutions, made great advances in the arts of life, — opened mines of coal, tin, copper, lead, and iron, — engaged in the manufacture of flax, cotton, and wool, — and converted her clay and iron ore into earthenware and cutlery. She had nearly exhausted the capacity of her soil, — required more food to sustain her artisans, and more materials for her fabrics. As her manufactures and commerce grew, she rolled up capital, converted arable land into parks and pastures, and looked abroad for her wheat-fields and for markets for her goods. When she found that she could make goods cheaper than other nations, she sagaciously repealed her duties on food and materials, and reduced her duties on manufactures, but in few instances so low as to permit their introduction from foreign countries. France has to a certain extent followed her example, and extended her commerce. If we examine the commercial tables of each, we shall find that more than nine tenths of their imports consist of food and raw material, while at least four fifths of their exports are finished goods; and the chief manufactures they respectively import are the silks, gloves, fancy goods, and beet sugar of the one, and the iron, coarse cottons, and woollens of the other.

This system, which enables England and France to realize large profits from their commerce, and gives value to their lands and house-lots at home, is their system of free trade. But the philosopher who investigates the growth of European commerce does not ascribe the progress of either nation to free trade alone. Commercial states differ in their laws and systems of trade. England has reduced her tariff on many things, France has gone less far in this direction, as likewise Belgium, until a few years since, while the United States in their tariff have given more protection than either. And Mr. Baxter, in a lecture before the Statistical Society, in London, a few months since, proved, that, while in imports and exports, between 1842 and 1860, France had gained one hundred and sixty per cent, England two hundred and thirty-one,

and Belgium two hundred and seventy-two, the United States had gained three hundred and five per cent, in addition to their inland commerce, and thus stand at the head of progressive nations.

"Here," observed Mr. Baxter, "are four countries under the same conditions of civilization, and having access to the same mechanical powers and inventions, which far outstrip contemporary nations. It is a probable conclusion that the same great cause was the foundation of their success. What was that common cause? It could not be free trade; for only one of the four countries had adopted a free-trade policy. But there was a common cause which each and all of those four countries had pre-eminently developed, — the power of steam, steam machinery, steam navigation, and steam railways.

"I say, then, that steam was the main cause of this prodigious progress of England, as well as of the other three countries. But I will go a step further. Steam machinery had existed for many years before 1830, and before the great expansion of commerce. Steam navigation had also existed for many years before 1830, and before the great expansion of commerce; and steam navigation was unable to cope with the obstacle which before 1830 was so insuperable, namely, the slowness and expense and limited capacity of land carriage. I come, then, to this further conclusion, that the railways which removed the gigantic obstacle, and gave to land carriage such extraordinary rapidity and cheapness, and such unlimited capacity, must have been the main agent, the active and immediate cause of this sudden commercial development. Each expansion of the railway system has been immediately followed, as if by its shadow, by a great expansion of exports and imports. We ought to give railways their due credit and praise, as the chief of those mighty agents which within the last thirty years have changed the face of civilization."

The railway has doubtless been a lever more effective than free trade in removing burdens from commerce and developing the resources of nations.

Since 1815, our tariffs have given incidental protection to manufactures in varying degrees; but under them we have

more than kept pace with the adjacent colonies of Great Britain, which have been guided by the policy of England, though she has defrayed their military and naval charges, and expends upon them many millions yearly. And now, after a long and exhausting conflict, the eight million families within the limits of the United States surpass in their average incomes the families in the richest kingdoms of Europe, where wealth has accumulated for centuries.

It is not our intention to disparage free trade. We would do it entire justice. As practised in the British Isles, it has undoubtedly benefited them; and the free trade on a great scale, which here extends from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is of immense advantage to this country. Whatever lifts a burden from commerce, whether it be by the removal of a duty, the construction of a road, canal, or railway, or the establishment of a line of steam packets, is beneficial. All, too, will concede, that, if each skilled artisan is worth several thousand dollars to the country, and makes a market for the products of agriculture, it is quite as desirable to import the man as to import his fabrics. Most, likewise, will admit that it is desirable to bring the artisan as close as may be to the cornfield and the fisheries, in order to save the cost of transit, — and since the weight of taxes depends upon income, that a tax of ten dollars would be felt more in Italy than one of fifty dollars in America. One class may favor free trade, and another a protective tariff; but while men may well differ in their economical theories, is there no common ground on which the free-trader and the protectionist may meet to shape the policy of our country?

Ever since the adoption of our Constitution, it has been the practice of this country to draw most of its revenue from duties on imports. These duties have varied from time to time. During the embargo and the war of 1812, to meet the expenses of the war and the interest of the war debt, manufactures were stimulated by the high duties, and the inventive genius of our people introduced many mechanical improvements. The war debt was paid, the tariff reduced, the energies of the people were again devoted to agriculture, inland navigation, and railways, and duties fell until they averaged in

1860 but fourteen per cent. These were nearly as low as the import duties of England, although they were differently distributed. Both countries taxed spirits, wine, and sugar; but while England placed heavy imposts on tobacco, tea, and coffee, and light duties on manufactures, the United States exempted tea and coffee from duty, taxed wine, salt, cigars, and fruits lightly, and placed heavier imposts on metals and manufactures.

The United States subsequently, to meet the pressure of the civil war, and raise five hundred millions of revenue, placed heavy taxes on the products of every branch of industry, with corresponding duties on imports, extending them to tea and coffee, and carried up the average of the tariff from fourteen to forty-seven per cent. With the return of peace, the nation has succeeded, by the continuance of its onerous taxes for a few years, in reducing its debt nearly a fourth and its interest a third. It has also reduced its expenses for the current fiscal year to three hundred millions, with a prospect of cutting off sixty millions more in the coming year from bounties, interest, and payments for land. And now, having removed the imposts levied on production, we shall find it in our power, not only to repeal the taxes which bear heavily on transportation, insurance, and incomes from professions, but may spare at least one fourth of the revenue from customs. Such is the abundance of our resources, that our revenue for the current year, after every reduction, is coming in at the rate of four hundred millions, and may well be expected to rise to four hundred and twenty millions in the ensuing year, while our annual expenditure is decreasing from three hundred and twenty to two hundred and forty millions. This promises a large surplus for the coming year, and must offer a broad margin for reductions.

There is another view of the tariff question in which the free-trader and the protectionist may agree. The protectionist asks, not direct, but incidental protection. He places himself on the ground that the country requires a revenue to meet its expenses and the interest on its debt, and is content with that incidental protection which accrues from the levy of those duties that are most productive. He says that he asks for no prohibitory duties, and for none that are unnecessary. May not the free-trader go with him up to a certain point, and ac-

cept a revision of the tariff, although he may wish eventually to go farther, and to substitute direct for indirect taxation? For both will probably agree that it will be injurious to commerce to make sudden and radical changes. Let us glance for a moment at our sources of revenue.

First, we have the internal taxes, nearly half of which come from our imposts on spirits and tobacco. Here is a revenue which, when reinforced by suitable duties on foreign cigars and spirits, will in a few years, as our debt diminishes, meet the whole interest on our debt. Few will condemn the continuance of heavy imposts on articles so purely luxurious. Neither will there be any serious objection to an income tax of three per cent on coupons and dividends, which might yield fifteen millions, and yet fall lightly on accumulated wealth, — nor to light taxes on stamps, licenses, and bank circulation, — nor to a fifth of one per cent on the sales of goods and manufactures, which might yield twenty millions. We may thus, after the repeal of all onerous and annoying taxes, raise an internal revenue of one hundred and thirty millions annually.

Then we have the incidental revenue, which for the last eighteen months has yielded four millions a month, nearly half of which has been realized from sales of gold. This part of our revenue, of course, is not permanent, and will cease in that happy hour which shall carry us back to specie payments; but we may reasonably expect from incidental sources, from the sale of surplus ships and military stores, from penalties, arrears, and land-sales, at least twenty millions annually. Take, for instance, this last item, the sale of lands. While we shall realize little from ordinary sales, the nation holds in reserve, at two dollars and a half per acre, at least fifty millions of acres, within the average distance of eight miles from a railway, on more than five thousand miles of railways to which land-grants have been made. This land will be in quick demand as soon as stations and tracks are completed. Such land on the Illinois Central was readily sold at two prices, and the land secured by that company is now selling for ten to twenty dollars per acre. This for ten years to come may yield ten to fifteen millions annually. We may look, then, with confidence to incidentals for twenty millions of revenue.

If we require, as it is safe to assume, but two hundred and eighty millions of dollars for expenses, interest, and sinking fund, and can easily draw one hundred and fifty millions from internal and incidental revenue, it follows that we want but one hundred and thirty millions from customs. For the last three years our imports at gold values have been as follows: —

| | |
|---|---|
| For 1866 . . . . . | $ 432,000,000 |
| 1867 . . . . . | 392,000,000 |
| 1868 . . . . . | 349,000,000 |

For a year after the war, and while heavy imposts fell on production, our importations were large; but for the period of two years since 1866 there has been a gradual decline of eighty millions. With the recovery of the cotton crop and the revival of trade during the last spring, consumption began to revive, and is now increasing. The increase is chiefly in sugar, tea, coffee, and molasses, which are now yielding a revenue of more than sixty millions, or more than we drew from all our customs prior to the war. Before the war the Southern slave contributed little to the revenue from customs, but now, with fair wages, he can buy groceries, and our duties on groceries, if we except tea, are lighter than those of England, and bear fairly on all classes, — the rich consuming more freely than the poor. Few would wish to interfere with these duties, which yield a steady and reliable revenue, exceeding the estimates of the commissioners in 1865.

Our consumption of foreign sugar, in addition to a hundred and fifty million pounds of domestic cane and maple sugar, has risen to one thousand and fifty million pounds. The consumption of molasses exceeds sixty-three millions of gallons; that of coffee reaches two hundred and forty-five million pounds, and of tea thirty-four millions. Of these articles, tea alone calls for some modification of duty. For some years before the war the consumption was larger than it now is, and averaged one and one fifth pounds to each inhabitant. At this rate we should now have a consumption of forty-seven millions of pounds. The duty of twenty-five cents on some varieties exceeds one hundred per cent, and this not only checks importation, but leads to illicit trade. It doubtless would be wise to lower the duty

ten cents on the pound; for this, being in gold, would relieve the consumers to the extent of twenty cents a pound, if we allow for the percentage of the wholesale and retail dealer, and so promote the consumption both of tea and sugar as eventually to result in a gain to the state as well as to trade.

While we have drawn more than sixty millions from groceries, we have derived at least one hundred and four millions from other importations. And our first inquiry will be, can any of the duties on these imports be reduced or removed with benefit to the revenue? We will begin with tobacco.

The tobacco we import differs from our own in flavor, and is used chiefly for making cigars. While the native leaf is exempt from tax, the foreign bears a duty of fifty cents a pound, or more than one hundred per cent; and this checks the manufacture of cigars, in which the Connecticut leaf is used for the wrapper, and the Spanish for filling. A reduction of duty on the latter to twenty cents a pound would aid the revenue both directly and indirectly, since the cigars thus made pay an impost of three dollars per thousand.

The duty on foreign cigars, *ad valorem* and specific, has averaged nearly four dollars a pound, or more than sixty dollars per thousand, while our home-made cigars are taxed less than one twentieth of that amount. This high duty has raised the retail price from four cents at Havana to twenty cents in New York, and might be reduced with great benefit to the revenue: for whereas, in 1859, under a low duty, the importation of cigars amounted to eight hundred and twenty-nine millions, it has now fallen to twenty millions, — a decrease of more than ninety-seven per cent. Though a partial reduction has already been made, it has not been sufficient to revive the importation; but there is little reason to doubt that a duty of one dollar a pound would so stimulate imports as greatly to increase the revenue. If we allow for the growth of the country during the last nine years, the cigars imported should now be eleven hundred millions; but if, by a duty of one dollar a pound, we could revive even the importation of 1859, the revenue would rise from a million to more than ten millions, and the increase of revenue on tobacco and cigars together would probably attain to twelve millions of dollars.

During the past year, the consumption has been largely supplied by the illicit trade. The sailor finds it easy to make fifty dollars by taking a few boxes ashore under his pea-jacket. The obliging officer of customs is propitiated by a broken package as he opens the trunk, and allows five hundred or a thousand to pass free as sea-stores or private baggage; and the government thus loses no small sum, on the arrival of each packet from Cuba. The remedy is obvious and simple. The duty cannot be collected. Let it be put at fifteen dollars a thousand, or one dollar a pound, and a death-blow will be given to smuggling. Let not one pound of tobacco or cigars escape as sea-stores. If an attempt be made to introduce the article as baggage, let the baggage be confiscated, as it is in England. Under the charges proposed, the Spanish cigar might be again bought in American cities for six dollars a hundred.

At the present moment, little or no pure brandy or gin can reach the people of this country. The average cost of these liquors does not exceed a dollar a gallon, but they are excluded by duties which average three dollars in gold; and thus the cost is carried up to five or six dollars a gallon. Under this system, the importation, which in 1860 reached six and a half millions of gallons, and in the due course of things should now exceed eight millions, has fallen to one seventh of that quantity, or to one and a tenth million gallons, in 1868. Wine has declined from nine to about five millions of gallons in the same time, under high duties. Were the duty to fall to two dollars a gallon on the alcohol they contain, with a further charge of three dollars a dozen on all imported in glass, we might at once carry our revenue from these sources up to ten millions. At present little or no pure spirit can reach the invalid. It cannot be procured. A distinguished chemist in New York, who imports the essence of Cognac and other flavors, testified before the revenue commissioner that but one gallon in ninety-nine of the spirit sold under the names of Cognac and Hollands was genuine. Is not the question merely this: Shall the nation, or the illicit trader and counterfeiter, profit by the consumption of alcohol?

The importation of spices, since 1860, has receded from

thirteen to seven millions of pounds. These vary in cost from three cents to sixty cents a pound. Pepper has cost on the coast of Sumatra, or in Holland, less than three cents, while mace, nutmegs, and cinnamon are much more expensive. The average cost of all, however, has been but a trifle over six cents a pound. On these spices the duties range from fifteen to fifty cents a pound, and average more than *three hundred* per cent. Such duties no wise government will undertake to collect. We often hear of seizures of the oil or essence of cloves on the frontier. The keen smuggler compresses his spices into the smallest compass, and easily evades the officer. A reduction in these duties of at least two thirds would benefit both the revenue and the morals of the nation.

Spices occupy little space; but there is another condiment, essential to man and animals, more bulky and more important, which suffers from oppressive duties, — that is, *salt*. The best salt is made by solar heat in the lagoons of Spain, Sicily, and the West Indies, or is found in mineral form near Liverpool, and sells at the ship's side for a dollar or a dollar and a half per ton, equivalent to four or six cents a bushel; and, in countries where light duties are imposed, the consumption is in the ratio of fifty thousand tons to a million of people. Thus, in New Brunswick, where the duty is but three per cent, the annual importation approaches fifteen thousand tons, — New Brunswick having a population of three hundred thousand. The people are chiefly engaged in the shipment of timber, and the return ships often bring salt in place of ballast. The Province has the triple advantage of low prime cost, low freights, and low charges; and were the United States to have the same advantage, with their forty millions of people, they might absorb a proportionate amount, or two millions of tons.

In 1860 we consumed in the United States, under a duty of fifteen per cent, eighteen hundred millions of pounds, or more than eight hundred thousand tons, of which four hundred and sixty thousand were imported. Were our consumption proportionate to our growth in population, we should import to-day at least six hundred thousand tons; but our duties have been advanced to an average of four dollars and sixty cents per ton, that is, to at least three hundred per cent in place of

fifteen per cent; and our importation has declined to two hundred thousand tons, while our manufacture remains comparatively stationary. Is it the true policy of this country to maintain in peace war duties exceeding three hundred per cent on such an indispensable article? Would it not benefit the revenue to carry up the importation to eleven hundred thousand, or possibly to two millions, of tons, at a lower duty? and would it not give a stimulus to other productions, and indirectly an increase of revenue, if we should abrogate the duty altogether?

If by our tariff we exclude a million tons, more or less, do we not deprive our ships, that carry breadstuffs to the British Isles, petroleum, fish, and timber to Spain, Italy, and the West Indies, of return cargoes? Do we not deprive our railways of at least half a million tons of freight, in the cars which return empty to the West, after bringing cereals or cattle to the sea-coast? Can our ships afford to lose two millions of dollars, and our railways as much more? During the past summer sugar and coffee have been sent at six dollars a ton to Chicago, to occupy vacant space in cars and propellers moving westward. Might not that space be well filled by salt?

But it will be urged, What will become of the manufacture at Syracuse, Saginaw, and on the Kanawha? We answer, It has the protection of the freight from Europe and the West Indies to Western cities, equivalent to at least eight dollars a ton, or to a duty of several hundred per cent, which should be sufficient. If it is not, let us resume the duty we had before the insurrection; and if this double protection will not suffice, then the manufacture, in which but three millions of capital were embarked before the war, must give way to more important interests. The quality of the imported salt is superior to that of the domestic, better preserving both fish and meat. It moves in the right direction to give return freight. It does not consume our forests or our coal in the vain attempt to produce by artificial heat what elsewhere Nature has in her bounty made gratuitous. On one side we must place, first, the interest of our people in the acquisition of a great and essential staple of a better quality at the lowest cost; secondly, the freight which half a million tons at least would give to ships and railways, amount-

ing to not less than four millions of dollars; thirdly, the duty received by the state. On the other side we have only the interest of some two hundred thousand dollars on three millions of capital, and the employment of a less number of men than would be engaged in the transportation of the imported article. Our salt-springs can easily supply the districts around them, and now give striking proof of their productiveness by exporting to Canada some sixteen thousand tons annually. Protected by the cost of transportation, and provided in part with fuel by the waste of the saw-mill, they would doubtless maintain their position, and keep in reserve some fuel near them to furnish the nation with salt in time of war; but the nation would gain, by the reduction of the duty to ten or twenty cents per ton, a sum sufficient to meet the interest on all the capital invested in salt-works.

There is one great interest, the fisheries, — the school of our navy, in which twenty-eight thousand seamen were employed in 1862, — which peculiarly feels the pressure of this duty. At the instance of the West, the remission of duties, once allowed them as a bounty, has ceased. While France and Canada grant large bounties, the only allowance made to our fishermen is a drawback on salt used on the ocean, which they might buy in the Provinces. They still pay a duty of three hundred per cent on salt used ashore, while their rivals in the Bay of Fundy and Straits of Canso or Newfoundland pay a duty of only three per cent on the salt which both consume so largely.

Our fishermen, our mercantile marine, and our navy, as also the West, which finds with these a market it may lose, are interested in the removal of the duty on salt.

To pass now to wool. In 1864 we sent out fleets of vessels to Africa, Australia, and the La Plata for wool, and imported eighty-eight millions of pounds, which was made into cloth. Our duties were then but three cents a pound on wool costing less than twelve cents, and but six cents a pound on wool costing from twelve to twenty-four cents. Since the war, although the apparent necessity has ceased, the wool-growers and manufacturers have combined to raise the tax both on wool and woollens, and the duty on all but the very coarsest wool for carpets has been advanced to an average of

*fourteen* cents a pound. This duty is imposed on an article which cost on the average but seventeen cents when the advance was made, and which declined to fourteen cents during the last autumn.

Why should we pay a hundred per cent on wool, if we wish to compete in manufactures with other nations? If on the plains of La Plata or on the savannas of Africa the merino can be pastured through the year, and the fine mestiza wool sold for fourteen cents a pound, why should we tempt our farmers to leave dairies for sheep, and to set aside the cheese-press and the churn, when cheese commands seventeen cents and butter half a dollar a pound in our markets? If the Ohio or Vermont farmers cannot afford their wool for less than five times the price of that of the valley of the La Plata, let them not drive the *rancheros* into the dairy or beef-packing business, which gives such liberal returns. Do our Western farms, which government sells for a dollar and a quarter per acre, or gives outright to the actual settler, require protection, when France, England, and Belgium, with pastures worth four hundred dollars the acre, and with seventy millions of sheep in their possession, admit wool free of duty, and are farther advanced in the manufacture of cloth?

Two years since, we advanced our duties on wool and woollens. We did it upon the delusive theory, that fine wool ought to cost over thirty-two cents a pound, and pay a specific coupled with an ad valorem duty. Then we assumed that woollens should pay a duty of fifty cents a pound for every pound of wool, jute, or cotton they contained, in addition to a heavy ad valorem duty. Meanwhile our trade with La Plata, Southern Africa, and Australia is broken up. Our importation of wool falls from eighty-eight millions of pounds in 1864 to twenty-three millions in 1868, — a decline almost unprecedented in the annals of commerce. Our ships are thrown out of employment: for the return freight of wool gave them two thirds of their profits, — and the foreigner cannot buy the outward cargo, unless we take his wool in payment. Our factories lose their supplies. The merchant loses the export of flour, furniture, fish, petroleum, coarse cottons, and woodenware to the Cape and La Plata; and the wool, diverted from

our factories, passes on to the factories of England, France, and Belgium, and is there converted into cloth. Nor is this the end of the evil. The cloth comes over to Halifax, St. John, and Montreal, seeks the frontier, and, with little respect for our duties of eighty or a hundred per cent, finds its way into our territory; and tours of pleasure are made across the border to replenish wardrobes.

The whole measure from beginning to end has been a mistake, and our woollen trade is depressed. England, France, and Belgium have long since abandoned the idea of a duty on wool, and have thus made their manufactures successful, while they are still among the largest sheep-producers of the world.

But whatever may be done with the duties on woollens, there are few articles made from wool abroad which are not manufactured here, and consequently do not compete with our own manufactures. Lastings, serge, and plush, however, which are not made here, are used extensively in the manufacture of ladies' and children's boots and shoes; and the single city of Lynn pays more than two millions yearly for these materials, which are now subject to a duty of eighty-five per cent. The shoe-manufacture has in the last decade been raised from a trade to an art. The lapstone and the leather apron have been discarded. The steam-engine and the sewing-machine have superseded the hammer and the awl. Mechanism, in its various forms, prepares and fashions the slipper and the gaiter-boot, and relieves the artisan from the fatigue and monotony of a wearisome life. Should we hamper such a progressive branch of industry with duties of eighty-five per cent on the material it is compelled to import?

Again, we might indirectly add to our revenue by reducing, if not removing, duties on drugs, dyestuffs, and raw material; and if we wish to increase our revenue from customs, and to buy Brussels carpets for one and three eighths dollars a yard, as we did ten years since, instead of paying three dollars, as now, we must go back to the rates of duty that preceded the insurrection.

On cotton cloth there can be no occasion now for a heavy and almost prohibitory duty of five cents per square yard, when printing-cloth is produced in England for about that

price per yard. No intelligent cotton manufacturer in Massachusetts calls for such a duty. Thirty-five to forty per cent is the maximum demanded; and if we would draw a revenue from this branch of imports, which is declining, while the importation of groceries is on the increase, we must reduce the prohibitory duty.

Who will object, if, for the purpose of creating revenue, we give vitality to trade by bringing down to thirty-five per cent all duties that exceed that rate, and making those duties specific? Our limits will not suffice to discuss such a measure in detail; but it may surprise the reader to know that an analysis of our imports for the year ending last June, which were valued at three hundred and forty-nine millions of dollars in gold, shows that sugar, tea, coffee, molasses, spices, and seeds made up one third of them, — that manufactures and metals formed but another third, — and that miscellaneous articles, of which hides and specie were a fourth, constituted the remaining third.

If we except a portion of the tax on tea, the duties on the first class are satisfactory, and ample to produce sixty-five millions, or half the revenue now required from customs: in the past year they actually yielded sixty millions in gold. As respects the third class, or miscellaneous articles, we can easily draw at least twenty millions from wines, spirit, and tobacco, and five millions more from a few other articles of luxury, and let the rest go free. All, therefore, that we shall require from the second class, or tissues, metals, hardware, earthen and glass ware, amounting to one hundred and eighteen millions of dollars, will be less than thirty-five per cent, or forty millions of dollars.

Let us first particularize a few items in the three classes on which a reduction would benefit revenue. Among these are wheat and flour, oats and potatoes, lumber, fish, and coal, pig-iron and steel, tea and spices.

If we levy a duty on the first two, we endanger the freights that we should realize on their transportation, with the commissions on their sales, and divert the chief part of them down the St. Lawrence to the ships of England, instead of benefiting our own ships and cities. Great Britain requires a large part of

the surplus of American produce, and will not pay us an intermediate duty. All duties on these articles can result in little beside loss of profits.

On oats and potatoes the duties are prohibitory. The oats which might best supply the northern villages of New England cross the ocean; while the potato, shut out from our seaports by a duty of one hundred per cent, or twenty-five cents in gold per bushel, is given in the Provinces to swine, to supply the place of the corn-fed pork formerly imported from the West. It is easy to show that both parties lose by the impost. Vegetables of quality superior to our own, and easily transported, are lost to the former consumers, while they are applied by the growers with less profit to the production of inferior lard and bacon.

The duty on lumber is collected largely from the prairie farmer or the humbler classes, who cannot indulge in the comforts of a brick or stone mansion, and who must provide themselves with a home before they can buy dutiable articles.

As respects fish, the present duty on mackerel and herrings may be reduced with advantage both to the revenue and to our poor, — especially to the latter, as the impost on these articles approaches closely to their prime cost. It is painful to think that the poorest classes suffer most from the present exclusion of these necessaries of life.

Coal is another essential. All our seaports, except those at the mouths of the Hudson, Delaware, and Susquehanna, are remote from coal-mines, and very far from the deposits of bituminous coal. While the coal of Pennsylvania suffices for the grate and the furnace in dwellings, our Eastern seaboard requires the bituminous coal for its gas-works, iron furnaces, and ocean steamers, — also that iron ore be easily accessible.

While there is no coal, and a very indifferent supply of iron ore, east of the Delaware, and even that quite distant from the seaboard, Nova Scotia, directly opposite the New England coast, is underlaid by bituminous coal. Beds of it from twenty to thirty feet thick are found within a mile of navigable waters; and a vessel may sail for thirty miles along the Bay of Fundy, almost under the shadow of the Cobequid Mountains lined

with iron-stone. Most of the mines of Nova Scotia belong to citizens of the United States, who have furnished the capital to open them. Under the Treaty of Reciprocity, they sent their coal to New England and New York, where it was free from duty; but with the repeal of the treaty a specific duty of a dollar and a quarter per ton, equal to the prime cost at the mine, fell upon the miner, repressing all his energies. Under the treaty the mines of Pennsylvania prospered, their coal being employed for domestic purposes, while the provincial coal found other uses. The Pennsylvania coal was used, and still is used, freely in the houses of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, on account of its peculiar properties; and there can be no reasonable doubt that a reduction of the duty on coal, and the free admission of iron ores, will benefit both trade and revenue.

In the great conflict already begun in manufactures between New England and Old England, cheap iron is essential to the success of the former. It enters into the wheel, the shafting, the spindle, and the loom, the rail and the steamship, into tools and implements of every kind. While England raises from the mine more iron ore than the United States, the latter consumes more than the former of the articles into which it is wrought.

We are rich in ores, but our great deposits are in Western Pennsylvania, Missouri, and Michigan, from two hundred to a thousand miles from the ocean, while the rich ores of Nova Scotia and Great Britain fringe their sea-coasts. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Missouri must therefore be the great seats of the manufacture of our native iron, and do a vast business; but the seaports of New England must draw a large part of their pig metal from the more accessible mines and furnaces of the British Empire, as return freight, like salt, in the ships which take out breadstuffs.

Great Britain and her maritime colonies in America require annually a hundred million bushels of breadstuffs, and fifty per cent more in years like the last. We must expect to take some of their products in exchange; and what more desirable than their salt, iron, and tin? The tin now exceeds in value the pig-iron, and furnishes a basis for a large manufacture.

We have no mines of tin, and its admission gives offence to no one. The pig-iron, at the duty which satisfies France, — namely, four dollars per ton, — would not go far into the interior; but it would stimulate the manufactures of the seaboard, where it would come into healthful competition with American iron.

Before the war, pig-iron was sold in Boston for twenty-four dollars per ton: it now commands forty-eight; and it is well understood that laborers at the furnaces of Pennsylvania have revelled in salaries that exceed the earnings of many of the clergy, lawyers, physicians, judges, and governors of New England and the West.* Is it the policy of the United States to exclude imports and keep down revenue by duties that bring such results?

Our vast interior furnishes an ample market for most of our American iron, and if we reduce our present duty from nine dollars, which is sixty per cent, to six dollars, or forty per cent, the reduction of three dollars cannot send the imported iron more than three hundred miles from the sea-coast. Within this distance it will meet our own in fair competition. It will swell revenue, and give an impulse to all other manufactures.

By the Bessamer process, pig-iron is easily converted into steel, and steel rails have been supplied in England at the moderate price of three cents a pound, or sixty-six dollars per ton. On many of our trunk lines of railway — such as the Reading, Erie, and New York Central — these rails are indispensable; as the iron rails, on sections where there is a confluence of traffic from many branches, give way in less than two years, while the steel rail will endure for twenty, and the steel rail must consequently be substituted to avoid frequent renewals and accidents. Our present duty on such rails is two and a quarter cents a pound, and Pennsylvania presses for an increase of all duties upon steel. The friends of cheap transportation and moderate prices should favor a reduction to thirty-five per cent on this important material.

Our importations of fruit do not exceed two millions of dollars annually. The fruit trade is chiefly with the Mediterranean ports, and is important, as it has for many years fur-

* The iron-puddlers at Pittsburg have been paid from six to nine dollars per day.

nished the chief return for our fish, oil, and alcohol shipped to the South of Europe and Turkey. Much, too, of the fruit—such as lemons, oranges, prunes, and figs—is rarely produced in this country, except in portions of Florida, where the trees are periodically destroyed by frosts. These fruits are conducive to health, go far into the interior, and furnish excellent return freights for steamers and railways.

Now while we collect a duty of twenty-five per cent on oranges, grapes, lemons, and pine-apples, we subject almonds, currants, dates, figs, nuts, plums, prunes, and raisins to average duties of five cents a pound, or more than one hundred per cent on their average cost. Why this distinction? and why should such duties be levied on articles so refreshing, so acceptable to all classes of people? They do not compete with our manufactures, but aid our commerce. Surely they should be free, or, at all events, not subject to duties exceeding twenty cents a box on lemons and oranges, and one cent a pound on nuts and dried fruit.

Then there are seeds, important staples of commerce, which we import from Europe and Asia, and on which the duties are not only excessive, but anomalous. Thus, we impose a duty of sixteen cents a bushel on linseed, and a dollar and sixty cents a bushel on canary seed, half a cent a pound on rape seed, fifty cents a pound on cardamom seeds, two cents on fennel, three on mustard and coriander, five on cumin, ten on anise star seed, twenty per cent on medicinal, and thirty per cent on garden seeds. Why should we continue such extravagant war duties, and make such nice distinctions? The lowest duty of all, that on linseed, is objectionable, as it raises the cost of paint, so essential to the preservation and beautifying of our houses. Should not these articles be free, or subject to merely nominal duties?

The white marble of Italy is rarely found in perfection in large blocks in this country, and in but few quarries of Italy or Greece, except those of Carrara. If we desire a block of this marble for statuary or monumental purposes, we must not only pay a specific duty of a dollar per cubic foot, but also twenty-five per cent additional as ad valorem duty. These duties may have sufficed, during the late conflict, to drive our

sculptors to the war; but why should we compel them and the patrons of art, men of taste and fortune, to resort to Italy, whether they will or no, and import but eighty cubic feet of white marble, as we did in 1865, under imposts almost prohibitory?

While Great Britain allows all nations to build ships for her, and contribute to the growth of her commercial marine, and while her own subjects build more vessels than all other nations combined, we have lost or parted with a third of our shipping, and now by our legislation have carefully provided that our loss shall be permanent.

First, we have provided that no ship built in any country except our own shall be registered or enrolled or have the privileges of our shipping in the United States. Secondly, we have provided also that no vessel built within our limits, and placed for safety under the flag of any other nation, shall ever return under our own flag. Thirdly, we have imposed such duties on iron, cables, sails, rigging, and other materials, and so debased our currency, that no provident shipbuilder dares construct vessels for sale.

Is this prohibitory legislation wise or salutary? or should it not at once be modified or repealed? At the present moment trade is sadly depressed in the British Provinces. Ships can be built there at extremely low prices; and we require vessels to carry our coal coastwise, and to transport to Europe our large crops of cereals. Nova Scotia, the chief of the maritime provinces, has just taken the position, that she has, without her own consent, against her interests, and in violation of her charter, been legislated into the Dominion, from which she recoils. As we have no wish to build up a powerful nation on our northern frontier, — a creation of Great Britain, half royal, half republican, — would it not be wise for us to modify our laws for a few years to come, and allow Nova Scotia and Prince Edward's Island to build ships for us, admit them and the vessels that left our flag at a small duty, and concede that duty to our shipbuilders? If we wish for new propellers and steamships, we must either remit seven dollars for each ton built, or remit the duties. By such a policy we could not only recover a large portion of our loss, but establish also

the most friendly relations with the maritime provinces, and thus benefit our commerce. And is it either just or wise for a nation that gave no convoy during the war, and was unable to protect its ships from cruisers, to ostracize either its subjects or its ships because they were put under a friendly flag? In all wars it has been common for nations whose shipping was exposed to resort to a friendly flag. It was for the interest of our nation that its shipping should be preserved, and it savors of cruelty to punish those who contributed to its safety. The unarmed merchantman could not fight, and could render better service to the country under a friendly flag than under our own. And have we not reason to fear that those men who have opposed the return of our ships, and have claimed to be ultra-patriotic, have made their patriotism a cloak for a spirit that would exclude rivalry and monopolize commerce?

We have glanced at some of the striking features of our tariff, and at some of its anomalous provisions. It has appeared that we can draw at least one hundred and twenty-five millions from our present duties on sugar, coffee, and molasses, and from reduced duties on metals and manufactures, spirit, wines, cigars, and tobacco (a few leading articles), — that we may easily extract five millions more from a few other staples, and thus can afford to place nearly a fourth of our importations, including wool, hides, drugs, dyestuffs, and other materials, and many trifling articles, on the free list. By confining our duties to a few articles, and extending our free list, we may revive foreign commerce, and reduce the cost of collection; and by thus diminishing the cost of the civil service, we shall further reduce the amount of revenue required. We may thus at once, after reserving ample revenue, bring down our tariff nearly half-way to its level before the war, or from forty-seven to an average of thirty-three per cent, — and as our debt and interest diminish with the improvement of our revenue, year by year grant further relief. Already we have reduced our debt more than a fifth, our interest a third, and our expenses one half. We have made progress in our campaign, and are now fighting successfully the great battles of peace. With growing exports, and larger returns from cotton, at its present

price, than we realized before the war, with our interest reduced to one hundred and twenty-five millions, and our bounties paid, we may soon hope to bring down our expenses to one hundred millions, and to return to a gold and silver currency. The completion of the Pacific railway in June will be a great measure of free trade. The Republican party is pledged by its platform to reduce and simplify our taxes; and with honesty and intelligence at the helm, our debt will resolve itself into four or five per cent consols, the interest on it be paid by the imposts on spirit and tobacco, and our nation be free to devote itself to the development of the continent.

E. H. Derby.

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Art. IV. — *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Richard Steele, Soldier, Dramatist, Essayist, and Patriot, with his Correspondence, and Notices of his Contemporaries, the Wits and Statesmen of Queen Anne's Time.* By Henry R. Montgomery. Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo. 1865.

In one of those naïve sketches by which Émile Souvestre gently sought to correct the melodramatic tendencies of his countrymen, he describes a young Parisian visiting the provincial estate to which he had fallen heir, and the disgust with which he contemplated the obsolete furniture, frugal arrangements, and grim family portraits of the domain. Having determined to sell the whole inheritance, and retired to the uninviting bedroom to sleep, he had a vivid dream, wherein the ancestral effigies so repulsive to his taste seemed endowed with life, and successively stood at his bedside. The first described the laborious life which enabled him at last to purchase land, and leave it to his son, whose industry resulted in the erection of a substantial dwelling. His successor entered the army and won a name for the family, which, thus provided with means and honor, was next represented by an educated citizen, whose heir, in turn, by his legal training and official rank, still further increased its prestige and wealth, which

became consolidated into civic position and a handsome income through the self-denying economy and wise conduct of the next heir, who was thereby enabled to leave the new inheritor resources adequate to an eminent social position and life of leisure, open to all the refined enjoyments and broad culture of the present age. The young heir awoke with a sentiment of gratitude and respect for the progenitors on whose "counterfeit presentments" he had looked so disdainfully. He recognized his obligations to those who had gone before, and became, for the first time, conscious, in his own person, of the gradual process, the antecedent toils, sacrifices, and fidelity, through which he had attained his present advantages.

There is an analogous lesson to be learned by the recipients of intellectual benefits. The average culture of one age is the bequest of a preceding; the means and methods whereby taste is improved and knowledge acquired have been earned for us, often by long and patient work and noble self-denial; and among the benignities of the literature which is our peerless heritage, one of the most precious, because the least exclusive, is its social element, — the labor of love that softened pedantry into pleasure, that, by sympathetic tact, transformed the scholastic into the companionable, and made cloistered philosophy as "familiar as household words."

The times of Steele are, perhaps, more familiar to us than any other period of English history, as regards their political and social traits. Macaulay, in his reviews of the chief writers of that age, has incidentally, but with much detail, described them; and in Thackeray's novel of "Esmond" we have many graphic and salient phases of the period. Between the robust and affluent development of the age of Bacon and Shakespeare, and the more refined and general culture of our own day, the reign of Anne seems to occupy a kind of table-land in the historic landscape, boasting no such degrees or qualities of literary genius as the highest exemplars of either period, but, when thoughtfully contemplated, revealing the dawn of that average intelligence and the harbingers of those great reforms which distinguish modern Anglo-Saxon civilization. Especially is this apparent in the more enlightened appreciation and more humane expedients through which society has become culti-

vated, and criticism profound and elaborate. We recognize in the softened spirit of the public amusements and civil laws of the present day the advanced standard which the minor moralists of those days inaugurated, and refer the cosmopolitan and refined tone of Hazlitt and Arnold to the new relish for the amenities of literature and life originally excited by Steele and his contemporaries.

While Montaigne is justly entitled to the credit of having originated the social element of modern literature, by adapting his vernacular, when a dead language was the distinction of scholars and the monopoly of thinkers, to the expression of thoughts near to the average experience of human nature, to the diffusion of knowledge and the "division of the records of the mind," — while an effort was made in the same direction by Lord Bacon, with, however, a certain stiffness and stateliness of diction, the reverse of colloquial, — and while Abram Cowley and Sir William Temple imparted a new ease and elegance to the same species of writing, and La Bruyère memorably adventured in characterization, which subsequently formed so desirable a phase therein, — yet the originator of the social element in English literature was Sir Richard, as he was known in political history, or, as we best identify him in literary retrospect, Dick Steele. Without discussing the question of his merits as a writer, compared with his contemporaries, and especially Addison, it is enough to recognize the fact that the idea of a colloquial critic and censor first found adequate illustration in his pen, — that the fresh and free streams of knowledge, the wit and wisdom whose benign purveyors are his lineal descendants, first obtained currency and were made a circulating medium by his apt hand, warm heart, and frank utterance. Expanded, intensified, and diversified as the social element of literature has become, we can yet distinctly trace it to this source, — transmitted from "Tatler" to "Rambler," from "Citizen of the World" to "Man of Feeling," from "Seer" to "Friend," from "Table-Talk" to "Sketch-Book," and so on to "Noctes Ambrosianæ," — now imposing in Edinburgh or piquant in Saturday Review, overflowing with the pathos of rhetoric in Carlyle or its brilliancy in Macaulay, naïvely quaint, tender, and true with humor in Elia,

profound in Coleridge, enjoyable in Hunt, cheery with sense in Sydney Smith, acutely æsthetic in Hazlitt, practical in De Foe and Franklin, eloquently paradoxical in Ruskin, ingenuously winsome in Goldsmith, hearty in tone or kindled and shaded with sentiment in Wilson, graceful in Irving, or grandiose in Johnson. Each and all of these, as well as numerous other writers, are distinguished from their predecessors by this genial social element, which has worked so great a revolution in the relation of letters to humanity, making them interfuse and interpret each other. That Steele consciously traced his felicitous literary enterprise to social inspiration is manifest from his remark about Swift's conversation, which he describes as "very advantageous to one whose imagination was to be continually employed upon obvious and common subjects, though at the same time obliged to treat them in a new and unbeaten method." He was, indeed, far more of a companion than a scholar; his writings are as desultory as they are incomplete; with the exception of the comedies and some of the more elaborate essays, he wrote hastily, often on the spur of the moment, and whenever the mood or necessity prompted; for he was often pressed for "copey" at the last moment, and not infrequently the printer's devil waited at club, tavern, or office-desk, while he finished a page. Yet few writers have been more industrious. He wrote a poem called "The Procession" before he was of age, and in the intervals of his serial publications and dramatic pieces he issued the "Lady's Library," "Poetical Miscellanies," etc. And, besides his official routine and parliamentary duties, he was often busy upon some financial scheme, like the project of a patent fish-pool, whereby fish could be brought alive from all parts of the coast to London. He was an able and early advocate of Toleration, and his social talents were in constant requisition; so that, with political, official, and literary work, few men of the day were more busy and efficient than Steele in his prime. The "ardor of his politics" contrasts with the good temper of his censorship, and his want of thrift with his disinterested public spirit. Conviviality and extravagance are the only blots on his fair fame; there is not the slightest evidence to justify Macaulay's surmise that he gambled, and his disparagement of Steele is

a rhetorical expedient into which he was led by his partial estimate of Addison.

Steele was one of those men of whom it is said, that "they are their own worst enemies." Of sanguine temperament and ardent feelings, he possessed in large measure both the noble qualities and the weaknesses usually allied with them. All the inconsistencies that may coexist with a genuine love of right and truth, united to impulses of candor and generosity, mark his conduct; recklessness blended with benevolence, improvidence combined with occasional resolves of prudence and economy, and a social inclination too strong for the obligations of duty, alternately win and repel us; but the lovable qualities of the man soften our censure of his frequent want of self-control. At the commencement of his literary and official career, a thousand pounds which he borrowed of Addison he promptly repaid; but from first to last he was embarrassed by debt, often at a loss to provide for immediate wants, and continually resorting to the temporary expedients of the spendthrift. He lived at a time when to drink deeply was the habit of society, and he is as frank in acknowledging his weakness in this respect as he is irresolute in its amendment. It is a surprise to those who follow his pecuniary troubles to the end to find that his debts were so small in comparison with those which at the present day bring extravagant authors to bankruptcy: he gave up his property to his creditors, and when their claims were satisfied there remained a very considerable sum for his children. He forfeited an inheritance in his youth by his independent course, his West India property depreciated in value, and his wife's patrimony was so heavily mortgaged that the income derivable therefrom only sufficed to meet the expenses of his children's education. He was, therefore, often wholly dependent upon the avails of his pen and his appointments, and both were precarious. Still it is apparent that a little method, a systematic expenditure, and occasional retrenchment would have kept him free from the perpetual vexation and anxiety incident to pecuniary straits. These sadly marred the dignity of his life, disturbed the tranquil exercise of his mind, and exposed him to the shafts of malevolence. Alive to his parental obligations,

he was at times keenly remorseful; he had not the patience to hoard, nor the self-denial to regulate his resources; he gave away injudiciously, was often imposed upon, and never vigilant in regard to his own interest: yet he was too little of a courtier to sacrifice his honest convictions for gain, and while dodging a creditor would relieve a beggar and entertain friends, when a more prudent man would have grudged the outlay. Two anecdotes illustrate the occasions of Steele's conviviality. When in Edinburgh, as commissioner of the forfeited estates, he caused his servants to invite the poor in the neighborhood of his lodgings to an entertainment, at which he presided with graceful urbanity; and of this feast of beggars, he declared that it not only gave him the pleasure of filling many empty stomachs, but yielded him excellent materials for a comedy. To this, his first literary sphere, he reverted, when his periodicals had, one after another, come to an end, and partly wrote two plays, one of which was entitled "The School of Action," and the other "The Gentleman." A contemporary writer apologizes for Steele's over-indulgence "at the Trumpet" by saying that "he had to celebrate the memory of King William, and at the same time to drink his friend Addison up to conversation pitch."

Richard Steele was born in Dublin in 1671, and died at Carmarthen, Wales, in 1729. His father died when the son was eight years of age, and he appears to have derived the best of his early impressions from his mother, of whom his reminiscences, though limited, are full of tender admiration. He married from love a fair and excellent girl, who lived but a short time, and to whom he alludes in his writings with fond praise. Of his second marriage we have a full account in his correspondence; it originated in the most devoted affection and esteem, and contributed immeasurably to his happiness. Of the three children that blessed this union, Eugene, a youth of singular promise, died some years before the period of manhood; a daughter, Mary, was also taken away within a year of his own demise; another daughter, Elizabeth, who seems to have inherited much of her mother's worth and loveliness and her father's magnetic attraction, and whose charms made her the object of pursuit by numerous lovers, among them Richard Savage, and one of whom it required all the

father's epistolary skill to keep from continuing addresses which were not responded to, eventually married a gentleman of distinction named Trevor. Steele was knighted by George I. in 1714. The last years of his life, after an ineffectual attempt to revive his failing health by a long sojourn at Bath, were passed in retirement in Wales, where his wife's estate was situated. The record of his domestic, official, and literary life is complete; but little is known of its secluded close, except that he found solace in the contemplation of Nature, in the exercise of benevolence, and in the frequent perusal of the Scriptures. An old contributor to the "Tatler" dedicated a work to him in warm terms of gratitude and respect, long after his name and pen had ceased to exert immediate influence in the busy world; we have an earnest letter of recommendation which he wrote to Walpole in behalf of a worthy aspirant for office; and there is a characteristic anecdote of his custom on summer evenings of sitting out on the green, near his residence, to watch the sports of the rustics, and giving an order to the best dancer for a dress. The same authority informs us that his life ebbed calmly away from the slow encroachments of paralysis, which weakened his mental as well as bodily vigor, but failed to cloud the serene spirit of old age or to change the cheerful sweetness of his temper.

His first civil appointment, that of gazetteer, had made him familiar with the efficiency of periodical and cheap publications as a means of reaching the "business and bosoms" of men through the press; his earliest literary enterprise, the little treatise called "The Christian Hero," written during his brief military career, as the record of his earnest moral convictions and a pledge of his own reformation, had revealed a talent for popular ethical writing; and thus observation and practice combined to inspire him with a just estimate of the use and beauty of this kind of literature. And the popular mind was at the same time prepared to accept and encourage it, because of the social charm which belonged to the favorite comedies of the day. Indeed, this class of dramatic writing first brought literature home to the average sympathies of society, by reproducing its characteristics and satirizing its follies. The classic drama in France appealed

chiefly to the educated class, but with Molière the true and intimate relations of literature and society were made apparent; people came thus to feel that life and letters had a subtile and sympathetic bond; the one interpreted the other; to hear on the stage the language of the *salon*, the *café*, and the street was a pastime that opened a new intellectual pleasure to the multitude. It was the same with Goldoni in Italy; the most illiterate Venetian could appreciate the truth of his pictures of manners and the significance of his dialogue, the subjects and phrases of which were borrowed from actual and familiar life. Thus in England the comedies of Wycherley, Congreve, Farquhar, Vanbrugh, and others, by making the drama a social instead of an historical amusement, prepared the way for the colloquial censorship of Steele. And in this sphere also his own success had been memorable. When he exchanged the barracks for the library, the mess-room for the literary club, he first tried his hand at comedy. "The Funeral, or Grief á la Mode," "The Lying Lover," "The Constant Lovers," and "The Tender Husband," were all popular plays, especially the last; and they were entirely free from the obscene innuendoes and immoral tone which degraded his predecessors. Indeed, the chief fault found with Steele's comedies was that their serious aim overlaid their vivacious style; but there is often a naïve grace in the dialogue, and a true feeling in the characters, which give them a certain attraction even now on the reading; and, besides the sprightly irony, they have the noble distinction of a purity which reformed the school of English comedy.

Thus equipped, with fame as a dramatist, experience as a compiler of news, and practice as a literary moralist, Steele set himself heartily at work to "expose the false arts of life, to pull off the disguises of cunning, vanity, and affectation, and to recommend simplicity of dress, manners, and behavior." The title of his semi-weekly talk with the public had in itself a charm for readers to whom wit and taste might have appealed in vain: it implied gossip, and every fancy sketch whereby the author sought to illustrate the foibles of the day was confidently applied to some well-known individual. It was by virtue not so much of the finish as the freedom of his style

that Steele won the attention of the town. Though a fluency of expression often singularly felicitous and a ready invention were his acknowledged literary merits, it was not until the "Spectator" had succeeded the "Tatler," and Addison brought his classical discipline to the work, that all the charms of a refined style were added to those of quiet humor and colloquial geniality. But from the first the design and spirit of the enterprise were wholly due to Steele, whose aim was, he tells us, to "rally all those singularities of life, through the different professions and characters in it, which obstructed anything truly good and great": and the manner of thus exposing shams and advocating truth was not less his own; his plan being "to allure the reader with the varieties of his subject and insinuate the weight of reason with the agreeableness of art," — a process which, from his day to our own, has been the ideal of the social essayist, whose success depends upon the nearness with which he approaches this goal.

It is interesting, in the restrospect, to consider how Steele's life, character, and career specially fitted him for the work he undertook. It was one for which mere scholarly acquirements were inadequate; it implied quick and broad sympathies, clear moral intuitions, and ample opportunities for observation and intercourse. In all these respects Steele was singularly favored. His Irish blood and frank temper, if they exposed him to convivial indulgence, also put him into a relation with his fellow-creatures more cordial and candid than is apt to be the case with educated Englishmen. After a boyhood passed at the Charter-House School, where began his friendship with Addison, and a youthful training at Christ Church, Oxford, he relinquished his degree for a soldier's life, and, from being the favorite of a student-circle, became the idol of the mess-room. As secretary to Lord Cutts, who commanded his regiment, he obtained social privileges; but the idleness of a military life in time of peace made him a devotee of pleasure, until remorse drove him to portray the moral hero who could resist temptation and conform to the restraints of Christian manhood. This singular production indicates at once the moral courage of Steele, who could thus voluntarily brave the jeers of his boon companions, and also his natural proclivity to

literature, although, like Coleridge, in a moment of chagrin, he had rashly espoused the profession of arms. Having been forced into a duel, and written many "copies of verse" inspired by convivial and amatory impulse, he abandoned soldiership and became a dramatic writer, and thence emerged into the arena of political life, dependent upon dynastic struggles and changes of ministries, — holding successively the office of gazetteer, commissioner of stamps, member of Parliament, patentee of Drury Lane Theatre, and commissioner of forfeited estates of the Jacobites. Of his political career the record abounds with the fierce controversies and abrupt vicissitudes incident to patronage and party, and forming a striking contrast to the amenities of his literary life, for which, by nature and taste, he was better adapted. We cannot but feel that his true welfare lay in the peaceful path of letters, and that the strife and chagrins, as well as wasted powers, inevitable in the experience of the politician, were a poor exchange for the "beholding of the countenance of truth in the calm air of delightful studies." Arraigned for libel and sedition, and expelled the House through the injustice of the opposition, "afraid of the Pretender," and devoted to the House of Hanover, consistently befriended by Walpole, and meanly treated by the Lord Chamberlain, Steele made a gallant defence of his course as a politician, and proved himself a patriot by denouncing the nefarious South Sea Scheme, and opposing the permanency of the House of Peers, which latter question involved him in an acrimonious dispute with Addison, after a life-long friendship. His letter to Lord Oxford is a rare example of magnanimity in a partisan. His earliest political impulse arose from his admiration of William, and this was confirmed by his distrust of the Stuarts. Honest and brave in his convictions, and the kindliest of men, he yet did not escape the usual consequences of a political united with a literary career; for the close of his life was darkened by the clouds of party malevolence, and chilled by the alienations of time, envy, and injustice. His writings, depreciated by Tickell, from a mistaken idea that he thereby added to his friend Addison's fame, were vulgarly attacked by Dennis, and brutally by Swift. Charged by Cibber with neglect of their

mutual interests as patentees of the theatre, he retired from the scene of public life, with the consolation of having acted a patriotic part, and yielded but occasionally to the vituperative spirit of faction, but also with the feeling that his best trophies and most serene usefulness were achieved in the pursuits of authorship.

Doubtless society then needed, as never before, the social element of literature; the time was ripe for its introduction, and to this fact much of the success of Steele's experiment is due. So far had mind shared the corruption of manners, that the grand old masterpieces of Elizabeth's reign were neglected in favor of a meretricious drama, the wit of which rarely atoned for its indecency; thousands were familiar with Dryden for one who knew Shakespeare. Educated men were pedantic, and made no impression upon the ignorance of the masses and the frivolity of society; that vast middle class, neither blest with academic training nor abandoned to illiterate mediocrity, but disciplined in taste by the study of what is best in the past and most vital in the current writing of their own tongue, had not begun to exist. The prevalent moral tone had two extremes, — the rigor of the Puritan, and the *abandon* of the pleasure-seeker; brutal sports disgraced the lower, and unscrupulous profligacy the higher ranks; piety was ridiculed, faith repudiated, and conversation either vapid or low. It was the age of periwigs and sedan-chairs, of French fashions, not only in manners, but in letters, — the age when a court favorite could intrigue successfully for the downfall of a ministry, — the age of the avaricious Marlboroughs, of Bolingbroke and Harley, Mrs. Masham and Dr. Garth, of "Blenheim" and "The Beggar's Opera," of "Lady Mary" and Parnell's "Hermit," when criticism was represented by the coarse invectives of Dennis, when Congreve was ashamed of his fame as an author, preferring that of a gentleman, — an age of gambling and of grossness, whose highest poetry was found in the polished heroics of Pope, and most effective wit in the rough satire of Swift, and in which the pure benignity of Berkeley seemed an angelic exception to the social standard. Never were lay preachers more needed, a high criticism more indispensable, or a reform in taste and manners so essential to human welare and progress.

How congenial the form of literature he adopted was to Steele is evident from his constant recourse to it. After the "Tatler" had flowered into the "Spectator," and when that favorite series of the British Essayists had long ceased, he issued successively "The Guardian," "The Englishman," "Chit-Chat," "The Tea-Table," and "Table, Town, and Club Talk." To defend his rights as patentee, he started "The Theatre," — to argue the peerage question, "The Plebeian." Indeed, with all the progress we have made in agreeable methods of serving up literary trifles, the plan of these early essays has never been excelled; published in octavo form twice a week, they were collected and republished in handsome volumes, and from the ephemeral passed to the library shape. The dedications of the different volumes suggest how intimately they were associated with the leaders in society and politics. If we trace the entire process and progress of those first successful experiments, we find they sprang from a wide and genuine social inspiration. Steele was a government employee and a dramatic director, a man of politics and of society, of clubs and court, and thus open to all the influences of his time. Hence the aptitude of his address and the ease of his communications. He brought his daily observations of life, his gleanings in society, his early studies, his critical estimates of authors and actors, and his reflections on the destiny and duty of his fellows, to bear on his essays, — now drawing a pathetic picture, and now entering a satirical protest, advocating ameliorations in manners, suggesting improved standards, winning to more wise pastimes and more gracious intercourse. According to Gay, the effect was most salutary; gambling became disreputable, fops ridiculous, conversation manly, simple tastes prevalent, and literary culture a recognized resource. In its palmy days the "Spectator" was not less recreative than reforming; indirectly it gave birth to permanent literary achievements, inspiring Pope's sacred lyric, leading to the appreciation of Milton and Shakespeare, and suggesting to Akenside the "Pleasures of the Imagination." The story of Selkirk, by Steele, was the germ of Robinson Crusoe; the characteristic sketches of Sir Roger, Bickerstaff, and other humorous ideals, were prophetic of Shandy and Pickwick; and the machinery of

an imaginary club has been repeatedly an effective device of English literature. The circulation of these serials appears to us quite limited; Addison says, in the tenth number of the "Spectator," that three thousand copies were sold daily: but those were not the days of universal reading, nor of steam presses; and it is as the harbinger of periodical literature, the original impulse and precedent thereto, that we must estimate the experiment of Steele and his coadjutors. In it we find the auspicious dawn of purity in style, rectitude in morals, geniality in tone, sympathy in sentiment, grace in diction, and good sense in discourse, which, as elements of literature, had never before been so combined and made vital by true social inspiration. "The general purpose of the whole," wrote Steele, "has been to recommend truth, honor, and virtue, as the chief ornaments of life; but I considered severity of manners was absolutely essential to him who would censure others, and for that reason, and that only, chose to wear a mask." The adoption of an astrologer's name was a humorous disguise well adapted to this object; and when Addison was fairly enlisted in the work, it assumed more finished proportions, and ushered in, not only a better era of manners, but a higher standard of criticism, which at length expanded into the noble literature in this department which has so incalculably refined and enlarged the intellectual pleasures available to the countless readers of the English language in our day. What the genial temper and companionable cleverness of Steele conceived and initiated the classic taste and humane wisdom of Addison perfected. The former's part in the auspicious enterprise is to be ascribed to his character, the latter's to his culture; for it is the distinction of social over conventional literature, that its charm comes from the heart more than the head.

Fortunately, we have a means, unique and adequate, for justly estimating the native disposition and real character of Steele. His wife preserved every scrap of his written communications to her, however casual, brief, and unimportant. It is remarkable what a key is thus furnished to the knowledge of his heart and habits. The more thoughtful letters, wherein he first pleads his lover's cause, give us a complete insight into

his ardor of sentiment, religious convictions, and generous impulses; and throughout the twenty years of his married life, when his wife was at Hampton Court, Hereford, York, Wales, or London, his notes, appointing to meet her, explaining some domestic or business affair, excusing his absence, seeking to reconcile a slight misunderstanding, or giving some trifling information, make us vividly aware of how he felt, what he thought, and the manner in which his time was spent. To a reflective and observant reader, these waifs hint vastly more than they express, indicate an entire personal history, and suggest all the lights and shades of character. Swift's Journal to Stella is more full of details political and social, and Boswell's Life of Johnson far more illustrative of opinions and peculiarities; but neither is so spontaneously and sincerely autobiographic. We learn from them how desultory were the pursuits, how social the life, how convivial the habits of Steele; they guide us to his haunts, make us aware of his daily routine, of his intimate associates, of the hours he keeps, the dress he wears, and the things he does; they admit us to his consciousness; they transport us from the Treasury to the club, from the dinner-party to the theatre, from duns to duties, from court to his home. Especially do they reveal the facts and feelings of his conjugal relation. We follow the "tender husband" from Addison's table to Tonson's bookstore, from a meeting of Directors to the "Upper Flask on the edge of the Heath," and thence to the coach where his wife awaits him for an airing. His literary plans, his political prospects, his excesses, and his remorse are naïvely hinted or frankly told, often in a single line. We form, too, a vivid conception of Mrs. Steele's charms and character. His badinage about her economies, probably forced upon her by his improvidence, — the frequency of his engagements, and the pressure of his necessities, — the magnetism that draws him to her, and the employments or pleasures that keep him away, — furnish hints whereby one experienced in life-dramas can infer all the secrets of their *ménage*, and all the phases of their intercourse. Above all, these little notes, in every phrase and tone, evidence Steele's warm, wise, and chivalric appreciation of woman, — a sentiment rare in his day,

and one which had more to do with the tenderness of his writings and the moral consistency of his counsels than appears to the careless reader. To him it were needless to plead for woman's rights; he recognized them, not indeed as external civil privileges, but social authorities, in her very nature. Love, to him, was associated with, or rather sanctioned by, religion; he revered the mind, the spirit, the character of her he loved; he lived in his affections. Without deliberately putting himself, like Burns, on "the regimen of admiring a fine woman," without the æsthetic subtilty of Tennyson or the reckless passion of Byron, without morbid sentimentality on the one hand or ideal refinement on the other, Steele devoted his heart to a being "not too bright and good for human nature's daily food," and yet one whose beauty and grace of soul controlled, while it cheered and charmed. "Prue" seems a humble appellative beside Beatrice and Laura; she is no heroine of Platonic dreams or romantic devotion, no brilliant intelligence like Madame de Sévigné, or social queen like Madame Recamier, no Héloise, Vittoria Colonna, or Portia, but a true and lovely English wife, fond and fair, but also noble, firm, and wise. She is a helpmeet, a companion, a guide, a grace; one whose coldness dismays, whose appeal melts, whose example nerves, whose love makes happy; to love whom increases self-respect, and whose favor is sought only in candor and faith, — by no arts, but through manly, generous, honest affection. His recognition of woman's needs as a rational creature, and his respect and tenderness for her, as evinced in his writings, are confirmed by, or rather originated in, his private experience, as a glance at the singularly preserved notes and letters to his wife clearly manifests.

At the outset of his courtship he writes: "I have not a thought which relates to you that I cannot in confidence beseech the All-seeing Power to bless me in: this is unusual language to ladies, but you have a mind elevated above the giddy vanities of a sex ensnared by flattery";—and again: "If the advantages of a liberal education, some knowledge of, and as much contempt for, the world, joined with endeavors towards a life of strict virtue, can qualify him" as her life companion, he is ready to pledge himself thereto; and as reciprocal sen-

timents awaken, his faith and happiness increase: "To pass my evenings," he writes, "in so sweet a conversation, and have the esteem of a woman of your merit, has in it a particularity of happiness no more to be expressed than returned." The prayer he composed before marriage reminds one of Dr. Johnson's declaration, that there should be two forms for the solemnization of matrimony, — one for conventional and one for love unions, the holy Church service being too good to celebrate the former. Absence is desolation to the lover: "My books are blank paper, my friends are intruders." Interruptions to their fond communion elicit the most tender apologies: "Dearest being on earth, pardon me, if you do not see me till eleven o'clock, having met a schoolfellow from India"; — or, "Delayed: business with the Treasury"; — or, "I lay last night at Addison's"; — or, "I am with young Tonson at the Griffin Tavern, where I shall dine on a scrap"; — or, "I beg pardon that I am to dine with Mrs. Montagu." Anon there are signs of financial troubles: "I desire you to send me a guinea"; — "I am at a juncture"; — "I shall have cash in the morning"; — "My money has not come to hand, and I am very impatient for it, because I would show you, as soon as it is in my power, a reformation in the management of my expense"; — "Dear Prue, I stay near the Devil Tavern until I can see Will Elderton"; — "All my endeavors tend to extricate my condition, and leave no debt but that to a good wife and a few dear innocents"; — "I send you a guinea, send me some linen"; — "Mr. Glover accommodates me with some money that is to clear the present sorrow this evening"; — "I have made up my account with Mott, enclose receipt for saucepan and spoon: this brings you a quarter of a pound of Bohea, and as much green tea"; — "There is nothing troubles me so much as the consideration that the most amiable and deserving of her sex is obliged to suffer the uneasiness that I do." Little storms occasionally cloud the serene heaven of their love, but they seem only to purify the atmosphere, and usher in brighter skies. "It is wonderful," writes the harassed husband, "when you know what I had to do last night, that you should talk to me thus"; his tears overflow at the recollection of their "little miffs"; and then he is so frank and penitent: Ten thousand times,

my dear, dear Prue, I have been in very great pain for having omitted writing last post. You know the *unhappy gayety* of my temper, when I get in, — and, indeed, I went into company last night"; — "I am, dear Prue, a little in drink"; — "I am very sick with too much wine last night"; — "Thank God, matters are now settled after such a manner, and the renewal of my employments has enabled me to invite you hither, where you shall be attended with plenty, cheerfulness, and quiet." And in the midst of his anxieties expressions of attachment break out, evidences of conjugal appreciation multiply, and we see his faithful heart beneath all the follies of his conduct: "You are vital to my life"; — "I do assure you there is nothing on earth, except mine honor, and that dignity which every man who lives in the world must preserve to himself, that I am not ready to sacrifice to your will"; — "My life is bound in you." It has been surmised that Lady Steele, with all her personal charms, was deficient in magnanimity, and over-frugal. The evidences of the latter trait, in the correspondence, indicate that carefulness in expense was a necessity with her, consequent upon his reckless profusion. She nobly adopted his natural daughter into her affections, and seems to have had his welfare fondly at heart. "Dear Prue," he writes, "do not send after me, for I shall only be ridiculous; I send you word to put you out of frights"; — "I can never be what they call thoroughly frugal; I shun all engagements that would ensnare my integrity"; — "Thank you for your perseverance in urging me to have done with the herd of indigent, unthankful people, and your kind fear that I do not take care of myself; I am ready to melt with gratitude for your goodness in bearing so long as you have; your affair is to keep yourself cheerful." The appointments he makes with her are truly lover-like: she is to come in a chair and bring his holiday attire, that they may take the air together; — "I dine with Lord Halifax," he writes, "but for thee I languish"; — "I cannot come home to dinner; but if you will call here, we will take the air together"; — "I am very impatient to have this matter ended some way or other, that I may be with you and the brats"; — "An expression of yours — 'Good Dick' — has put me in so much rapture." Equally tender as a parent, his notes

to Moll and Betty are as fond and frank as those to Prue. "Miss Moll," he writes to the latter, "has taken upon her to hold the sand-box, and is so impatient in her office that I cannot write more." How easy to imagine the petted child, eager to aid the epistolary work of the indulgent father, and by her wiles making him abruptly close his letter thus! Again he writes to dearest Prue: "Miss Moll grows a mighty beauty, and she shall be very prettily dressed, as likewise shall Betty and Eugene; and if I throw away a little money in adorning my brats, I hope you will forgive me." And to them, after their mother's death, his letters are full of kindly counsel and parental love: "My tears are ready to flow, when I tell you that I am, dearest creatures, your most affectionate father."

Countless similar gleanings might be made from these incidental little missives, but enough has been cited to give us a veritable glimpse into Steele's domestic life and warm heart, and to make us realize what pure inspiration his mind thence derived, and how genuine was the source of the social literature he originated. There have been memorable tributes in art and letters to women, offered by the gifted and renowned to the objects of their passion and the faithful companions of their lives; but few seem to us so emphatically to hint the beauty of conjugal devotion as an allusion of Steele to his wife, when in his lonely self-reproach he writes: "The best woman man ever had cannot now lament and pine at his neglect of himself." All the vigilant and earnest solicitude of conjugal love, and all the generous waywardness of its object, are apparent to the imagination in this spontaneous regretful tribute.

Henry T. Tuckerman.

## Art. V. — The New Catalogue of Harvard College Library.

The condition of a librarian whose library is uncatalogued is indeed pitiable. To know that he has a book and not be able to lay his hand upon it, to find too late that he has bought one that he already possessed, to discover that his memory, upon which he can depend for the books in general use, is of no avail for those which are sometimes wanted very much, although not wanted often, and to spend in a search which may be fruitless more time than would have supplied him with the guide he needs, — these must be his frequent trials. And whoever has charge of more than twenty thousand volumes, even if he has a list of the authors, must continually feel the want of an index of subjects to assist his memory and supplement the classification on the shelves. If it were possible, in arranging a growing library, to maintain many and minute subdivisions, and if books of the same class could always be brought together, it would be easier and more satisfactory for an inquirer to be sent to the alcoves than to be referred to a catalogue. No list of books can tell him so well as the books themselves whether they will suit his purpose. Let the divisions be so minute that he shall not be obliged to examine many books in making his selection, that is, let part of the selection be done to his hand by the librarian, and he can quickly find what he wants, if it be in the library. But, to be entirely satisfactory, the arrangement must be complete, and that is not possible. Not only will the irregular increase of the library occasion continual inconvenience, now one class and now another receiving great accessions and overflowing its limits, but there are other, more serious difficulties, which, if the classification is to be preserved, will cause great expense. It is true that the assertion has lately been made in regard to the Göttingen Library, that "the classification, which was the work of Heyne, was so thoroughly scientific, that, when once explained to any one, he could find any book in the library without the aid of librarian or catalogue." * But this

* Harper's Weekly, August 15, 1868, p. 523.

is evidently extravagant. Books on different subjects are often bound together. Did the Göttingen Library always take them apart and rebind them separately? Books often treat of several distinct topics. Were as many copies purchased as there were subjects? If not, then the single copy, placed in one of the divisions to which it appropriately belonged, would never be seen by a person looking through another. But in a catalogue the classification is independent of the binding, and a title may be entered under as many divisions as we please, though the book can stand on but one shelf.

Till within a few years the library of Harvard College was without any satisfactory index of subjects, but almost too well supplied, if we look to number rather than quality, with catalogues of authors. To ascertain whether a given work belonged to it, one might have to consult, personally or by deputy, four different alphabets.* In 1861 it was felt to be absolutely necessary to do away with this evil, and at the same time to provide a catalogue which should be accessible to all. Printing was out of the question, as all the funds were needed for the purchase of books. A printed catalogue is always costly; if full and accurate, it is very costly; and only such a one could be thought of. *Noblesse oblige.* The large library of a learned university could not publish a meagre and ill-arranged list, full of mistakes and sparing of information. To persons at a distance a printed catalogue is of course very useful. But those who can come to the library itself find one kept on cards nearly as convenient. The principal objections are, that two persons cannot consult the same portion at once, and that it presents to the eye only one title at a time, whereas a printed catalogue often has all an author's works on a single page. The first objection may be fatal, wherever the number of borrowers is very great, as in the New York Mercantile Library, or the circulating department of the Boston Public Library.

* Two printed volumes, with an inconvenient index of subjects, comprised everything received before 1830; a printed supplement embraced the accessions of the next four years; the manuscript titles of all pamphlets acquired between 1833 and 1850 were pasted in eight unwieldy folios; and another supplement, written on cards, included the volumes received during that period, and the later accessions of all kinds. The supplements could be used by the public only through the intervention of the attendants.

But in college or society libraries, the inconvenience, though felt, is not unendurable, and might be in some measure obviated by printing those portions which are most used. On the other hand, the cards have this great advantage, that additions can always be made without disturbing the alphabetical order. A printed catalogue is out of date before it is published. As it cannot contain the newest books, the very ones most sought for, fresh supplements are continually needed, each of which causes an additional loss of time and patience to consulters.*

In 1861, then, the head of the cataloguing department, Mr. Ezra Abbot, devised a plan for a new catalogue, which, even during the course of its execution, has been found to work remarkably well, and has greatly increased the usefulness of the library.†

The titles, written on separate cards, five inches long and two wide, are arranged in drawers. Each new title can be inserted in its place as soon as it is written. Such a catalogue does not get out of date, there are no supplements to weary, no interleaved entries to perplex. It is not cumbrous, like the folios of the British Museum, and does not, like them, require continual repasting and rebinding. On the other hand, it pre-

* By adopting Professor Jewett's suggestion of stereotyping the titles separately, these disadvantages might be somewhat lessened. He would have a supplement published as often as the accumulation of matter called for one ; which, in a rapidly increasing and much-used library, might be once a month, — in a smaller library, bimonthly, quarterly, or semiannually. Except in the case of periodicals, serials, and other continued works, the composition, proof-reading, corrections, and stereotyping would then be done once for all. As soon as the supplements became so numerous as to cause inconvenience, it would only be necessary to rearrange the entire mass of stereotyped titles and print the whole in one general catalogue. The process could be repeated as often as might be expedient, at an expense little exceeding that of paper and press-work. (See his paper in the "Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science," August, 1850.) The first cost of block-titles would be greater than of ordinary thin stereotype-plates, but the cost of arranging them would be very much less than that of cutting up and resoldering the plates. When it is considered that the chief expenditure in printing a catalogue is for composition and correction, and that supplements, when their number exceeds four or five, are nearly useless, because few persons will take the trouble to hunt through so many alphabets, it will be seen how great are the advantages which this plan offers. But it has never been tried.

† Although the drawers already contain over 200,000 cards, two thirds of the work still remains to be done, only about one half of the volumes and one eighth of the pamphlets having been as yet entered.

sents only one title to the eye at once, so that some time is lost in turning over cards, and it is not so easy as if it were in book form either to find the particular title that is wanted or to compare different titles and make a selection. It is more difficult also to pick one's way among the confusing series of names like Godefried, Godefroi, Godofredus, and Gottfried, or among the Allens, the Williamses, or the John Smiths. There is more danger, too, that the proper order will be disturbed ; and a card misplaced is temporarily a book lost. *

Some mechanical appliances facilitate the use of the catalogue. Two buttons at the back of each drawer prevent any one from unintentionally pulling it entirely out, and spilling its contents upon the floor, and yet allow its removal, when desired, for the addition of cards, or any other purpose. A fixed trapezoidal block in the front part of the drawer, and a similar movable block behind the cards, each being wider at the bottom than at the top, hold the cards in such a position that they incline at a convenient angle, and any title may easily be read without raising them from the drawer. The block behind is readily adjusted to the place desired by a thumb wedge. Blocks about one eighth of an inch thick, inserted between the cards at intervals of about two inches, have on their upper edge letters showing to what part of the alphabet the cards following them belong. Thus, one looks for Armstrong after a block labelled ARM, and for Lipenius after LIP.† With these helps it is almost as easy to find a name as in a dictionary, — the blocks corresponding to the headings of the pages or columns.

It was easier to plan the drawers in which the new catalogue should be kept than the system on which it should be constructed. This much was plain: it must be double, — an index of authors and of subjects ; for readers desire to know

* The danger in this respect from a careless public can be easily avoided. The titles of Dickens's works were so often taken out and misplaced, that the experiment of extending a wire over the cards from front to back was tried and proved successful. Being easily unfastened, it does not interfere with the insertion of new cards. It is thought that a small cord would be still better.

† Some authors are honored with a block to themselves, bearing their whole names, — as Dickens, Macaulay, Shakespeare, and Thackeray. But the marks of incessant use exhibited by the cards under those names would perhaps have indicated their place as well.

one of two things, — whether the library contains a book by a particular author, or else whether it contains a book on a particular subject (or of a particular class, as a play, a poem, a novel). The first part, it was determined, should include in one alphabet the authors not merely of books and pamphlets, but of all important papers in the memoirs and transactions of learned societies and in periodicals, — a thing which no library in the country had attempted. But even with this addition the catalogue of authors presented fewest difficulties. The rules for making one have long been matter of discussion, and although bibliographers are not agreed upon all the details, although periodicals and pseudonymous books and publications of societies are still entered in large libraries in different ways, yet almost all the rules may be reduced to two great principles: first, that books shall be catalogued under the name of the author, or (in the case of collections) the editor, or the body responsible for their publication; second, that, if this is not known, the first word in the title not an article or a preposition shall be taken for the heading.* The application of these principles, however, may still often puzzle the cataloguer. Shall periodicals, for instance, be put under the editor's name, as that of the responsible person, or, as anonymous, under the first word of the title? The former at first sight seems most reasonable. A little consideration, however, shows that it is,

* An exception is generally made to both rules by entering the books of the Bible collectively under that title, instead of scattering them under Pentateuch, Judges, Chronicles, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Matthew, John, Paul, etc. By this device are avoided all disputed questions of authorship, all doubts as to the choice of a heading, — whether, for example, Solomon, Song of Solomon, Song of Songs, or Canticles, — and all difficulties arising from the names of the books differing in different languages. The Talmud, and sometimes, but with less justification, the Eddas, are treated similarly.

Almost all libraries find it convenient to make two exceptions to the second rule, by entering anonymous biographical works under the name of the subject of the biography, and letters addressed to a person under his name. Some, including, I believe, the British Museum, enter anonymous works relating to any place under the name of the place; but this is of very doubtful expediency. All three exceptions are open to the charge of mixing subjects with authors, and in general it may be remarked, that it is best to admit as few deviations from a rule as possible, and to choose that rule which requires the fewest; for it is very difficult to teach those who consult a catalogue what the exceptions are. Similarly, as little as possible should be left to discretion; for, in a matter of discretion, people often disagree, and the reader may find it hard to discover how the cataloguer has used his.

if not quite impracticable, at least open to very grave objections. There can be no uniformity of entry on this system, for the editors of very many periodicals are unknown or difficult to ascertain. Nor is the matter mended much by deciding to use the editor's name only when it appears on the title-page; for a long-lived periodical may change its editors a dozen times. Which shall be taken, the first or the last? If the last, a new heading must be adopted every time the editorship changes, which is impossible when the catalogue is printed, and causes continual rewriting and rearranging when it is in manuscript. If the first name is taken, the entry is not readily found; for those who know a periodical by the editor's name at all know it by the name of the editor of the day. The suggestion of taking the name to which reference is most commonly made in books is futile. This would require, in every doubtful case, that all books likely to contain such references should be examined to ascertain what is the prevailing practice. And such examinations would show that there is in fact little uniformity among writers in this respect. On the whole, the easiest and most satisfactory plan, both for those who make and those who use a catalogue, seems to be to treat periodicals like anonymous works.

But the perplexities on this point are not yet at an end. Not merely what is published once a week or once a month is a periodical; annuals belong to the same class, and therefore almanacs. Now whichever rule is adopted in regard to almanacs, the unlucky cataloguer will wish he had adopted the other, and what he does to-day he will repent to-morrow. Suppose, that, having decided upon the "first word" system, he has to deal with Dudley Leavitt's almanac. In 1809 he finds it entitled "The Scholar's Almanack, and Farmer's Register," which he enters without hesitation under "Scholar's." Presently he meets with "Leavitt's Genuine, Improved New-England Farmer's Almanack and Scholar's Diary," which of course is put under the letter L. In a few weeks some one gives him "The New-England Almanack for 1842," which he catalogues under N. "Leavitt's New-England Farmer's Almanack," "Leavitt's Improved New-England Farmer's Almanack," "The Farmer's Almanack," and "Leavitt's Old

Farmer's Almanack," are disposed of as easily. But, in arranging them, he finds that he has put the parts of one and the same series, numbered consecutively and edited by the same man, under four different letters of the alphabet, and that under one of those letters, L, he has four different headings, — seven entries in all. In the same way "The Gentlemen's and Ladies' Diary" of 1802 becomes "Houghton's Genuine Almanac" in 1804, and in 1814, (the editor or the age having become more polite,) "The Ladies' and Gentlemen's Diary." Of course it is possible in such cases to follow the first title, and make references from all the others, and this is probably the best way; but our cataloguer, disgusted with the ill success of his first experiment, is likely to fly to the opposite extreme, and enter everything under the name of the editor. This promises well at first, but has its difficulties too. To say nothing of the fact that at least half the almanacs are strictly anonymous, which at once destroys all hope of uniformity, and setting aside the difficulty of deciding between the rival claims of the publisher, the man who makes the astronomical calculations, and the man who collects the jokes, in such cases as "Johnson's Almanac, calculated by Joshua Sharp," or "Fisher's [Davy] Crockett Almanac, edited by Ben Hardin" (who sometimes calls himself Harding), it is not uncommon for some numbers of a series to appear with and some without an editor's name. In one case an alternation of avowed and concealed paternity is carried on through four years. If the numbers of such a series come into the library at different times, they will certainly be differently catalogued, and separated on the shelves. And almanacs change their editors as often as their titles, — the "Atlantic Almanac" being a case in point. The British Museum puts all almanacs, calendars, and ephemerides under the general head, "Ephemerides," — an intrusion of the classed into the authors' catalogue.

On another question there is a difference of opinion and practice. The Acts, Memoirs, Transactions, Journals, and other publications of societies, academies, institutes, universities, etc., are to be entered under the name of the society, academy, etc.; but where in the alphabet shall the names of the societies be put? The British Museum collects them all under

the head "Academies," arranged alphabetically by countries, and subarranged according to the places where their headquarters are. This is open to the objection, that it is introducing, without any apparent reason, a portion of a classed into an alphabetical catalogue. Why not as well arrange the names of authors under the countries to which they belong, as was often done formerly? Professor Jewett accordingly discards this assemblage under "Academies," and puts learned societies and public institutions under the names of the places where they are established, distributing these names throughout the alphabet. This is well enough for foreign academies, which are always known by the name of their city, as the Academy of Munich, the Royal Society of London, or the University of Göttingen; but in its application to this country it requires too much geographical knowledge on the part of the cataloguer. Who but graduates can be expected to remember that Union College is at Schenectady, Brown University at Providence, Bowdoin at Brunswick, Cornell at Ithaca, Dartmouth, not at Dartmouth, Mass., but at Hanover, N. H.? And if this is true of illustrious colleges, what shall be said of the unknown societies which every cataloguer afflicted with pamphlets has to dispose of by dozens? It is not always easy to determine where they are established, or whether they are established anywhere; for some such bodies are of a roving disposition, and do not hold their meetings two successive years in the same place. Professor Jewett's practice, in the "Catalogue of the Public Library of the City of Boston," does not always conform to his rule. The American Antiquarian Society, for example, appears under Worcester, as it should; but the Massachusetts Historical Society, which has been in one place twenty years longer, is not under Boston, but under Massachusetts. The rule proposed by Mr. Edward Edwards * meets the difficulties of the case better. According to that, the name of the place is to determine the alphabetical order only when it forms a part of the official name of the society. This brings both the foreign academies and our colleges under the titles by which they are most generally known. But even this does not remove all

* Report of the Commissioners on the British Museum, 1850, Nos. 5956 – 5961.

stumbling-blocks. Many societies seem not to be sure of their own name, and give it, to coin an example, as The Calocagathinian Society of Rome on the title-page, The Roman Calocagathinian Society in the preface, and simply The Calocagathinian Society in the text. No rule can meet such cases. Safety is to be found only in numerous cross-references.

And, finally, good authorities are not agreed whether undetected pseudonymous works are to be treated as anonymous, or the pseudonymes to be considered as real names: whether, for example, a political pamphlet by Publicola or a novel by Ouidà shall be put under that name or under the first word of the title. The anonymous method has the great disadvantage of separating works by the same author; and it must always have one exception, — for probably no stickler for uniformity could be found so daring as to put "The Letters of Junius" under anything but Junius. It does not help us to a decision to consider what would be generally expected by the public. When the author of a book is unknown, it would be hard to say whether most people would remember best and would search under the pseudonyme or the title: probably the former, when it bore a close resemblance to a real name, as Mark Twain or Jack Downing or Arthur Pendennis, and the latter, when the pseudonyme was what Quérard calls a *géonyme*, as "A Citizen of the World," or a *phraseonyme*, as "A Clergyman of the Church of England," or an *initialisme*, as "X. Y. Z." On the whole, it seems best, when we cannot have the author's name, to take what approaches nearest to it, his initials or his assumed name.

Whatever may be our theory of cataloguing, numberless unforeseen perplexities will occur in practice. The ninety-one rules published by the British Museum in 1841, and so foolishly ridiculed for their number, have probably been increased to twice as many by the subsequent experience of that vast establishment. And even were there never any doubt under which rule a given book comes, yet there would remain the difficulties lamented by Hearne, of "distinguishing synonymous authors and works, and identifying metonymous ones, unravelling anagrammatical names and those derived from

places." Merely the arrangement of titles, simple as it would seem beforehand, presents great difficulties in a large catalogue, and no plan yet proposed is perfectly satisfactory. Still, with the exceptions which we have mentioned, there is a substantial unanimity at least in respect to the theory, the principles upon which a catalogue of authors should be constructed. With regard to the catalogue of subjects, this is far from being the case. At the very outset we are met by a denial that any satisfactory system of classification can be devised, or that any classed catalogue can be good enough to justify the very great expense which it involves. It is not necessary to discuss this point. The need of a catalogue of subjects does not admit of a moment's doubt. It is invaluable to those who have forgotten an author's name, or are not familiar with the literature of the topic they are interested in, — and this includes the majority of readers. And as to practicability, the experience of Harvard College Library and of the Boston Public Library is sufficient proof of the possibility of making, as well as the expediency of having, such a catalogue.* But how it should be made is a question that admits of considerable discussion. At the time when the one now to be described was commenced, there were three systems in use, which may be called "classification with minute subdivisions," "classification without subdivisions," and "the dictionary system." In the first — of which, as was to be expected, the Germans possessed the best examples — an attempt was made to bring all books under a strictly philosophical system of classes, with endless divisions and subdivisions, all arranged according to their scientific relations. To a person who wishes to get a synoptic view of human knowledge this may be of great assistance, but the inquirer after a particular subject finds that he must become acquainted with a complicated scheme before he can put the catalogue to any use. The second system, — classification without subdivisions, — avoiding this evil, falls into a worse. In the extant examples the system is easy to learn,

* The British Museum is guilty of the great inconsistency of minutely classifying its books, which can be put only in one place, however many subjects they may treat, and refusing to classify the titles, which, since it is easy to make any number of copies, can be put under as many different headings as is desired.

because the classes are few in number, but, for the same reason, they are so comprehensive that it is very difficult to find anything under them. For it is plain, that, if a hundred thousand titles are divided into only sixty or seventy classes, some of the larger divisions will contain several thousand, all of which the impatient reader must look through to find what he wants. Consulting an authors' catalogue with a dozen supplements is nothing to this. These serious disadvantages have led some bibliographers to the adoption of the third, or dictionary system, in which the attempt to subordinate classes is abandoned, and the subjects, special or general, are arranged like the words in a dictionary. Each book is put under as specific a subject as possible. Thus, if it treats of natural history, it is put under that heading; if it treats of zoölogy alone, that word is the rubric; if it is confined to mammals, it will be found under Mammals; and, finally, if one is looking for a treatise on the elephant, he need not know whether that animal is a mammal, he need not even be sure that it is an animal, he has merely to know his alphabet well enough to find the word Elephant, under which will appear all the separate works that the library contains on that subject. This is the system which was proposed by Mr. Panizzi for the British Museum, and has actually been adopted in the index volume of the British Catalogue published in 1858, and in the catalogues of the Boston Public and the Manchester Free Libraries. It is certainly on a level with the meanest capacity, but it may be doubted whether it has not, in the endeavor to make it easy of comprehension, been deprived of advantages which were worth some sacrifice of simplicity. An inquirer will find under the word Elephant all the *separate* works on that animal which the library contains; but he does not find there any mention of the description of the elephant in general works, such as Buffon's "Histoire Naturelle," or Cuvier's "Règne Animal." It is true, a reference may remind him of their existence, and send him to the other end of the alphabet, to Zoölogy, to find them. But monographs on the elephant are not numerous. It may be that the library does not contain any, and then he will find under that word nothing, not even a reference. So far as he is concerned, the catalogue can no longer claim to be constructed on the dic-

tionary system; he must look for his specific elephant under the *class* Quadrupeds, or Mammals, or Zoölogy, or Natural History, just as if it were made on the first or second system.*

As none of these three plans was wholly satisfactory, it was decided to adopt a fourth, which may be termed "the alphabetico-classed" or "the mixed system." It was hoped that this would combine the excellences of all the others, and avoid their defects. It would, in great measure, bring into connection, like the first two, those subjects which naturally belong together, and yet be less complicated than the first, and more convenient to consult than the second; it would not be much harder to understand than the third, and yet would not so widely separate related subjects which illustrate one another; moreover, it was to include certain important classes of subjects which all the published examples of the dictionary system had entirely omitted. It cannot be better described than in the words of its author.

"In this plan, the arrangement of classes or subjects is *alphabetical*, not *scientific;* but it differs from the scheme just remarked upon in this, that a large part of these classes or subjects have numerous *subdivisions*, which, instead of being dispersed through the great alphabetical series, and thus widely separated from each other, are arranged

* The best example of the dictionary scheme, the excellent "Index" of the Boston Public Library, never makes references from the specific to the general, that is, from topics like Horse to classes like Mammals or Zoölogy. It refers the other way, from Zoölogy to all the subdivisions of that subject on which the library contains books. This is not useless, for it enables one who wishes to know all about zoölogy to find — with considerable turning over of pages, to be sure — all the works which treat of that somewhat extensive subject. But usually men wish to know "all about" less general topics, and references from the species to the class would be more useful. At present, a person who is consulting the Index under the species finds nothing to remind him that this species is comprehended under certain classes, no reference to inform him what those classes are. Although such references are foreign to the genius of the dictionary system, they could of course be made. But it would swell the catalogue enormously to enumerate under each subject all the more general classes which include it, — referring, for instance, from Horse to Quadrupeds, Mammals, Zoölogy, Natural History, and repeating this reference under the name of every other animal mentioned in the catalogue. And, after all, there is no way of meeting the difficulty suggested in the text; for it would be out of the question to refer in this way from the name of every subject on which information could be found in general works belonging to the library, that is, from nearly every noun in the English language, whether there was any entry under it or not.

in a *secondary alphabetical series under the general head.** . . . . The *two upper lines* of the cards are reserved for a notation of the class and the subdivision (if any) under which the title is placed. . . . . The title is thus a permanent thing, and requires no change, whatever change may seem expedient in the designation of the class or subject. . . . .

"The mode of indicating subdivisions may be illustrated by taking . . . . the class THEOLOGY — *Dogmatic.* All the cards belonging to this large class have on the first line, in the left-hand corner, the abbreviation 'Theol. — Dogm.' This of course brings them all together, when they are arranged in the drawers. If the titles are those of *general* or comprehensive works, the second line of the card is left blank. If they relate to any particular doctrine or subject which comes under this head, the name of the subject or its abbreviation is written on the *second* line of the card. . . . . Whatever is written on this second line is for convenience termed a *section*, the word on the first line, in the left-hand corner, being the name of the *class*, which may or may not have a *branch* on the same line, separated from it by a dash.† Thus, under the class THEOLOGY, branch *Dogmatic*, we have the sections Death, Future Life, Heaven, Resurrection, Sin, Trinity, etc. These sections are arranged in alphabetical order under this class and branch. Under each section, the titles belonging to it may stand in the alphabetical order of their authors' names, or they may be arranged chronologically, the date being placed on the second line, in the middle, so as to strike the eye at once. The cards for the *general* works, which have *nothing* on the second line at the place for the name of the section, of course immediately precede this series of special treatises.

"Now let us compare the practical working of this arrangement with that which embraces but a single alphabetical series of headings. Taking the supposition most unfavorable to the system, we will assume

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* "To prevent misapprehension, it may be well to state distinctly that this idea of an alphabetical arrangement of the subdivisions under the primary classes in a catalogue or index of subjects is nothing new. Its application, however, to a card catalogue designed for general use, and the mechanical devices by which such a catalogue is made easy of consultation, are believed to be original."

† "It is sometimes convenient to add a secondary 'branch' to the primary one. Thus, works relating to the *history* of Christian doctrines may have on the first line of the cards the heading 'THEOL. — *Dogm.* — *Hist.*,' which of course brings them all together as a supplement to the division 'THEOLOGY — *Dogmatic.*' The *sections* may also have branches like the classes; and further subdivisions, in cases that require it, may easily be made, without violating the principle that the secondary arrangement shall form either an alphabetical or a chronological series under the primary."

that the inquirer knows nothing at all of the plan of the catalogue, but only sees, as the labels on the outside of the drawers show him at once, that the general arrangement is alphabetical. He looks in the primary alphabetical series of subjects for the heading 'FUTURE LIFE,' or some synonymous expression. He finds under this a reference to 'THEOLOGY — *Dogmatic*, § Future Life,' to which he can turn instantly, as 'Theol. — Dogm.' stands in its alphabetical place in the drawers, with the sections under it arranged alphabetically. He perceives at once that this is the principle of arrangement; for, as he opens the drawer which has on the outside the label 'THEOLOGY — *Dogmatic*,' he finds the cards separated by numerous thin blocks or projecting cards, bearing labels for the principal subdivisions of this class in alphabetical order. The whole scheme is mapped out before him; he sees at a glance that there are many other subdivisions in this drawer that are important to his purpose; and the first card that he finds under the section 'Future Life' contains a cross-reference to this effect: — See also §§ Death, Heaven, Immortality, Intermediate State, Judgment (Day of), Punishment (Future), Purgatory, Resurrection, etc. But these references do not send him, as they do in the other system, all over the catalogue, from one drawer to another, or from one manuscript volume to another, to ascertain what there is in the library on these branches of his subject; the titles are all before him, and he may examine them all without having to move a single step. The fact, that, not knowing the plan of the catalogue, he looked first under FUTURE LIFE, and found only a reference to THEOLOGY — *Dogmatic*, is no deduction from the comparative advantages of this system. According to the other scheme, he is obliged to look under THEOLOGY — *Dogmatic*, or some equivalent heading, as well as under FUTURE LIFE; for *general* works on dogmatic theology *include*, of course, the discussion of the Christian doctrine of the future life, and among those general works he may find what is more important to his purpose than any special treatise on the subject in the library. The portion, for example, of Gerhard's *Loci Theologici* (in Cotta's edition) which relates to this topic alone occupies four quarto volumes.

"The foregoing illustration does not relate to some exceptional case, but is only one specimen out of hundreds equally or more striking. It may serve to show, in the first place, that it is not so very easy a matter to find *all* there is in a large library on a particular subject by the aid of any catalogue; and, in the second place, that the simple dictionary system, by tearing violently asunder and scattering through the whole alphabet those subjects which Nature has joined together, will often greatly increase, instead of diminishing, the labor of the inquirer. . . . .

"Some of the classes in the new catalogue have no subdivisions under them. So far, it agrees with what I have termed 'the dictionary system.' But I cannot doubt that the cases are very numerous in which subdivisions are of great advantage. Suppose, for example, that a student wishes to ascertain if there is a work in the library on the plants of Boston and its neighborhood, or on the zoölogy of Massachusetts, or the geology of Maine. According to the system followed in the new catalogue, he is not obliged to search for this among a huge mass of miscellaneous titles relating to Boston, Massachusetts, or Maine, on the one hand, or to botany, zoölogy, or geology, on the other. Under the heading BOTANY — *Geographical* (or *Local*, if this term be preferred), which strikes the eye as soon as he opens the drawer, he finds brought together, first, all the general works on the geographical distribution of plants, and then the special floras of particular regions arranged in the alphabetical order of their names, which form the sections under this division." *

It is true, there is no reason why the dictionary system should not also, for convenience, admit subdivisions, when the number of entries under one topic is unwieldy. Thus, the histories of a country may be arranged according to the period of which they treat; under many topics dictionaries and periodicals may be culled from the mass of other titles and brought into serviceable juxtaposition. Some catalogues of this kind go still farther, becoming to a certain extent classed. Thus, under Germany we may find the rubrics Antiquities, Art, Biography, Geography, History, Law, Natural History, etc. The appearance of classification here could have been avoided by using the terms German Antiquities, German Art, etc. But this device does not work so well, when the name of the country and the corresponding adjective come in different parts of the alphabet, separating, for instance, Great Britain and British, or United States and American, to say nothing of Denmark and Danish, France and French, Spain and Spanish.

This leads us to notice that in some respects the dictionary system may approach the classed very nearly without deserting its fundamental principle of putting everything under the most specific subject. Synonymous terms are ordinarily the greatest

* Mr. Abbot's Statement respecting the New Catalogues, in the Report of the Examining Committee for 1863.

annoyances of the cataloguer, and, whichever he may choose, some of his readers will be sure to think the other most natural and most convenient. But in the present case they may afford a little welcome liberty. Italian Antiquities, Italian Art, Italian History, Italian Politics, are not more specific terms than Art in Germany, Art in Italy, Art in Spain, Art in the United States. The adoption of the first set of terms would bring together all that relates to a country, — of the latter, all that relates to a subject. Which it is best to adopt will of course depend upon the answer to the question, which of the two kinds of topics it will be most convenient for the inquirer to find in connection, under which kind there is the most mutual illustration, which kind have been most usually treated together in general works. We think it would be found that there is, on the whole, very little difference, in point of convenience, between the two methods. The dictionary system is at liberty to adopt either mode of grouping its headings. It has hitherto adopted the national. And so elastic is the plan of Mr. Abbot's catalogue, that there is nothing to prevent its doing the same, if there is any manifest advantage to be gained thereby. His scheme is a mixture of the two others, — the "strictly classed" and the "dictionary," — and the proportions in which the two shall be mixed can be varied as the judgment of the cataloguer directs. For instance, at present, all books that treat of authors, as such, are entered under Bibliography, which is divided by countries, the works on individual authors in each division being arranged in the alphabetical order of their names. This affords the means of seeing at one view all that the library contains on the literary history of each country; and yet it is easy to find whatever relates especially to any author, provided his nationality be known, — a matter about which there can seldom be any uncertainty. But if it should be thought best to bring the titles of works illustrating an author into connection with the titles of his own works, so that one would have in the catalogue of authors under Shakespeare, for example, references, first, to all the works written by him, and then to all the works written about him, there is nothing in the plan of the present catalogue which would prevent it. All things considered, the method

which has been adopted appears preferable; but it was adopted because it was thought to be preferable, and not from any exigency of an unyielding system.

But it must not be thought, because the two plans can approach one another in this case, that the difference between them is merely nominal. The dictionary scheme is still bound by its principles to tear apart all the subdivisions of those subjects which are not national. The monographs on oxygen must still appear by themselves in the letter O, widely separated from all the discussions of oxygen in general treatises on chemistry, and in chemical dictionaries and periodicals. You are looking at Witchcraft, and find that its cousin, Demonology, is at the other end of the volume, or in another ponderous volume of a manuscript catalogue, or two yards off in a drawer which some one else is using. And you may have to look in a third place for Magic, and in a fourth for Sorcery. If you wish to know what music the library contains, or to select some for your own performance, you will find it in twenty different parts of the catalogue, according as it happens to be written in the form of Concerto, Dance, Military Music, Overture, Sonata, Symphony, or Waltz, to say nothing of the more numerous kinds of vocal music.*

Of course the mixed system does not altogether avoid the reproach of tearing asunder related subjects. No system can. Every branch of human knowledge is allied to several others. It is impossible to bring it next to all. The position which clearly shows one of its relations utterly conceals another, and

* And if you wish to enjoy a fine poem, or divert yourself with a work of fiction, you would not find in any of the "dictionary catalogues" a list of individual poems, plays, or novels, from which to make your selection. Such a list is not incompatible with that system, but it seems to be felt to be in some way foreign to its character. The Boston Public Library's "Finding List of Fiction and Juvenile Books," first published two years ago as a temporary expedient, has been found a very useful supplement to its catalogue. I mention the matter here chiefly to remark upon the thoroughness of the New Catalogue, which is prevented from omitting such classes as Drama, Fiction, Poetry, by the practice of entering every book under at least one class, and is obliged to have those classes complete by the habit of entering every book, in full or by brief reference, under all the classes to which it belongs; so that the "Colombiade" of Du Boccage cannot escape from Poetry to hide in Biography, under pretence of being a life of Columbus, nor will Dante's "Inferno" fail to be found at all, as in many catalogues, or appear only under Hell.

we must be content with trying to group together those subjects which have the strongest affinities, and making the separations where they can be made with the least violence. Thus, Law contains the laws as they are, and treatises on their meaning; the class Politics and Government contains discussions on what the laws should be; Legislation, the same discussions when carried on in legislative bodies, together with all accounts of the proceedings of such bodies, and all the documents submitted to them as grounds for their decision. So, a thorough inquiry into the capacity of the negro would send one to the widely separated classes, Bibliography, for an account of what the negroes have written, — Biography (Collective), for the lives of famous negroes, — Ethnology, Freedmen and Free Negroes, History § Negroes, Slavery, and Slave-Trade. Of course proper references remind one to look in all these places.

Again, although the Bible is the very foundation of Christian doctrine and practice, and in the French classed catalogues which follow Brunet always stands at the beginning of Théologie, it will be found more convenient to have an independent class, Bible,* and to bring the illustrative works near it by such headings as Biblical Antiquities, Biblical Chronology, Biblical Commentary, Biblical Criticism, Geography, Hermeneutics, History, etc. A similar grouping collects much that concerns the Christian Church under the headings, Ecclesiastical Antiquities, Ecclesiastical Biography, History, Law, Polity, Statistics, Trials. Under Theology are left the systems of doctrine, ritual, and practice which have been drawn from the Bible, which, after all, often have small connection with their source. In Brunet, sermons also appear under Théologie. In the New Catalogue they are made a separate class, partly because they have a certain likeness to orations, (and it is usually best that a class which has connections with two other classes should not be subordinated to either of them,) and partly for the sake of having the subdivisions, Christmas, Dedication, Doctrinal, Expository, Fast, Funeral, Historical, Political, and others.

* Here, and not in the authors' catalogue, are enumerated all the editions of the Bible.

One other difference between the two systems should be noticed. The Index of the Boston Public Library follows essentially Mr. Panizzi's plan, which was, to make the titles in the catalogue of authors very full, and the index of subjects merely a huge collection of brief references to the subjects indicated in those titles, giving no information whatever as to the edition or character of the books, and driving the inquirer to a continual and wearisome recurrence to the authors' catalogue, if he would make a satisfactory selection. The necessary loss of time is not the only evil incident to this plan. It is impossible to compare titles so widely separated. While one is looking for and at a tenth, he forgets the first five or six. And the loss of time, which can be borne when one is using a single printed volume, would be utterly unendurable with the complete catalogue of a large library, especially if in manuscript. Suppose that the British Museum had made an index on this plan, and imagine a man, not a professed botanist, trying to cull from it one of the two or three hundred general works on botany. Of course he could take the first he found, trusting to chance to give him what he wanted, and, if chance proved unkind, sending for another and another, till he was satisfied. It is hardly necessary to point out that a catalogue which makes such a course necessary, however cheap its compilation may have been, cannot be considered very economical either for the library or the public. But if one will not do this, he must open perhaps fifty folio volumes of the catalogue (for some of which he will probably have to wait, because other persons are using them), find the titles to which he is referred, and remember them as he turns from one to another. If this scheme had been tried for a time at the British Museum, Mr. Panizzi would have been as zealous an opponent of meagre subject titles as he was of brief titles under the names of authors.*

* The index of the Astor Library catalogue gives under each subject only a bare list of the names of those who have written upon it. There is not the slightest indication when the different books were written, how large they are, or how the subject is treated. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Cogswell for what he has done; the catalogue of the Astor Library would be of comparatively little service in other libraries without this index: yet it is a pity that the time and patience which readers will lose while consulting it could not have been used to make it more satisfactory to them.

In the New Catalogue, on the contrary, the subject entry is the fullest, sometimes the whole title being copied, sometimes different parts under different classes, but in every case so much as is necessary to describe the way in which the book handles the particular subject under which one is looking. The form of the book, — folio, octavo, or other, — the number of volumes, and the number of pages, when less than a hundred, are given, because the extent of a work will often determine one's choice; and the imprint is added because the date when a work was written often makes a great difference in its scientific value. This fulness is one of the most important features of the New Catalogue, and the great amount of work which this saving of time to those who use it causes to those who make it is one of the reasons why it cannot be made quickly. In the authors' catalogue, on the other hand, nothing more is necessary than to separate very carefully the different authors by giving their names in full, and, in the case of the more common names, adding the dates of birth and death, to copy enough of the title to identify the book, and, when there are more editions than one, to note, as briefly as possible, their differences.

I have dwelt at some length on the distinctions between the dictionary and the mixed system, and on their comparative advantages, because the former is much more commonly used, and because it has been persistently asserted, that, though less scientific, it is by far the most convenient. It seems to "be imagined, that, with a catalogue thus constructed, a person must know at once just where to look for whatever he wants. But a few experiments, or a little reflection, will dispel this pleasing illusion.

"The inquirer must often be uncertain under what word in the catalogue he should look for his subject, because it is often difficult for the cataloguer to determine how a particular subject should be designated. First, there is the case of *synonymous or equivalent terms.* He has to choose, for instance, between Antiquities and Archæology; between Birds and Ornithology; between Shells and Conchology, or Mollusca and Malacology; between Temperance and Intemperance; between Masonry and Freemasonry, to say nothing of Anti-masonry;

between Protection, Tariff, and Free Trade. Or if, as has generally been the case in catalogues constructed on this system, he is governed merely by the accidental phraseology of the title, he separates works of precisely the same class, placing some under one heading, and others under one or more synonymous headings in another part of the alphabet, greatly to the inconvenience of the inquirer. Again, many subjects are usually expressed by *two or more words*, as Capital Punishment, Future Punishment, College Education, Moral Philosophy, Agricultural Chemistry, English Grammar, English Proverbs, Scottish Ballads, Art of War, International Law, Commercial Law, Comparative Anatomy, Natural Theology, not to mention the equivalent terms often used for many of these, as, Death Penalty, Academic or University Education, Ethics, Military Art, Law of Nations, Mercantile Law, Natural Religion. How is a person to know beforehand under which of these words he will find the subject entered in the catalogue?" *

The truth is, that each plan has some merits which the other does not possess. A person who has always been accustomed to one will find much in the other to surprise and for a while puzzle or offend him; but any one who should be for some time in the constant habit of consulting a catalogue of each kind on all sorts of subjects would hardly doubt which deserved the palm of superiority.

There can be no question that the mixed system is most convenient for those who understand it and have learnt where to look for what they want. It is therefore well adapted to the library of a college or of a learned society. A large proportion of those who frequent such libraries are engaged in some limited field of investigation, and can quickly become accustomed to the method adopted in the classes to which they have most occasion to refer. The professor of chemistry soon discovers that he has seldom to look at any but three drawers, — those which contain Chemistry, Mineralogy, and

* Mr. Abbot's Statement, p. 48. Experience shows, that, with all the simplicity of a "dictionary" catalogue, the public have to be taught how to use it; which necessity is occasioned partly by synonymes, partly by the national grouping, partly by the lack of references from specific to general terms, and partly by the common want of familiarity with catalogues of any kind.

Toxicology. The professor of botany seldom need go beyond those which contain Botany, Agriculture, and Horticulture. The professor of history would make most use of the classes History, Geography, Ecclesiastical History, Biography, Antiquities; though, of course, his researches would occasionally carry him into such classes as Bibliography, Commerce, Finance, Heraldry, Politics, Statistics, and many others. The Latin professor knows that he shall find all that relates to the tongue which he teaches under Language — Latin; the history of the literature written in that language, under Bibliography — Latin; the literature itself, and whatever illustrates single writers, under Latin Authors; that part of the literature which is engraved on stone, under Inscriptions — Latin; the manners and customs of Rome, under Antiquities — Roman; the description of her territory, under Geography, § Rome; the account of her deeds, under History, § Rome; her jurisprudence, under Law — Roman; her mythology, under Religions (Various) — Roman. Certainly this is not a very hard lesson to learn, and when it is once fixed in the memory, the consultation of the catalogue for these subjects, which are nearly all that he need consult in the ordinary course of his studies, is merely mechanical. And when the lesson is really understood, it becomes a key to the use of many other parts of the catalogue. As he found what relates to Rome, he can find what relates to Greece. Having been accustomed to the class Inscriptions, he is not surprised at classes like Ballads, Fables, Legends, Letters, Quotations. The class Law would lead him to expect the classes Commerce, Finance, Political Economy, Politics, Statistics.

It is to be expected that people will occasionally be startled at particular classifications, and think that they meet familiar subjects in strange places. Hardly any one would at first look for treatises on the observance of Sunday, or on infant baptism, under Theology — Ritual, § Baptism, and § Sunday. A little reflection will show that such a class is at least not unreasonable, and that it has the advantage of bringing these books, and works on confirmation, the Lord's Supper, and other *rites* of the Christian Church, into close connection with general works on ritualism, instead of mixing them with

the numerous treatises on practical theology, or, worse still, dispersing them through the whole alphabet. And when such a classification is once understood, its use becomes very easy, and, if it is well devised, an orderly mind derives a sensible pleasure from its appropriateness. In fact, it is to be hoped that the catalogue will be a not insignificant addition to the educational apparatus of the university, leading the students, in spite of the perverse willingness of men to let any good escape them which cannot be obtained without some exertion, unconsciously to make classifications themselves, and assisting them in forming the very useful habit of laying up questions and facts in the mind, suitably labelled, and in their proper places.

Synonymous terms cause trouble both to the maker and the user of this, as of every catalogue. Yet they sometimes afford an opportunity for an ingenious grouping of classes, by which their mutual relation can be exhibited. You wonder why you do not find Grecian and Roman and Hindu mythology under Mythology, and why the drawer which contains Theology, that is, Christian Theology, does not also contain Theology (Natural). The reason is, that natural religion illustrates mythology more than it does Christian theology, and the use of the terms Religion (Natural) and Religions (Various) brings together the classes which are most closely connected.*

As it was desirable that the treatment of the different classes should be uniform, certain distinguishing features run through the whole catalogue. Such classes as Chemistry, Engraving, Philosophy, Science, Zoölogy, have, and almost all the classes can have, a division Biography, where, besides the lives of persons eminent in those branches of learning or art, will be found criticisms on their works. A rhapsody on Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, an onslaught on Wagner's Lohengrin, praise of Church's Niagara, or censure of Story's Everett, an explanation of the Hegelian philosophy, an account of the life of Stephenson or the death of Wolfe, would all be

* Those who place the Christian religion on a level with all others might object to this arrangement. Even such critics should remember, however, that the juxtaposition of classes is to be determined here, not by the philosophical relations of subjects, but by the manner of their treatment in books. In the present case, to be sure, it would have been possible to connect all these related classes by using the terms Theology (Christian), Theology (Gentile), and Theology (Natural).

found under this critico-biographical branch of the respective classes, Music, Painting, Sculpture, Philosophy, Engineering, Military Art. A similar division, Geographical, under such classes as Agriculture, Geology, Medicine, Natural History, Superstitions, and many others, receives works treating of those subjects with special reference to a particular country. Almost every class has a division History, where are put accounts of the origin, progress, and present state of the art or science, the subdivisions being the names of countries. This division, History, of course bears the same relation to the division Biography that the class History has to Biography. It is a question yet undecided, whether it is not best to treat all bibliography not national in the same way, instead of collecting it under Bibliography, and there making the names of the arts and sciences the divisions.

But it is not possible to treat everything in exactly the same manner; nor will the English language always permit us to give analogous classes similar names. Thus, observations on the text of single Greek or Latin writers are given as appendixes to the lists of those writers' works in the classes Greek Authors and Latin Authors; but those which illustrate several writers, or relate to Oriental authors, naturally appear under Classical Philology or Oriental Philology; observations on the text of the Bible, under Biblical Criticism, — on the text of a modern European or American author, under Bibliography.

It has been objected to Mr. Abbot's plan, that not only will readers find such a catalogue hard to consult, but other librarians will find it hard to make. But any good index of subjects is difficult of construction. Rhetoricians say that easy writing is hard reading. In the same way a catalogue which is compiled without much trouble will be likely to cause considerable delay and disappointment to those who use it. No satisfactory result can be obtained without the expenditure of time and thought. Shall it be the time of the librarian, or the time of the readers? Certainly not of the latter; for their labor, spent in solving the question of the moment, will in each case benefit only themselves, — while the labor of the librarian, being put into a form permanently accessible, may help numberless persons inquiring into the same matter. But let no cataloguer who

undertakes the task, wishing to give as much assistance as possible, delude himself with the idea that his work will be easy or rapid. In preparing the list of authors, he may get much assistance from the printed catalogues of other libraries, but in the classed part very little use can be made of the labors of other bibliographers, because no one has ever worked on the same plan. He must decide each question for himself, with no help from experience. If he would have his catalogue perfect, he must examine each book sufficiently to discover its contents, to determine just what it treats of, how many subjects it treats of, and sometimes exactly how it treats of them. In history, he must ascertain what is the period described, that the title may be inserted in its proper place in the chronological arrangement. And this he will often find no easy matter. Not a few histories and biographies — so inconsiderate are authors — are published without any list of contents, index, or chronological table, and almost without dates. In geography and travels the same work is to be done; for here, too, the subarrangement should be chronological. Marco Polo and Vámbéry, the Grand Duke Cosmo and Esquiros, Mrs. Trollope and Anthony Trollope, saw very different states of society, and brought back very different accounts of Asia, England, the United States. It would never do to mix them indiscriminately. But to ascertain the exact period covered by each journey is often difficult and tedious. Some travellers give no dates at all; some, even more provokingly, date the first day of their voyage, and continue the narration with "a week after," "the next month," "several days later," which at last produces an indefiniteness of time that would put Carlyle in a rage. And it is not always possible to tell by a glance at the title through what countries the traveller passed.

Much delay is also caused by what is termed "analysis," that is, bringing out under their proper heads the works contained in collections like Force's "Tracts," Gale's "Scriptores Britannicæ et Anglicanæ xx.," and the very valuable papers in the Memoirs, Transactions, and Journals of learned societies, and at least the more important of the articles in periodicals. The time consumed in such work is considerable. In properly analyzing a single volume it may be necessary to

make as much research for the classification, and to write as many cards, as would suffice for a whole shelf-full of books which require no analysis. But the work pays. The amount of buried matter that it reveals is astonishing. The greater part of bibliographical essays are to be found only in periodicals. The controversy on the Gospel of John, which excited an interest in Germany that twenty years have hardly diminished, began in Zeller's *Theologische Jahrbücher*. The articles in the *Studien und Kritiken* are almost volumes in themselves. For nine tenths of the monographs by which science is advanced one must consult periodicals and the publications of societies. In historical studies and the fine arts, although the proportion of independent publications is greater, one must go frequently to the same source. But indispensable as such material is to any thorough research, the student ordinarily loses a large part of it, because it is not indexed. What he finds probably costs him a long hunt, and much he does not find at all. Every man of science has experienced this evil, which within a few years has led the Royal Society of London to prepare for its own use an elaborate "Catalogue of Scientific Papers" from 1800 to 1863. So important is the work considered, that the British government has ordered it to be printed at the public expense; and so extensive is it, that the first volume of authors, consisting of 960 quarto pages, contains only the letters A — Clu, about one sixth of the whole. The promised "Alphabetical Index * of the Subjects of the Papers as far as they appear in the Titles" will relieve libraries from the necessity of analyzing scientific periodicals published before 1864, just as Mr. Poole's "Index to Periodical Literature" makes it unnecessary to analyze English periodicals published before 1852. But the necessity will still remain of doing something similar, or better, in those branches of knowledge which have not the advantage of such indexes.†

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* An index on the dictionary system is much better adapted to these scientific papers, which are almost entirely monographs, than it would be to a library containing many general works.

† The impatience of the public, and the fear of being too voluminous, prevented Mr. Jewett from inserting in the "Index to the Catalogue of the Boston Public Library" much that he would undoubtedly have been glad to include. That Index, though very complete for authors, however little they may have written, gives no

Analysis should not be confined to periodicals and serials. Many books contain important chapters on special topics of which not a hint is to be found in the title. Important biographical sketches, occasionally a sermon worthy of special reference, accounts of the natural history and of the language of various countries occurring in books of travel, essays like Macaulay's on the Catholic Church, or on a dozen other subjects, whole treatises which the library may possess only in the author's collected "Works," — all these would be overlooked on Mr. Panizzi's plan. "If you have full and accurate titles," he says, "well drawn up for an alphabetical catalogue, you take all the words which indicate any of the subjects treated of in that work, and you enter them alphabetically. . . . . Under Dodo I find whatever is written about the Dodo." — *The Lord Advocate.* "So far as appears in the title-page?" — "Yes; and there can be nothing better, if the titles are well done. . . . . If it is not mentioned in the title-page, the case is much worse in a classed catalogue; you must read every book, to class their contents." That the cataloguer should read every book through is of course impossible. Fortunately it is not necessary. He may discover much by simply turning over the leaves. How far analysis shall be carried must be left to his discretion; and his decision will be determined by his knowledge, his tastes, and the amount of time at his command. Uniformity in such a matter, though desirable, is not essential; since the usefulness of one such reference is not in the least affected by another's having been made or not made.

There are many books which do not require analysis; but the habit of examining each, to see whether any is needed, is a useful check on the tendency to classify by the title alone. One who is hurried into this dangerous practice can never know where a moment's inattention or ignorance about some detail of a subject may lead him. He should at least be very sure that he understands his title. Perhaps no one would imagine Boehmer's *Meditationes in Constitutionem Criminalem Caro-*

reference from *subjects* to anything less than a volume. Papers in the *Mémoires* of the French Academy, hundreds of pages long, do not receive the attention that is bestowed on mere trifles which were published separately. Even Mr. Lowell's careful catalogue at the Boston Athenæum does not bring out any articles in periodicals.

*linam* to be a discussion of the slave laws of South Carolina, or *I Clefti della Grecia Moderna*, a description of the present state of the Acroceraunian cliffs: but men have actually put *Orationes Sancti Chrysostomi* in the same class as *Ciceronis Orationes*, and *Budæus de Asse et Partibus ejus* under Zoölogy, as a work on Asses. Why should not "If, Yes, and Perhaps" be a treatise on particles, an English Tursellinus? Some titles appear to be written to conceal contents. Even when they give information, it is not always correct; and when it is correct, it is seldom complete.

Difficulties of another kind admit of a more summary treatment. No librarian has any security that he may not be called upon at any time to catalogue, and, what is worse, to classify, a book written in a language of which he knows not a word, Polish or Russian, Persian or Japanese, some Hawaiian tract left by a missionary, a Chinese treatise given by an *attaché* of an embassy in exchange for the reports of the library, a Bulgarian guide-book brought home by an adventurous traveller, perhaps a batch of works in an uncommon language which some scholar overburdened with time has undertaken to learn and given up in despair after a short trial. If the cataloguer knows any one who can decipher the strange characters and interpret the unknown words, he will apply to him; otherwise, rather than waste much time in making blunders by the aid of the grammar and lexicon, he will choose the auctioneer's brief style, — "A Mongolian book, with illustrations." In the course of time a number of these titles accumulate, a constant eyesore, offending the taste for uniformity and completeness, but after all not practically diminishing the value of the catalogue more than the presence of the books increases the practical value of the library. The first scholar who wishes to read them can be employed to properly describe them.

The cataloguer should not expect to be satisfied with his work. Let him make what acquaintance he can with many languages, let him get a superficial knowledge of all branches of science, literature, and art, let him almost read the books he classifies, and be generally on his guard against the hundred sources of mistake, yet shall he err like other hurried or inter-

rupted or fagged and drowsy mortals. He will hardly speak of Ander Schiffahrt's Second Voyage, or suppose, with the compiler of a certain Library Manual, that "Ebend." is a great book-publishing city; but he may write *psychology* when he meant to write *physiology;* in a temporary distraction of thought he may even confound things as different as crustacea and mollusca, he may find himself inextricably involved among the higher branches of mathematics or the nice distinctions of metaphysics, and commit errors of judgment even when he avoids slips of the pen.

It may give some idea of the questions which present themselves to one who is commencing such a catalogue, if we consider how certain books may be treated. The first to be dealt with shall be "A Description of National Sports, Dances, and Songs." The title at once suggests three classes. The first, Sports, offers no difficulties. A little consideration, or a slight consultation of other catalogues, shows that there are general works on sports, by Walker and others, and also manuals of particular sports, which will call for such divisions as Base-Ball, Cricket, Hunting, Rowing. Billiards, chess, écarté, whist, will come under a similar class, Games. For the book in hand there must be a division "National"; and if a work on the sports of Scotland, or of Ancient Greece, should ever come up for classification, it would be entered here, Greece or Scotland forming a section under the division National. Dances can be treated like Sports. Songs, however, require a little more thought. It would evidently be difficult to distinguish between ballads and songs; and which name to give to the united classes is a point to split hairs upon. One consideration is perhaps decisive. The old popular romances must of course be included, the metrical legends, which were originally, at least, written to be sung. But it would seem a little strained to call the "Romaunt of the Rose" or "William and the Werwolf" songs. The name "Ballads, etc.," standing midway between the two extremes, may be taken to include both. And we can foresee that prose romances — the other half of the popular literature of the Middle Ages — will require a corresponding class, Legends, which will properly include fairy tales. In these two classes the subdivisions must plainly be names of

countries, for folk lore often bears strongly marked national characteristics; and though the same legends reappear in different lands, yet the style of telling and the embellishments vary. Moreover, these classes contain sometimes the only, and almost always the earliest, literature of the various races.

Let the next book be Brillat-Savarin's entertaining *Physiologie du Goût.* Plainly we must have a class Cookery, where can be assembled all the cook-books, from the *Liber Cure Cocorum* to cautious Dr. Glass and the 101st edition of Miss Acton. And Brillat-Savarin discusses not only the preparation of food, but its history and the characteristics of the different kinds, as is done more exhaustively, but less agreeably, in Soyer's *Pantropheon.* Another class, Food, is needed, then, for these books, for Hassall's "Adulterations of Food," and for works on the preservation of food. Even this is not enough. The *Méditation II., Du Goût,* though it may have little scientific value, certainly deserves a reference under Physiology, which of course must be a division of Medicine. And it must not be overlooked that Diet, that is, the relation of food to health, another generally recognized division of Medicine, receives considerable attention from Brillat-Savarin. Thus we have given the *Physiologie* four distinct entries, — none too many for a work which has won so high a reputation, and maintained it so long, among the wits and epicures of France.

The examples chosen illustrate the necessity of the double and triple entry of many titles. As this forms a weighty item in the expense and bulk of the catalogue, it should of course be avoided wherever the assistance afforded to the reader is much less than the labor caused to the writer. That is to say, double entries should never be made under synonymous terms, a reference from the one rejected to the one selected for a heading being sufficient; and double entries should not be made when two classes partly overlap, as often happens, — for then a reference under one will take the place of the titles, which can just as well be consulted under the other. In this latter case, however, two things are to be observed: first, that the reference is allowable only when it prevents the repetition of several titles, because it is nearly as easy to write a

title as a reference, and no one likes to be sent to another part of the alphabet to find almost nothing when he gets there; and, secondly, that a reference is insufficient when the titles referred to from the first class are mixed in the second with a large mass of others, and much time would be spent in picking them out. To illustrate: the comparative merits of free trade and protection are discussed in the general works on political economy, which must be put under that head; in special pamphlets and magazine articles, which would form, under the same class, the section Free Trade; and in discussions of the various tariffs, which belong under Politics or Legislation (as the case may be), branch United States, section Tariff. When these last treatises discuss the general principles of the subject as well as the particular provisions of each tariff, shall they be doubly entered under Political Economy and under Politics, or will a reference under the former, "See also Politics — U. S. (18—), § Tariff," be enough? The principles stated above furnish a ready answer.

One thing is yet wanting, without which the New Catalogue would fail to be all that is desirable. At present it furnishes no indication of the comparative merit of the works to which it refers, and generally no further description of their character than is given in their titles. In very many cases, and especially for those persons who have some knowledge of books, and some experience in investigation, this is enough; but even they would not disdain further assistance; and it would certainly be well that the inexperienced, the ignorant, and those who, whatever their acquaintance with certain fields of literature, must occasionally venture into paths unknown to them, should find a ready guide in the catalogue. Few persons are so much interested in any subject as to care to read all that has been written upon it. In general, men wish to get the most information in the shortest time from the most reliable source; they require, so to speak, a chrestomathy of the matter. A young man, we will suppose, who has read "Sir Amyas Leigh" with avidity, wishes to learn something more about the age of Elizabeth. The catalogue has done much for him in that it has picked out the histories from all the other books in the library, and from all the histories those of Great Britain, and from them

the histories of the Elizabethan age. But this is not enough. He asks what is the best history of the Elizabethan age. Can any means be devised of answering his question? Merely to give him a list of works, good, bad, and indifferent, without a word to show their character, is to dishearten or misguide him. Unless he has considerable literary knowledge, more than most young men have, he is as likely to choose the bad or indifferent as the good. If, as is not improbable, he has never heard of Froude, and only heard of Hume, if, as is almost certain, Aikin, Burton, Camden, Naunton, Raumer, Wright, are entirely unknown to him, how can he make a good selection? It may be said that he can consult the librarians, or, if he has time, his instructors, and the various histories of literature; but the New Catalogue was designed to save him, as far as possible, from the necessity of consulting anybody. How can it do so in the present case?

The difficulties of the plan are here comparatively slight, the difficulties of the execution are almost insuperable. And first, of the plan. If it be merely desired to point out to the novice a few of the best authors, — as, in Ecclesiastical History, Neander, or Milman, or Stanley, — in Geology, Lyell, — in Comparative Philology, Max Müller, or Professor Whitney, — so much could easily be done by prefixing to the titles a * or a ☞. But whoever wishes to see on which of the cards these marks are placed must examine each card, which is a work of time. To enable any person to turn immediately to the leading work in each division, the only part of the card which is seen when the drawer is first opened — the top — should be marked in some way so as to catch the eye at once. It might be dipped into some bright-colored ink; but unfortunately use, after a time, reduces the top of the cards to a uniform dingy hue, which recalls the edges of the leaves of circulating-library novels. A mark, less conspicuous at first, but more lasting, would be a notch, always made in the same part of the top, or the cutting off of one of the corners. This, indeed, might be too permanent, — for in science, at least, the best book of to-day must give place before long to a better; and it would mark, at any rate, but a rude division. One could hardly be contented to separate books into sheep and goats. They are of every degree

of merit. Some are good in one way, some in another; some for one man, some for another; some for one purpose, and not at all for another. To take a few of the histories of France: Michelet is brilliant, and in his later volumes erratic; Crowe is reliable, but certainly not brilliant; Alison has a reputation not lower than his deserts; Henri is diligent, comprehensive, interesting, and long; Duruy is admirable as an epitomist. What system of asterisks or notches or colors could tell all this? We must have notes; and this brings us back to the necessity of manipulating the cards, to see where and what the notes are. And here comes in also the difficulty of execution. Who shall write all these notes? What man is there who will undertake to say of a hundred thousand volumes, not only what subjects they treat, but how well they treat them? Who will gauge with equal facility and equal correctness the merits of a history of painting, a treatise on quaternions, a discussion of the nature of time and space or of the law of ejectments, an edition of a Greek play or Sanskrit poem, an opera, novel, or volume of sermons? In fact, it is plain that a perfect classed and descriptive catalogue is unattainable. But this is a matter in which completeness is not necessary. Whatever is well done will be profitable. And it would certainly seem that a university, where must be assembled many men of great special learning, who could give assistance in this work, and ought to be interested in having it properly done, possesses unusual advantages for the construction of such a catalogue. Without some such assistance, no corps of librarians that any American library possesses is equal to the task.*

The New Catalogue has elicited frequent and warm expressions of approbation from those who have had recourse to it, especially from the students, and its plan has been adopted by several other libraries. Its usefulness,† present and future,

* Some years ago the most important titles in some parts of the Index were marked with an asterisk; but the work was discontinued, because it was thought that a selection could be made to more advantage when the number of titles should be larger.

† One use has not been mentioned. It is very easy to discover the deficiencies of the library in any department, when all that it possesses in that department is brought together. A brief comparison of that part of the catalogue with a good special bibliography will show what are the most important works still wanting.

can hardly be overestimated. A large library uncatalogued is like a large city without a directory. The stranger strolls around it at random, and finds much to admire and enjoy; but if he has any purpose in his visit, it may be utterly frustrated: he will spend in his search time which he can ill spare, time in which he intended to transact his affairs or was to enjoy the company of his friends. Nay, it is much easier to become acquainted with the city than with the library: the signs catch the eye more quickly than the titles on the backs of the books; it is easier to remember and find again the place of a house than of a volume; and authors do not expose their wares in shop-windows, to show at once where one's wants can be supplied. The attendants are often good guides, better for certain parts of the library, and easier to consult, than any unintelligent catalogue can be: but few men can have its *universal* memory; and men die, while the catalogue lasts. "A library is not worth anything without a catalogue," says Carlyle; "it is a Polyphemus without any eye in his head." One who consults a library provided with a catalogue like Mr. Abbot's is a Briareus, with a hundred eyes and hands. Yet such is the ignorance which prevails in the world about library administration, that the catalogue is hardly ever thought of by those who found libraries. Thousands of dollars are provided to procure books, and not a cent to make them useful after they are received.

CHARLES A. CUTTER.

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With this information, and with money, it becomes easy to make the library symmetrical. The New Catalogue thus not only reveals its treasures so that they can be used, but its wants so that they can be judiciously supplied.

## Art. VI. — Railroad Inflation.

Usage and long-established authority have fixed upon the word "tax" a meaning which is too exclusively political, — as though some form of government could alone, and solely for its own purposes, impose a pecuniary burden under this name upon the wealth of a community. Such a definition is open to serious objections. It not only creates a mischievous confusion of ideas, but it actually deceives the community as to the xtent and unnecessary nature of many of the burdens under which it labors. The burden of taxation, as it is called, is crudely measured by the proportion which the public revenue bears to the numbers or supposed wealth of any community as expressed in the census. Such a measure is fallacious in the extreme. A tax is not only a contribution taken directly from the resources of any community for governmental or public uses, but, in its general significance, it is also any burden, natural or artificial, which, without altering the intrinsic value, the quality, or the quantity of raw material, adds to its cost before it reaches the consumer.

It is an elementary principle of political economy, that all wealth comes from the soil; neither human industry nor human ingenuity can produce any addition to the material possessions of mankind, except from the earth. The legerdemain of paper financiering operates largely upon the distribution of property, — not uncommonly taking from one who is industrious, and giving to another who is cunning, a proportion of the honest results of labor. But however and with whatsoever degree of fraud it operates upon the distribution of wealth, it never directly creates it. Everything produced from the earth, moreover, is valuable only in so far as some one wants it and is willing to exchange labor or its products for it. Speaking somewhat loosely, all mankind may, then, be divided into the two great classes of consumers and producers, — to the first of which every human being, and to the last of which the vast majority of mankind, belongs. Between the producer of the raw material and the consumer there comes an intermediate class, the possessors of skilled labor, those who

by their labor lend an additional intrinsic value to the raw material. Such are all manufacturers. The sum total, therefore, of the wealth of any community and of the whole world consists of all that which it has extorted from the earth, enriched by any factitious value which may have been added to it. These two elements of cost — production and manufacture — are necessary preliminaries to a fitness for consumption: everything beyond these which adds to the price of a commodity before it reaches the consumer is a tax levied upon consumption or production; just as much a tax, if the increase is charged for transportation and collected by an importer over his counter, as if it is charged for revenue and received by a collector at the custom-house. If tea, for instance, is raised and cured in China, and thence transported thousands of miles to London, and the consumer in London pays three times the price at which it was sold by him who cured it in China, that additional sum, however fairly earned by the services rendered, is nothing more nor less than a tax of two hundred per cent on the consumption of tea in London, which again reacts and affects the profit on its production in China. It is a necessary tax, perhaps, in view of existing means of transportation, but none the less is it a tax. The process of removal from one point to another — from the point of production to that of consumption — has in this case added nothing to the wealth or possessions of the world. It has, indeed, distributed, but it has in no way increased or intrinsically qualified human possessions; for after it, as before, whether in Canton or in London, the world possessed the same number of pounds of tea of a given quality. So of flour, of cotton, and of every other product of the soil. Transportation cannot add to wealth; it is simply a distribution of wealth already in existence; and the cost of distribution constitutes a tax on consumption, levied indifferently on the producer, the manufacturer, and the consumer. This tax must necessarily fall upon all parties, though in unequal proportions very difficult to ascertain. The consumer has apparently to pay the entire amount. There is no doubt about his bearing a portion at least of the burden. But it does not rest on him alone, as few will deny in America, at least while unthreshed wheat is yet burned for fuel, and the trans-

portation tax at times robs the producer of the whole fruits of his toil. Could that tax be wholly abolished, and breadstuffs be transported without cost to London, the exchangeable value of flour would rise in Chicago and fall in Liverpool. Society would then at once be relieved of a tax in comparison with which all the imposts of governments are trivial. In like manner, anything which adds to the necessary cost of transportation aggravates the tax, and anything which diminishes it removes one more burden from human toil.

This is a form of taxation not often referred to in the treatises. Vastly the greater portion of all human expenditure is consumed in taxes, — if in taxes are included those profits and charges which add nothing to the sum of human wealth, but only to exchangeable values. Government taxes are burdensome enough, and most burdensome when they are hidden away under the ingenious fraud of indirect taxation: yet ninety-nine out of a hundred will uncomplainingly accept a rise in money value of one hundred per cent occasioned by an impost for revenue upon some article of necessary domestic consumption, and this, too, the immediate and legitimate result of some clumsy piece of fiscal legislation, when a direct tax amounting to no more than one fifth of what is thus annually filched from their pockets would strike them as intolerable oppression. Sir Robert Peel, in 1841, said in the House of Commons: "Give me a direct payment (in the form of an income tax) of five millions per annum, and I shall be able to reduce your taxation on tea, coffee, sugar, and all the other necessaries of life, to the amount of twenty millions per annum." This promise, fulfilled in the event, rested upon what should be an axiom in the science of revenue, — that taxes are more easily imposed and more patiently borne in the same proportion as they are indirect: though it will some day be generally recognized that in proportion as taxation is indirect it is onerous and oppressive. The mass of men are always superficial. They are apt to believe what they are pleased to call the evidence of their own senses, than which no evidence can be more deceptive. A tax levied by an assessor, and collected by a tax-gatherer, strikes the common run of mankind aghast. The cold, hard figures will not away. They are visible, they

are real, they must be paid, and that altogether and in ready money. One realizes, in paying the direct tax, the importance of economy in government, and feels corruption there to be a personal wrong; yet that same man will content himself with vague grumbling at "the hardness of the times," will see corruption run riot in every office of the government without a thought, provided he pays his fivefold tax only in the increased charges of the grocer, the tailor, and the haberdasher, and not down in hard money into the hands of an officer.

The course of the American people in regard to their paper currency furnishes a perfect illustration of this truth. They have the reputation of being quick to discern their own interest, especially when the dollar enters into the account, and it was once conceded in this country that no tax was so inequitable or so onerous as the tax imposed by the use of irredeemable paper money,—so profitable to the speculator and the gambler, so oppressive to the honest and industrious. The vast majority of our people were supposed to belong to the latter class. Paper money imposes a tax on this latter class in favor of the former. What is the amount of the tax? The annual sales of merchandise alone in this country are returned at ten thousand millions of dollars. Upon this immense mass of transactions a tax must be levied to cover fluctuations of paper value. Those who make transfers can only in this way secure themselves against loss, present and future. This tax is paid by every consumer, on every article consumed, on which those by whom exchanges are made do not suffer a loss; and in view of the fluctuations which take place in values, one and a half per cent cannot be considered an unreasonable provision against them. The currency tax, then, amounts to $150,000,000 a year, or one half of the expenditure of the United States. This is a tax which does not appear in the Reports of the Treasury,—a mere incidental payment made by consumers to dealers and middle-men,—those by whom exchanges are made,—the class to which almost exclusively the speculators and gamblers belong. All mankind in America pay this tax, but all do not profit by it. The middle-man pays it in so far as he is a consumer, and he profits by it in so far

as he is a middle-man, — he receives many-fold what he pays; the mere consumer pays as such, and receives nothing; the producer pays in so far as he is a consumer, and also bears the burden of decreased production which must follow this tax on consumption. The vast majority in the country, then, and especially the owners of downright labor, who constitute the only real wealth-producers, pay this tax to a small minority in the large towns. And yet the essential measures merely preliminary to a return to the money of the world may not even be mentioned by any political party which dreams of success. The people believe the so-called evidence of their senses, and, forgetting that appearances are deceptive, they hug their heavy burdens, being only wise in their own conceit.

These facts and principles must be clearly borne in mind, else the great interest which communities have in all questions of transportation cannot be appreciated. The preliminary discussion may be fairly summed up as follows. All elements of price which add to the amount paid by the consumer of any commodity above the cost of the production and manufacture are in the nature of direct taxes on consumption and of indirect taxes on production, — whether imposed by government, by distance, or the friction of trade, — everywhere and always a tax. The more these taxes are imposed directly, the less onerous and injurious they are; the more indirectly they are imposed, the more unequal and oppressive they become.

It is computed that the yearly revenue of the forty thousand miles of railroad in the United States is about $350,000,000. This amount, it must be remembered, is a simple tax on travel and production. It is perfectly true, it is a necessary tax, and one gladly paid; for without it neither travel nor production on the present scale could exist. Undoubtedly, moreover, the speed and convenience of the railroad system lead to an incalculable saving of time and friction, and consequent increase of wealth. At the same time, the railroad system in itself directly produces nothing; though it carries innumerable tons of merchandise, it never makes one ton two. It simply greatly relieves the friction of commerce, but by no means destroys it. That friction is now represented by a tax, or increased cost, of some three hundred and fifty millions a year, upon travel

and traffic. Could a new invention be developed which would constitute as great an improvement on railroad locomotion as that is on the system which preceded it, then this annual expenditure of $350,000,000 would be reduced to about $35,000,000 upon the same amount moved. In this sense, therefore, the entire cost of transportation is a tax upon the community; it has been much greater, — it may hereafter be much less; greater or less, however, it must always remain a tax.

The next question is, For what purpose is this tax levied, and to whom does it accrue? What portion of this large sum is a necessary tax upon the community? and what portion, if any, is unnecessary? Railroads must not only be built, but they must be operated. The gross income of the system must therefore be devoted to two ends: first, to the operating of the roads; and, secondly, to the remuneration of the capital invested in them. The tables of statistics show, that, under the present system of operating American railroads, which must be presumed to be reasonably economical, seventy per cent of the gross earnings are consumed in operating expenses. This is approximately the absolute cost of working and replacing the machinery which keeps up the movement of commerce. It is the necessary tax, the first cost, as it were, of friction. The remaining thirty per cent of the three hundred and fifty millions of gross revenue — more than a hundred millions of dollars per annum — is the amount reserved as a remuneration for the capital and the risk involved in the construction and management of the system. This sum is, therefore, an annual tax by itself, which the people of this country pay to those who own and control our railroads; and it is a tax deserving of a more attentive consideration than it generally receives. In view of the inestimable value, both immediate and prospective, of the service rendered, and of the essential part it plays in material and moral progress, it would indeed be strange, if this tax were very closely scrutinized, or were not cheerfully, and even eagerly, paid. Yet every tax upon their resources should be calmly and carefully scanned by a people who pretend to guide their own destinies. In spite, however, of its enormous proportions and

onerous nature, in spite of the fact that it adds to the cost of every article of consumption and enters into the expense of every movement of national and individual life, this transportation tax is so indirect in its nature, so plausible and fair in its reason, and so much a portion of the customary life of the community, that it excites absolutely less attention and less real interest and discussion than a tax of a dollar a gallon on whiskey or two cents a pound on cotton.

This annual tax of a hundred millions, or thereabouts, is necessarily levied upon the community by the owners of the railroad system, as being in their estimation a fair compensation, or the best they can get, for the value of the services rendered by them. In other words, certain individuals, responsible to no authority and pertaining to no government, looking solely to the interests of an immediate constituency, yearly levy on the American people a tax, as a remuneration for their own capital and labor, assessed and levied by themselves, equal to one third the expenses of the United States government. In this case it may be that the remuneration is not excessive. Railroad financiers and railroad kings may be unlike other men, and may ask only that which is just and right. If this be so, it is fortunate for the community; for never before was a power so enormous intrusted to irresponsible hands. The obvious danger of committing so extraordinary a power to private individuals could not well have escaped the attention of legislators. But the magnitude of the system then inaugurated was not understood forty years ago, and experience alone could furnish the data upon which a correct system of legislation could be based. The only remedy which then suggested itself was the simple one of affixing a limit to profits. This was accordingly done, and in the earliest charters granted in this country are found clauses reserving a power of abating charges for transportation whenever the dividends of the companies shall exceed a certain percentage on the capital. In England, Parliament further attempted to limit the profits of these enterprises by including in the charters long and carefully prepared lists of charges which the companies could not exceed. Such an attempt, made at that time, could of course only be very crude and

unsatisfactory. It accordingly resulted that the tariffs of charges, being based upon the old turnpike and canal experiences, were extremely exorbitant, and the profits of the early lines were unduly large. In other words, the tax levied on the community by the proprietors of the lines in their own favor was evidently oppressive. This was, however, a direct tax, and, like all excessive direct taxation, it speedily wrought its own cure. The attention of Parliament was called to the subject, and in 1844, at the instance of Mr. Gladstone, a law was enacted which contained a clause of general operation, practically, in the view of railway directors, limiting their dividends to ten per cent per annum upon the stock of their roads. This particular feature of an otherwise well-considered act led to results in no way anticipated. Not only did it go far towards bringing on the railroad mania of 1845, which was comparatively a small matter, but it introduced into England the practice of what has since been known as stock-watering, — one of the most ingenious and oppressive forms of burdening the growth and industry of a people and of mortgaging future development which have ever been devised. Immediately upon the enactment of this law the railway managers resorted to the usual weapons of those who wish to tax an unwilling community. The more direct and lighter tax having raised a popular outcry, they acquiesced in what they regarded as its repeal, and at once proceeded to levy several times the sum previously levied, through a vastly more oppressive form of indirect taxation. As they considered that after the enactment of 1844 they could no longer, on their existing stock, safely divide all the money they could earn, the railroad financiers incontinently proceeded, on every possible pretext, to create additional shares, until the gross amount of the stock should be sufficient to absorb, in the dividends allowed by the act, the utmost possible net earnings of their roads. The Gladstone act, in so far as it failed to place checks upon the creation of new stock, was defective. Excessive charges and large profits had been found to be like excessive direct taxation, — a present burden, which wrought its own cure, and that speedily; but an increase of stock was nothing more nor less than a creation of new national debt. It represented so much paper capital to pay

dividends and interest upon which a tax in the shape of transportation charges was to be levied forever. In other words, the increasing business of the community was mortgaged in perpetuity to pay dividends on capital stock of railways upon which not a penny had ever been paid in.

It is not worth while, however, to go into the details of the history of stock-watering in England. There it has never been reduced to a science, although Sir Morton Peto has lately carried it to a very creditable degree of perfection. In America only is the process found in its highest stage of development. Here it may be studied as an art now in its mature perfection. Commenced long ago, as a simple and desperate expedient for raising money at an enormous discount for the purpose of completing enterprises of doubtful success, we find it referred to in the earlier history of some roads now the most profitable, in passages curiously suggestive. Take, for instance, the roads which have been consolidated into what is now known as the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne, and Chicago. Of one of these we read: "The stock subscriptions which were paid in cash into the treasury of the company were very small, — amounting perhaps, in all, to less than three per cent on the final cost of building and equipping the road. The stock subscriptions were paid for mostly in uncultivated lands, farms, town lots, and labor upon the road." Of the whole road as it stands we are told, that, "of the $18,663,876, now representing the cost of the road and equipment, &c., the shareholders contributed in cash only about ten per cent, or less than $2,000,000; and their contributions in cash, bonds, notes, lands, and personal property, labor, &c., to something less than $4,000,000, or rather more than twenty per cent of the present cost of the work. The difference between this sum and the capital stock, as now shown by the books of the company, is made up of dividends which were *paid in stock*, interest on stock *paid in stock*, premium on stock allowed to stockholders at the time of consolidation, which was *paid in stock*, and a balance of stock still held by the trustees."

This, however, was in the early days of the enterprises, the days of doubtful success, when stock was thought worthless, and often proved so, and was almost given away. But

stock-watering soon took a new form, readily adapting itself to conditions of assured success. It is eight hundred and thirty-seven miles from Albany to Chicago. The roads connecting those two points will furnish a good example of the phase of stock-watering now under consideration. The New York Central was consolidated under a special act of Assembly in 1852. Eleven roads went into the consolidation with an aggregate capital of $23,235,600. The stock lowest in value of the eleven was settled upon as the par of the new concern, and the stocks of the other ten companies were received at a premium varying from seventeen to fifty-five per cent. By this simple financial arrangement, $8,894,500 of securities, of which not one cent was ever represented by property, but which in reality constituted so much guarantied stock, was made a charge, principal and interest, against future income. In other words, an indirect tax of over half a million a year was imposed upon the community, which was to receive absolutely nothing in compensation. The next step towards Chicago was one of eighty-eight miles to Erie. This was made up of a consolidation of two roads which went in with $2,800,000 of capital and came out with $5,000,000. Upon this ten per cent dividends are regularly paid, imposing another gratuitous tax of $220,000 forever. The next step in the line was one of ninety-six miles to Cleveland. There has been no consolidation here, simply honest, straight-forward watering, and that with the whole head of the hydrant. This road has cost in money $4,868,427; it has divided in seven years three hundred and nineteen per cent, and the company pays interest and dividends on bonds and stock to the amount of $11,250,000, — an indirect gratuitous tax on material development of perhaps half a million a year. The remaining three hundred and ninety miles to Chicago represent as nearly as may be $3,000,000 more of paper capital, imposing in round numbers a further annual tax of $200,000. In all, a permanent gratuitous tax for paper capital on one single line of road of over $1,400,000 per annum.

Almost every conceivable vicissitude of railroad fortune has at some time served its turn as an excuse for stock-watering. Companies have watered their stock because they were rich

and had a surplus, and they have watered it because they were poor and could not make dividends; they have watered it because they did not have stock enough, and recently Erie has been flooded because there was so much of the stock that more made no difference. Stock has been issued because roads have been subjected to opposition, and it is regularly issued because they are exempt from it. The Northwestern turns out an honest president because he objects to an issue of stock, and the New Haven has to submit to heavy watering at the hands of a fraudulent treasurer. Then the familiar practice meets us in its English form as a means of evading a usury law. The State of Massachusetts has always regulated the payment of dividends by practically limiting them to ten per cent on the roads within her limits. Certain railroad companies in the State earned much more than this. These companies, of course, represented the most prosperous, and, for that very reason, the most important lines of travel to the community,—those lines upon which its whole success in the nineteenth-century struggle of competition essentially depended. Of course it was of vital importance to the community to which these roads were the main arteries of prosperity, that the traffic upon them should be taxed as little as possible. The lines, however, have been very profitable,—so much so that dividends of ten per cent per annum by no means depleted the treasury. The community and the legislature watched them with jealous eyes, and it thus became a delicate question how they could best convey their excessive gains from their own pockets to those of the stockholders. Stock-watering, here as in England, furnished a simple and effective means. A consolidation furnished the pretext, an adjournment of the legislature the occasion; instantly $2,000,000 disappeared out of the treasury and found its way in the form of stock into the pockets of the stockholders, and the business of Massachusetts and Boston was subjected to an additional tax of $200,000 per annum. The process not only depleted the inconveniently swollen treasury, but, by increasing in perpetuity the gross amount of stock in existence, it went to the root of the evil of excessive earnings, by increasing the number of recipients to whom the legal dividend must in future be paid.

Now and then some delectable financial scheme of the nature of that just described comes to grief, but very rarely, and then as a rule for no good reason. Generally the financier is too much for the legislator. At the last session of the Massachusetts legislature, for instance, a quarrel between the executive and the legislature about the prohibitory liquor law caused the defeat of a very neat little scheme to inflate a ten per cent stock through a consolidation to the extent of five and a half millions. Another year the lobby will probably be more fortunate. But while instances of failure are rare, the records of successful waterings abound. The Reading Road, for instance, was represented in 1843 by $7,111,292 of capital stock and indebtedness; by 1860 this had increased to $24,161,889, and it is now $30,000,000. During these twenty-five years this road has issued 105 per cent of stock dividends on common stock, and 48 per cent in common on preferred stock. Some of the assets set down at cost and included in this thirty million were paid for in cash, and some in bonds at seventy cents on the dollar. Of the stock issues, perhaps thirty per cent were pure water, and the other fifty represented some corresponding, though perhaps nominal, increase of assets. That a road cannot pay regular cash dividends is scarcely to be wondered at, when the divisor is represented by an ever-increasing quantity. The Atlantic and Great Western, again, a notable instance of railroad financiering, represents a nominal cost of $58,812,853, yet the most competent authority asserts that not more than $20,000,000 of real money has ever been expended upon it. The Pennsylvania Central since 1862 has not only paid nine per cent per annum in cash, but has watered to the extent of thirty-five per cent more, — thus imposing an annual tax of more than $400,000. In six years the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy has watered to the extent of $5,447,600 upon a stock capital of $5,738,740, — representing therein over half a million of permanent annual impost on that line of traffic. The Chicago and Alton, having in February, 1866, a stock capital of $4,208,918, selling at 119 per cent, issued $2,103,300 of stock, upon which $632,915 was called in for construction. Upon the remaining million and a half of pure water the traffic of that line has since paid, and will probably continue to pay, ten per

cent per annum. The Cleveland, Painesville, and Ashtabula, with its cost of less than five millions and its construction account of over eleven, has already been noticed in connection with the Albany and Chicago line. The Erie it is useless to refer to. Since 1866, by pure manipulation, the stock capital of this concern has been run up from $16,500,000, authorized by law, to $60,500,000, issued by a ring. A corporation, however, which buys Pike's Opera House in Chicago, and "nine houses in Twenty-third Street," and takes out the conveyances of its real estate operations in the names of individual directors, is probably something more than a railway. The operations in Erie have long since degenerated into barefaced, gigantic swindling. But Commodore Vanderbilt's masterpieces have not yet been referred to, though by one turn of his hand three and a half millions of wholly fictitious Hudson River stock were turned upon the market. Rumor has long ascribed to him also a magnificent scheme of deluging Harlem, Hudson River, and New York Central together, — of making by a single turn of the hydrant sixty-eight millions out of their present forty-nine millions of united stock capital, and of exacting in future ten millions of net out of forty millions of gross earnings, instead of a beggarly five millions out of twenty millions as at present. Such a climax of paper capital may yet be in store for us, as the last sinful absurdity of an era of paper money, and the loftiest triumph of railroad financiering. Probably, however, an intelligent people will some day realize that wealth can be created only by hard labor, and that every sleight of hand somewhere conceals a swindle.

If we turn from railways operated by steam to those operated by horse power, the picture does not improve. *Ex pede Herculem*, — take the street railways of New York City. Those best informed assert that the original stockholders of the Second Avenue Road did not pay a cent for their stock. The road cost about $250,000; its stock now stands at $618,000, and its bonds at $350,000. The Third Avenue Road cost $463,000; its capital is now $1,250,000, or three times the cost; and within a year each stockholder has received a bond equal to the amount of his stock, making a fictitious capital more than five times the cost. The Sixth

and Eighth Avenue Roads, more moderate, are contented as yet with but a fourfold inflation. When, therefore, these roads, like some steam roads, complain, that, notwithstanding all this, they can make only a moderate dividend of six to ten per cent per annum on their capital, it becomes a pertinent question, whether they mean six to ten per cent on their paper capital, or thirty to fifty per cent on the real cost of their roads.

The science of stock-watering, as thus far described, had not yet, however, attained perfection. The highest stage of development was of course reserved for the last. The stock of corporations had not yet been given away as a sort of gratuity, the right to direct railways and to tax trade was not yet thrown in as a makeweight. In the earlier days of railroad financiering it would naturally have seemed almost impossible to accomplish such a result, but time and experience brought even this about. It originated in the system of railroad mortgages. Very early, and very naturally, in the immature days of the system, attempts were made to construct railways upon an insufficient capital. Funds gave out before the enterprises were half developed, and projectors had their election between abandonment or progress at any price. The obvious resource was to mortgage the property already in existence. Soon the market was weighed down with every conceivable description of railroad security. First there was a floating debt; then preference stock, to be followed in rapid succession by first, second, and third mortgages; construction and equipment bonds closing up the dreary procession, which not seldom ended at the tomb of a receivership. All these evidences of indebtedness were, however, secured on property really in existence. The art was not at first discovered of mortgaging something thereafter to be created. Presently new roads were projected, the business of railroad construction and financiering being now reduced to a system. The country through which these roads were to pass was young and poor, and capital had to be brought in from outside. There was abundance of it, and that, too, in the hands of men who understood their business, and who drove hard bargains, and those men must be induced to think well of the enterprise. The

whole thing is in the hands of a ring, — a combination of politicians, projectors, and capitalists. In the first place, a new road is demanded, and, as an enterprise, promises well. The next thing is to raise the money necessary to construct it. This is done, not by laying an assessment upon the stock, — that is not heard of as yet, and has no value in the market, — it exists only in name. In place of this, the bonds are put upon the market at a stated price, which, or a portion of which, is advanced by the capitalist, and construction is carried on with the proceeds. The stock itself then passes as a gratuity into the hands of those advancing money upon the bonds. The result is, that by this ingenious expedient the ring hold a mortgage, paying them a secured and liberal interest, on their own property, which has been conveyed to them forever for nothing. The stock is at once nothing and everything. Given away, the donees own and manage the road, and, receiving a fixed and assured interest upon their bonds, enjoy a further right to exact an additional sum, and one as large as they are able to make it, from the developing business of the country, as dividends on the stock. Instances of this form of railroad financiering need not be specified, for it is now the common course of Western railroad construction. The new country needs its railroads, and is willing to pay anything for them. The capitalists of the old country specify their own terms of construction, which, in plain language, read simply, — A large interest assured, and as much more as the business of the country can be made to pay.

Even this process, however, has been improved upon. Not seldom the credit of the embryotic enterprise is bolstered up extraneously. Simple mortgages are not sufficient, and the credit of the road is guarantied by land-grants, or by national or state or town or county loans, or by the credit of connecting or established lines, or by any or all of these combined. Every expedient which the mind of man can devise has been brought into play to secure to the capitalist the largest possible profit, with the least possible risk. The Pacific Railroad furnishes the best example of all these various expedients.

The Pacific Railroad is already a power in the land, and is destined to be a power vastly greater than it now is. The

present is with it the day of small things, yet it already numbers its retainers in both houses of Congress, and is building up great communities in the heart of the continent. It will one day be the richest and most powerful corporation in the world; it will probably also be the most corrupt. What the Erie and the New York Central have been to the politics of a single State, that, and more, this road may yet be to those of the whole country. Yet in speaking of it, it is not pleasant to adopt a tone of criticism towards the able and daring men who are with such splendid energy forcing it through to completion. It is a work of great national import and of untold material value. Those who took its construction in hand incurred great risk, and at one time trembled on the verge of ruin. This enterprise was to them a lottery, in which they might well draw a blank, but, should they draw a prize, the greatness of the prize must justify the risk incurred. The community asked them to assume the risk, and was willing to reward their success. Success was well worth all it might cost, and the cost should and will be paid uncomplainingly. At the same time it cannot be improper to consider what the process of construction is, and it may not be amiss to argue as to the future of the enterprise from its present; for here, as elsewhere, the child will prove father to the man.

As every one must now know, the length of the united road is computed at 1,637 miles, and the cost of construction was estimated at $60,000,000. To meet this outlay a stock capital was authorized of $100,000,000 for each of the two great divisions of the line; upon this, however, no dependence was placed as a means of raising money; it was only a debt to be imposed, if possible, on the future business of the country, and it will be well if it does not prove about as real a debt as the bonds of the United States. A curious mystery, indeed, hangs over this part of the financial arrangements of the concern. No one seems to know anything of the stock, and no one seems to be responsible for it. Much is heard of the subsidies, the land-grants, the bonds, and the earnings of the enterprise; but of the stock, where it is, and how it got there, the most diligent are uninformed. Probably not $20,000,000 ever has been, or ever will be, derived

from this source. The rest is, or pretends to be, as clear as day: there is the government subsidy of $30,000 a mile, and $30,000 a mile of mortgage indebtedness; there is a land-grant of 12,800 acres a mile, and, where there are States, there are bonds, with interest guarantied by the State, and real estate donations from cities, where cities exist; and there are even millions of net earning applied to construction. The means to build the road are not grudgingly bestowed. Meanwhile, as to difficulties of construction, we are told "that the line of the road up the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains is not so difficult as those upon which several great works have been constructed in the Eastern States"; that "elevated table-lands present great facilities for the construction of the road"; and, finally, "that the whole line of the proposed work is a very favorable one," and "more than one half of it is practically level." Of the western division we are told that it has surmounted the Sierra Nevada by a "favorable line, involving no grade more excessive than such as have been worked for years by the Baltimore and Ohio"; that "the remarkable uniformity of the surface offers great facilities for the construction of the proposed road"; and, finally, that this line also, "notwithstanding the great elevation of a considerable portion of it, will compare favorably with Eastern roads." It is, moreover, matter of common notoriety, that, for great distances, this road is sufficiently a surface road to allow miles of track to be laid in a single day. And yet, while the first cost of no other road in the country has exceeded $80,000 a mile, and the average has been but $41,000 in localities where such speed of construction was physically impossible, and where heavy land damages added to cost, the contract price paid on the eastern division of this road has been $68,058 per mile, while the mountain section of the California end has exceeded $100,000. The first-named sum, too, was paid on the Union Pacific for a road which could be laid down at the rate of seven miles, sometimes, in a single day, and some five hundred in a year, while the road-bed was a free gift from the country, and ran, unfenced, over a prairie. This matter is deserving of attention. Letting it pass, however, indulging in no criticism, and conceding that this money is properly and

necessarily expended, it still appears that a debt in stock and bonds of some $320,000,000 is likely to be incurred for a work which will have really cost at its contract prices not $140,000,000. But what does the work cost the contractors? This, probably, will always be a mystery. Of the western division, or Central Pacific, absolutely nothing is publicly known. Managed by a small clique in California, its internal arrangements are involved in about the same obscurity as are the rites of Freemasonry. The eastern division, or Pacific Union, however, is built by contract nearer home, and here rumor at least has been busy, and declares that a new piece of machinery, called the Credit Mobilier, has come into play. The Credit Mobilier is understood to be building the road; but what this Credit Mobilier is seems to be as much shrouded in mystery as is the fate of the missing $180,000,000 of capital stock of these roads. The paternity of this institution is currently supposed to lie between General Duff Green and the irrepressible George Francis Train; or rather, to speak more exactly, some intelligent broker is supposed to have stolen from Green the charter under which the association was organized, and Train applied the stolen property to the purposes of Pacific Railroad construction. The question of proprietorship, at least, is now understood to be in litigation. Whoever originated this anomalous corporation, it is currently reported to be the real constructor of the Union Pacific, and now to have got into its hands all the unissued stock, the proceeds of the bonds sold, the government bonds, and the earnings of the road,—in fact, all its available assets. Its profits are reported to have been enormous,—reported only, for throughout all this there is nothing but hearsay and street rumor to rely upon. Sometimes it has been stated that the dividends of this association have amounted to forty per cent a month, and they have certainly exceeded one hundred per cent per annum; at any rate, it has made the fortunes of many, and perhaps of most of those connected with it. Nor are these profits temporary; every dollar of excessive dividend of the Credit Mobilier is represented by a dollar of indebtedness of the Pacific Railroad, with both principal and interest charged to income, and made payable by a tax on trade. Who, then,

constitute the Credit Mobilier? It is but another name for the Pacific Railroad ring. The members of it are in Congress; they are trustees for the bond-holders, they are directors, they are stockholders, they are contractors; in Washington they vote the subsidies, in New York they receive them, upon the Plains they expend them, and in the Credit Mobilier they divide them. Ever-shifting characters, they are ever ubiquitous, — now engineering a bill, and now a bridge, — they receive money into one hand as a corporation, and pay it into the other as a contractor. Humanly speaking, the whole thing seems to be a species of thimble-rig, with this difference from the ordinary arrangement, that, whereas commonly "the little joker" is never found under the thimble which may be turned up, in this case he is sure to be found, turn up which thimble one may. Under one name or another a ring of some seventy persons is struck, at whatever point the Union Pacific is approached. As stockholders they own the road, as mortgagees they have a lien upon it, as directors they contract for its construction, and as members of the Credit Mobilier they build it. Again, what is the community to pay for it? That they will pay many-fold what the work need to have cost many have long suspected; that, however much they may pay, they will pay more than it is materially worth, few will assert. Here, however, is every vicious element of railroad construction and management; here is costly construction, entailing future taxation on trade; here are tens of millions of fictitious capital; here is a road built on the sale of its bonds, and with the aid of subsidies; here is every element of cost recklessly exaggerated, and the whole at some future day is to make itself felt as a burden on the trade which it is to create, and will surely hereafter constitute a source of corruption in the politics of the land, and a resistless power in its legislature.

Enough has been said to illustrate the bearing which stock-watering and extravagant construction have upon taxation. It would be useless to attempt to estimate the weight of the burden imposed through these means upon material development. The statistics which should enter into any reliable estimate are not accessible, and any approximation would be simply a matter of guess-work. A few hints upon this point are

all that exist. A circular of Henry Clews & Co., under date of June 15, 1868, specifies twenty-one leading railroads quoted on the New York Stock Exchange, the stock capitals of which have been increased from $157,371,484, in 1862, to $265,828,149, in 1867, or sixty-nine per cent in five years. "The Commercial and Financial Chronicle," the best authority which the country affords on such a subject, in its issue of August 22, 1868, estimated the addition to the share capital of the principal roads upon the New York Stock Exchange as "fully $45,000,000 within the last fifteen months." This amount probably represents three millions of additional dividends per annum. As the whole amount of the freight transportation of the entire country during the last year was $140,000,000, this amount represents two per cent additional on the whole cost. Meanwhile, taking New York as a centre, and allowing the cost of transportation to be one and one half cents per ton per mile, the addition or reduction of one eighth of a cent per mile for heavy articles limits or extends by twenty-five miles the radius of territory from which trade can be drawn. The present circle is upon a radius of 1,200 miles. At a low computation, therefore, this additional tax of $3,000,000 per annum, now devoted to dividends as the result of but fifteen months of stock inflation, would, if applied to the reduction of freight on raw materials, have extended the area from which trade could be drawn over at least 20,000 additional square miles of territory. The mischief in so far, however, is done; the forty-five millions have been issued within the fifteen months, and now possess all that sanctity which attaches to vested interests and the rights of property. It only remains for the community to ponder well how many hundreds of millions of stock are yet to be created in this way, and how many additional millions of annual tax are yet to be levied upon them. For the time being, the marvellous growth which naturally marks the development of a new era, like this of steam, in a young country, makes any burden seem easy to be borne. Progress at any price is the watchword of the present. Yet, if the principles upon which that progress is based are not sound, if they are characterized by waste, by fraud, and by improvidence, then the progress which is founded upon them cannot

be healthy. The day of reckoning seems now impending over England. It may yet come for us.

Stock-watering, unfortunately, is but one form of railroad inflation; another form of the same thing, and one even more costly than this to the community, arises from injudicious competition. It was many years after the railroad system was inaugurated, before any, except the most clear-sighted, could be made to realize that railroads were a monopoly, and must be treated as such, not only in their own interest, but in that of the community. M. Rogier, the Belgian Minister of Finance under King Leopold, saw it as early as 1834, and upon that principle founded the famous system of Belgium. George Stephenson, the sagacious father of locomotion by steam, saw the thing in its true light from the beginning, and condensed the whole question into the pithy apophthegm, that, "where combination was possible, competition was impossible." Again in 1846, before a committee of the House of Commons, he gave it as his decided opinion that the power of government supervision should extend to vetoing the construction of competing lines, to protect the public against the heavy rates of traffic which would be required to remunerate the capital involved in their construction. Stephenson fully appreciated what the ultimate burden of free trade in railway construction would amount to. He saw that a line once built must impose a tax on the community, if only to keep itself in existence. He also saw, that, if a competing road was built to divide any given business which could by any possibility be done over a road already constructed, in the end that business must support two roads instead of one. A very slender knowledge of human nature would have enabled him to take the next step, and conclude that any number of competing roads would ultimately unite to exact money from the community, rather than continue a ruinous competition. As combination must always remain possible, no matter how many roads are constructed, it necessarily follows, that, the more roads, the heavier tax, provided always that a less number properly managed could have been made to do the work. Relief did not lie in that direction; it could be found there only under circumstances which rendered exclusive

combination impossible. Nor is human legislation to be included in the number of such circumstances. Had Stephenson lived a few years longer, he would have seen in England an excellent example of the virtues of railroad competition guarantied by law, as a safeguard to the community, — an example not without a savor of comfort for us, with the memory of recent legislative experiences fresh in mind. The Great Northern Railway went before Parliament for its charter. The lines threatened with competition combined their influence, and the bill was thrown out. The next year the application was renewed, and those having the bill in charge engineered it successfully through Parliament by offering to accede to a charter limitation of first-class fares to a point thirty per cent below those charged by the existing companies. The bill was passed and the line constructed, so that a combination, except at low fares, seemed prohibited by act of Parliament. Before the new road was opened, however, before a passenger had passed over it, its directors, pointing out to the other companies how much they would suffer from such ruinous competition, induced them to combine the Parliamentary strength of all concerned, and they actually engineered through Parliament an amendatory bill, raising the fares of the new road to the level of the old. The law of self-preservation had simply been repealed by act of Parliament.

How much this fallacy of cheap transportation through railroad competition has cost Great Britain cannot well be estimated. During the mania of 1845 – 46, it was estimated by Mr. Laing, of the Board of Trade, and the estimate was confirmed by Robert Stephenson, that out of three hundred millions sterling, at that time expended, seventy millions had been completely thrown away in constructing unnecessary duplicate lines with a view to competition. No similar estimate by a competent authority has ever been made for America, but glaring examples of the costly blunder need not be sought far. An admirable instance is furnished in the history of Massachusetts. The introduction of the railroad system revolutionized America more, perhaps, than any other part of the world. The great resources of the country were opened up with surprising rapidity, and new channels of trade con-

tinually revealed themselves. The law of gravitation also made itself felt, attracting commerce more and more to certain great centres, and ever threatening to leave local centres bereft of their importance. Boston was one of these local centres; and Massachusetts, also, as a community, took pride in her individuality. The great force of the natural law seemed at once to threaten destruction both to material prosperity and to individual character. To preserve to Boston her commerce and importance as a centre thus became a great feature of Massachusetts policy. It was essential that the city should remain a channel of trade between the interior of the country and the world beyond the Atlantic. To attain this result in competition with New York it was absolutely necessary to reduce the time and expense of transportation, both of persons and of merchandise, to the lowest possible point.

If the work were all to be done over again, it would not now be difficult to devise and to estimate the cost of the thoroughfares which the interest of this community most demanded. Regarding the outlay as an expenditure of private wealth to be remunerated by a tax upon transportation, the aim should be to expend the money under such conditions, natural and financial, as would accomplish the greatest possible amount of business at the least possible tax. Two channels of communication were evidently required: one communicating directly with the West by rail by way of Albany, and running over much the same line as that traversed by the Boston and Albany Road; the other communicating directly with the Lakes, and connecting as closely as possible the great internal waters of the continent with Boston harbor. Such a thoroughfare would naturally have passed from Boston by way of Fitchburg, Rutland, and Crown Point, through the Adirondack iron regions, directly to Ogdensburg. The cost of two such lines can easily be estimated. From Boston to Albany is 200 miles, and from Boston to Ogdensburg by the way indicated would be about 350 by rail; the cost of the roads, thoroughly equipped, should not have exceeded $65,000 a mile, or $35,000,000 in all. The annual tax to remunerate this amount of capital, which must have been levied upon trade over the lines, need not have exceeded $3,000,000.

Turn now from what should have been done to the consideration of what has been done, and what is now being done. The men of thirty years ago evinced great sagacity in the way in which they began their work. They had no experience of the system they were called upon to inaugurate, but, as far as they went, they made few mistakes, and, had the next generation acquitted itself as well, the results of to-day would have been very different from what they are. The first effort was to connect Massachusetts and Boston with the interior of the continent, and to that end the present Boston and Albany Road was chartered in 1831 and 1833. The through line was opened in 1842, and the construction account of the two roads constituting it was then represented by the not unreasonable amount of $5,700,000 of stock, and $5,319,520 of indebtedness. At this time the vicious principle was established of limiting the dividends on capital stock to seven per cent per annum on the Western, and ten per cent on the Boston and Worcester Road, thus attempting to protect the interests of the community, under the impression that all surplus earnings would naturally be devoted to the development of the enterprise, or to the reduction of fares and freights. Instead of establishing tariffs of maximum charges, subject to stated periodical revision, and leaving the corporation free to divide all they could earn while working within legal limits, it was supposed that corporations would be willing to do all the business that possibly could be done, without regard to the fact that the dividends received depended only in a very limited degree upon the amount of work done. It was many years before the fruits of this policy matured. At last they came, and were bitter. All over the country railroads multiplied and extended. Elsewhere rivers were bridged, elevators were built, double tracks were laid down, agencies were established, connections were formed, and improvements in rolling stock eagerly adopted. Yet in Massachusetts, though the seven and ten per cent dividends were regularly paid, though large surplus funds accumulated, and every pretence for the evasion of the foolish usury law was eagerly watched for, at the end of thirty years of successful operation, with the capital stock of the roads quoted at a premium of forty per cent, such a river as the Hudson at Albany

was unbridged, not an elevator existed upon the soil of Massachusetts, but a single track connected Boston with Albany and the West, no agencies of the roads existed, or, if they did exist, they were notoriously inefficient, a through business which on connecting roads had in a few years increased five hundred per cent had not upon this road increased sixty per cent, and the rolling stock of New England was notoriously behind that of Wisconsin or Illinois. The simple truth was, that, while these roads could and did earn all and more than all that they could safely divide by doing the business which came naturally to their hands, they did not care to increase that business, and by so doing, as they feared, brave the danger of hostile legislation. And yet, while the roads were stationary, their capital accounts were by no means so, for the eleven millions of stock and indebtedness of the two roads in 1842 went into a consolidation in 1867 twenty-one millions, and came out of it twenty-four.

Long before this, however, the whole community, disgusted with manifest results, and too impatient for a correct investigation of causes, went wholly astray in chase of the *ignis fatuus* of protection through fictitious competition. They saw only that a monopoly existed; they failed wholly to realize that it was far easier and far cheaper to regulate than to destroy it. While Baltimore and Philadelphia, following out more correct principles, brought the whole sum of their resources to bear upon the immediate development of the single lines connecting them with the interior, increasing their capacity many-fold and making them veritable rivers of commerce, Massachusetts practically abandoned the development of the roads already constructed, and turned her whole hopes and built for her whole future upon the construction of opposing lines. Thus, while the one line which already connected her with the West, and which might easily have been made to vie with the Pennsylvania Central or the Baltimore and Ohio, was not yet developed to a fifth part of its capacity, three new lines were originated and floundered miserably along to partial completion or immature development.

First, a line was to be constructed to Ogdensburg and the waters of Lake Erie. The wretched history of this combina-

tion of roads has already been sketched in the pages of this Review.* The point of destination was indeed reached, but the history of the enterprise must be sought in the records of the Courts of Chancery of New York, Vermont, and New Hampshire. The several roads which compose this first abortive effort at competition — after repeated bankruptcies have indiscriminately swept away numerous issues of every description of railroad security — are now represented by a capital in stock and bonds which may be stated in round numbers at $35,000,000. This line, however, consisting of connecting local roads, was hardly designed for a thoroughfare, and, subserving one original purpose, may be left out of the account of Boston mismanagement. It is merely one more possibility lost. Yet this is, to this day, the only one of the three lines which it was thought would relieve Boston of its dependence for through traffic upon the Albany Road, that has reached its destination at all. It has cost the community, first and last, at least double what the best possible line to the same point need to have cost. It adds comparatively nothing, as yet, to the coveted business connection of the extreme East with the West. It has not yet begun to be developed to the extent of its capacity, or thought of consolidation, which must be the first movement towards it. So much for one effort at protection by competition.

Next in point of time came another notable project, which was to accomplish all that was most desired. A line was to run from Boston to the West in connection with the Erie Road, as did the Western in connection with the New York Central. Then the Boston, Hartford, and Erie rose into existence, and floundered along over ruined hopes and shattered fortunes on a paper capital, promising everything and accomplishing nothing. This enterprise, when it shall be completed in the not very immediate future, perhaps will then have cost some fifteen millions of real money, which will be represented by twenty-five millions of stock of very doubtful value, and by twenty millions of mortgage indebtedness. In other words, one third of its cost upon paper will be represented by real property.

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* North American Review, April, 1868, pp. 570 - 572.

The mistaken notion that competition would remedy the evils of railroad monopoly did not, however, stop here. It led Massachusetts into another and the crowning folly. Instead of developing the road which had been built with the public money, — the charter of which expressly reserved to the legislature all necessary powers in the premises, — instead of insisting on the simple rights of the public, the State itself was gradually drawn on to sink millions in an attempted competition with its own road from end to end. The new line projected was to be no improvement upon the old one already constructed. It ran between precisely the same termini, and was no shorter, while its curves were much sharper. It opened no new connections; it developed no new traffic; it did not run through a rich country; and it did run into a mountain. While France and Italy combined hesitated long about a tunnel which was indispensable to the existence of a single thoroughfare across the Alps, the little commonwealth of Massachusetts, with one thoroughfare to the West, created by herself, already in existence, and two more far advanced towards completion, blunders headlong into the task of piercing the Green Mountains with a tunnel second only, in all the world, to that of Mt. Cenis.

Communities, like individuals, must buy their own experience, and the Hoosac tunnel will form no small item in the account of Massachusetts; but such is the final absurdity into which a total misconception of the principles of economical transportation has forced an intelligent people. The Hoosac tunnel and the connecting links of the northern line to Albany will probably cost the people of Massachusetts some $20,000,000 of real money, represented by their own bonds. The result is a simple sum in addition and subtraction. The best possible lines to Albany and to Ogdensburg should not have cost more than $35,000,000, if paid for in real money, — a fair remuneration upon which would have been some $3,000,000 per annum. The lines which have been wholly or partially constructed, leaving the question of their thorough development untouched, must involve an actual outlay of more than $80,000,000, which will be represented by over one hundred and twenty millions of stock and bonded indebtedness, upon which some six millions in divi-

dends and interest will annually be paid.* Happily, a portion of the amount never has received and never will receive either dividends or interest, and bankruptcy will unquestionably relieve the East of a portion of this burden. From twenty-five to forty millions of paper trash will undoubtedly cease to exist, leaving about ninety millions charged to the account. Neither the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, nor the Baltimore and Ohio represents a construction and equipment cost exceeding $36,000,000. The conclusion seems startling, and yet it cannot well be avoided, that, allowing $35,000,000 for the construction of through, and $15,000,000 for subsidiary lines, the lack of an intelligent system and an ill-considered faith in manufactured competition have saddled the trade of the East with a wholly unnecessary debt, which it cannot shake off, larger than the entire sum expended in the construction and equipment of any one of those thoroughly developed trunk lines.

This is not all, however. The last evil of competition in railroads is yet in store. Roads must not only be constructed, they must be operated. The remuneration of capital in this case will bear but a small proportion to the expense of operating. The whole represents the total cost of transportation. In Massachusetts the net earnings are thirty per cent of the gross. Under the system of competition, four roads, with all their costly machinery and corps of officials, must be sustained by Boston, while one each satisfies Baltimore and Philadelphia; and the four, it will be found, will never do that work for which under another system two would have been ample. So far as through business is concerned, much less than half of the money judiciously applied might have been made to do the work much more than twice as well. This result, at least, is fully demonstrated by the experience of other communities.

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| | | Real Cost. | Stock. | Debt. | Securities representing value. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| * Boston and Albany, | Estimated. | $17,500,000 | $18,000,000 | $ 5,800,000 | $ 23,800,000 |
| Boston, Hartford, and Erie, | | 15,000,000 | 25,000,000 | 20,000,000 | 20,000,000 |
| Troy and Greenfield, | | 17,500,000 | | 17,500,000 | 17,500,000 |
| Boston to Ogdensburg, | | 30,000,000 | 21,000,000 | 10,000,000 | 25,000,000 |
| | | $ 80,000,000 | $ 64,000,000 | $ 53,300,000 | $ 86,300,000 |

How could these difficulties have been avoided? How can they be remedied? It is very easy to find fault with the past; but little service is rendered, unless a remedy is pointed out for the future. At the first glance it seems as though these difficulties arose from a natural and irrepressible antagonism between the interests of the community and those of the corporation. It is of course the interest of the community to obtain from its railroads the greatest amount of service at the least possible remuneration. It is no less clearly the interest of the corporation to exact from the community the largest possible returns for the service rendered and the capital involved. How can these conflicting interests be made to accord? To limit dividends by law only aggravates the evil, in the experience both of England and America. If the limitation cannot be evaded by a disastrous course of stock-watering, then the whole incentive which desire of gain lends to the spirit of the enterprise is lost upon the corporation. It is one alternative or the other, but the dilemma cannot be avoided. To limit profits, and not to limit issues of stock, leads only to stock inflation; to limit profits, and at the same time to prohibit the issue of stock, puts a stop to development. Whether corporations have souls or not, they are very subject to those fears and hopes which influence the action of individuals. They will expand and develop prodigiously, if they see their interest in so doing. They fear hostile legislation, and will either seek to avert it or will avoid that which threatens to bring it upon them; they will not labor any more than the average of mortality from an abstract love of the general good. If the law limits their utmost earnings to a given amount, and they cannot evade the law, they will do no more labor than is necessary to earn that amount. If the law can be evaded by the issue of stock dividends, then they will labor to divide stock; if the law also prohibits stock dividends, and can be evaded in no other way, then the development of business will probably stop at the point where the legal dividend is earned. Railroad corporations are simply human, and the influences of gain and of self-preservation affect them as they affect all men. When legislators realize this, those laws will disappear from the statute-book which seek to compel them to do a full day's work for half a day's wages.

So apparent has the conflict of interests which results from crude or mistaken legislation become, that many have concluded that the difficulty admits of but one solution. They advocate the purchase of the roads by the community, and the extinction of the principle of corporate life, with a view to operating them, mediately or immediately, by the government for the public. Such a system has already long been developed in Belgium, and, to a limited degree, in France. There appears to be one objection to it in America, and that one, unfortunately, if valid at all, is conclusive: it would seem to be impracticable. Every people has its own individual character, and a government adapted to it. Spain loves the maternal government, after the fashion of a spoiled child; France loves the paternal government of the iron hand; England loves self-government and the development of the individual; and America has inherited this characteristic of England. Government supervision among Anglo-Saxons is apt to degenerate into jobbery. In America, particularly, the whole instinct of the people leads them to circumscribe rather than to enlarge the province of government. This policy is founded in wisdom. Government by the people is apt at all times to degenerate into government by the politicians and the caucus; and the people, if wise, will keep the province of the government within reasonable limits. The spoils of victory are large enough already; and few thoughtful men can doubt as to what would be the result, if political victory carried with it a power and patronage such as hitherto have not been dreamed of even in the imaginings of the most corrupt of the Tammany ring. The Tammany ring is bad, very bad, in its kind; the Erie ring is bad, and very bad, in its kind: as yet, however, they are not the same. Imagine the Erie and Tammany rings rolled into one and turned loose on the field of politics, and the result of State ownership of railroads will be realized. This plan, therefore, may apparently be dismissed from consideration. It might operate well elsewhere: it is doubtful if it will ever do for America, until America ceases to be free.

There is but one other way of attaining the desired result, — a way never yet tried in America, though common enough in Europe. It may best be described as a contract system, based

upon the principle of corporate life. Under this system, at stated intervals of time, the community, through its representatives, and the corporations controlling its railway lines meet as equal contracting parties. The community grants or confirms to the corporation an exclusive right of transportation between two given points, during a stated period of time. The existence of a monopoly within certain defined limits is recognized and guarantied. In return for this valuable franchise, the corporation must bind itself fairly and satisfactorily to accommodate every demand of travel or traffic between the limits and during the time specified, in accordance with a certain tariff of fares and freights, which is made a portion of the charter. The only remaining principle follows as a corollary of the others: it is, that the corporations, while acting under the conditions of their charters, shall be at liberty to divide all the profits they can possibly earn, without any limitation by law, and free from all fear of hostile legislation. The amount of capital stock must be limited, fares and freights must be fixed, and dividends must be free. These principles are inseparable.

A policy such as that described is based upon various correct principles. In the first place, things are recognized as being what they really are. Railroads are recognized as monopolies, and regulated as such. Again, all railroads are not alike. They are constructed for different kinds of business, with different machinery and at varying cost. One road is for local and slow travel, and another is for through and rapid travel; one is a passenger line, and another a freight line; the business of one is steady and unvarying, that of another fluctuates with every season and every month; the cost of construction and operation are never the same. All these elements of economy need to be regarded, and could be, under the system suggested. At present, in America no distinctions are recognized, but in the view of the law railways are everywhere and always the same thing, enjoying one with another the same privileges and subject to the same restrictions. Finally, under the system of special contracts, the laws limiting dividends would be done away with, and what the railways earned, that they would be free to enjoy. The principle would be recognized that profit is

a great incentive to energy, and where charges cannot be exceeded, increased profits can flow only from increased development. The profits of the roads being thus all divisible and being earned on a fixed tariff, it at once becomes their controlling interest to encourage in the community the greatest possible volume of business, to keep the capital stock at the lowest possible amount, and to declare the largest possible dividends.

It only remains to consider how such a system — a system manifestly in the interest of all parties concerned — may be matured and brought into effective operation. It can be done but in one way. The community must be competently represented, as well as the corporation. Hitherto the railroad managers have had it all their own way. They have corrupted legislatures, made laws, evaded contracts, cheated the people, and, not unfrequently, themselves also. Their policy has ever been seemingly grounded on the idea that their interests and those of the community were naturally at variance. They always have opposed, and they do now oppose, and with general success, too, every effort to reduce their system to some intelligible principles. The questions are simple ones of statistics and experience, — not difficult of solution, if approached in a spirit of patient study. Yet the very mention of competence and intelligence, applied to the study of their relations to the public, seems to fill the corporations with vague visions of terror. Nor is this feeling confined to the rings. They of course are opposed to any system which might serve to guard a cheated community against their adroit manipulations, or, at least, to expose them. Chaos like the present is their element, and legislatures are their most favorable fields of action. The power of the rings alone — a power which within a year has paid a bribe of $150,000 to a single member of the New York Assembly — is probably sufficient to defeat any effort at reform. But they are not alone in their efforts. With them in the struggle against light upon this subject are combined those whom they rob, — the honest *bona fide* holders of railroad property. All parties to this strange combination unite in an unceasing prayer to be let alone, — to be allowed in their own way to increase the debt and taxation of the community to suit themselves. Yet how is their desire gratified? How

are they let alone? Year after year they are dragged into the halls of legislatures and the rooms of committees, and made to fight ever-recurring battles, — the conflicts of one year only leading to those of another, until in pure self-defence they reduce corruption to a science, and buy the peace which is not given them. What is the result? Correct information is almost never imparted, and there is no one with authority to exact it; the public is defrauded, and there is no one to protect it; corruption constantly increases, and there is no one to expose it. Figures, in the skilful hands of railroad officials, seem made, like language in the mouth of a diplomat, not to express truth, but to conceal it. One who has puzzled over these problems long and patiently writes, in language not too strong: "The reports of the companies are not always to be had, and, even when obtainable, are so ingeniously devised to deceive, that only severe labor enables one to discover where the legerdemain is accomplished. The system is bad enough, but its administration is a perfect pest-house of corruption; the dishonesty is almost incredible, and is practised without need or profit, frequently from mere habit."

There is but one way out of this trouble. The one thing needful to its settlement is knowledge. Soon or late the community has got to meet and understand this matter. Before that time comes, the corporations may have succeeded in piling up yet other millions of unnecessary capital, and levying other millions of annual tax to pay the interest upon it; but when the day comes, the community will procure its knowledge in one way, and one way only. Robert Stephenson, years ago in England, saw things with a clearer eye than is vouchsafed as yet to our directors of railroads. He, of all men the one best representing the railway interest, in the full light of his great experience, saw that it was ignorance in the lawmakers, and not knowledge, that the corporations had most to fear. Ignorant legislation was then in England, as it now is here, at the root of the railway question. In the year 1856 Stephenson was elected President of the Civil Engineers. In his inaugural address he said: "What we ask is knowledge. Give us, we say, a tribunal competent to form a sound opinion. Commit to that tribunal, with any restrictions you think necessary, the whole of the questions appertaining to our system.

Let it protect private interests apart from railways; . . . . delegate to it the power of enforcing such regulations and restrictions as may be thought needful to secure the rights of private persons or of the public; devolve on it the duty of consolidating the railway laws, and of making such amendments therein as the public interests and the property now depending on the system may require; give it full delegatory power over us in any way you please. All we ask is, that it shall be a tribunal which is impartial, and that is thoroughly informed; and if impartiality and intelligence are secured, we do not fear the result."

This is even more applicable to America now than it was to England then. It was aimed at Parliamentary meddling. But in England there is at least but one Parliament, in which are always to be found in the committee-rooms many men of extensive information and great experience. There is always a tradition, at least, of what has been arrived at through the labor of other years. In America even this does not exist. In this statute-ridden country two score of State legislatures each bungle their own work in their own way, while Congress sets an example of confusion to all. Knowledge cannot possibly creep into the legislature, because no one remains in the legislature long enough to learn. Committees shift with every year, and are constructed with an eye to current events; meanwhile the lobby is permanent, and the corporation is ever alert to defeat any scheme which may throw light on its operations. Knowledge, then, being the great desideratum in this matter, and the legislatures having wholly failed either to give evidence of possessing it themselves or of being able to impart it to others, it only remains for the community to provide other machinery through which the information so necessary may be procured. Bureaus, or boards of commissioners, having charge of questions in relation to railways, should be established, both State and national. Already some steps have been taken in this direction. At the last session of Congress, the question of the right of that body to legislate concerning railroads passing from one State into another was referred to a committee, and was favorably reported upon. The conclusion of the report in question contained the strongest possible argument as to the necessity of the creation of a bureau or commis-

sion to deal with this subject. The committee had been instructed to prepare an elaborate bill regulating the relations of the railroads and the public. They reported in favor of such a bill, and then wisely confessed their own utter inability to frame it. The statistics, the comparison of systems, the practical experience, and the opinions of experts, were all declared wanting. They recommended a full and careful investigation of the whole subject, and then went home to look after their own re-election. The most important material interests of the American people are deserving of better care than an honest confession of ignorance. A special commissioner instructs us better as to our revenue, even though Congress rarely follows his advice; and Congress could do nothing better or wiser, during its present session, than to establish a bureau of the Department of the Interior, under the charge of a commissioner, who should devote his attention solely to questions of transportation. There at last some reliable statistics could be collected, and these problems could be studied out and reduced to well-considered legislation. Thence Congress and the country might be educated. We might then hope to know how large a tax is annually levied on business under the head of transportation, and how large a portion of it is applied to the payment of dividends and interest on paper capital; we might then hope to know how much our railroad system has cost, and by what securities that cost is represented; it might then some day become difficult to deluge the market with forged certificates of stock, and call the so doing a "financial irregularity"; it might even become questionable whether a railroad potentate had the right to double the nominal cost of a public thoroughfare without adding one dollar to its value; there might then be some agency whose absolute duty it should be to stand between the community and the perpetration of frauds innumerable; and, finally, the time might then come when the community and its corporations would labor in unison and with harmonized interests, when the heaviest tax the public might be called upon to pay would be levied in the least onerous manner, and when stock-watering and railroad financiering would be remembered as curious traditions of an imperfect past.

Charles F. Adams, Jr.

ART. VII. — 1. *Unsere Zeit.* Alte und Neue Folge. Brockhaus. Leipzig.
2. *The Prussian Moniteur*, 1862 – 1868.
3. *Official Reports of the Debates of the Prussian Landtag, North-German Reichstag, and Customs-Parliament.*
4. *Official History of the Campaigns of* 1866. By the Staff of the Prussian Army. Berlin. 1867.
5. *Austria's Struggles in* 1866. Official Account. By the Staff of the Austrian Armies. Vienna. 1866.

THE family from which Karl Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen comes belongs to the oldest noble stock in the province of Brandenburg, the corner-stone of the Prussian monarchy, and its origin is traced back to the earliest periods of German history. Several of its members rendered distinguished services to the Prussian state at different times. Two sat successively for many years in the cabinet of Frederick the Great. A shoot of this venerable ancestral tree, this man, destined to play so prominent a part in modern history, grew up among a class that in Prussia perhaps more than in any other European country clings with tenacity to mediæval notions of society and state. Antiquated dogmas of the divine origin of monarchical power, the providential subordination of all other elements in the body social and politic to the aristocracy of blood, the sacredness of hereditary privileges, together with a most ardent devotion to the reigning dynasty, constitute the political creed of this class, to which it adheres with blind and stubborn zeal to this day. These doctrines of Prussian High Toryism were instilled into the mind of Herr von Bismarck from his very childhood, and took the firmest root. Of a fervid temperament, he embraced them with such earnestness, that, notwithstanding his great native intelligence, he failed to perceive their true character even after his judgment had been ripened by years. As we shall see, they furnished the main impulse to the first part of his public career.

Herr von Bismarck was either devoid of ambition and was unconscious of his talents in his younger days, or he was too ambitious and too conscious of his capacity to submit to the

slow promotion incident to the civil service of Prussia. At any rate, after finishing his studies at the universities of Göttingen, Berlin, and Greifswalde, and passing — by no means brilliantly, it is said — the final examination prescribed for all aspirants for an administrative or judicial career, he retired to the modest estates of his family in Prussian Saxony, and spent several years in all but absolute obscurity, devoting himself industriously to their management. The only public duties he performed in that period were the humble ones of supervisor of the public dikes of his district. In time, however, his natural abilities and zealous profession of feudal theories of government attracted the attention of his social equals, and they chose him as one of the representatives of the equestrian order in the Estates of their province. In this capacity he served for some years, but, owing to the almost purely administrative character and narrow territorial scope of the functions of that body, his labors in it gave him only a local reputation. His first appearance upon a broader stage was in 1847, when he had already entered upon his thirty-fourth year.

Up to that time Prussia had been little better than an absolute monarchy. The solemn promise of a constitutional government, made in 1815 by Frederick William III., had not been kept either by himself or his successor. But in 1847, the latter, Frederick William IV., having sagacity enough to understand the meaning of the popular restlessness then manifest all over Europe, determined to break the force of the revolutionary storm, the coming of which he foresaw, by making some concessions to his subjects. Accordingly he convoked the Estates of the kingdom, composed of class representatives of the three social orders, the nobility and gentry, the inhabitants of cities and towns, and the peasantry, into a common deliberative body, for the purpose of revising the organic laws of the state, so as to give to the tax-payers some limited voice in the regulation of the receipts and expenditures of the government, and to remove some of the feudal features of the existing laws. Herr von Bismarck appeared in the "United Estates of the Realm" as a representative of the equestrian order of his province, and soon made himself felt in the mem-

orable session of that body. The expectation of his noble constituents that he would be one of the boldest champions of their political faith was realized to the fullest extent. He became at once the leader of the party of ultra-conservatives, and advocated their views, whenever occasion offered, with an enthusiasm bordering on fanaticism. The concessions proposed by the government were but a very small measure of popular rights, and would have established but the semblance of a constitutional monarchy. Insignificant, however, as they were, Bismarck opposed each and all of them with passionate bigotry. Once, when in the course of debate reference was made to the unfulfilled promises of the predecessor of the reigning monarch, he maintained that the great rising of 1813, which had delivered Germany from French usurpation and saved the Prussian throne, had not given the Prussian people any claim to constitutional rule, — a declaration that outraged both historical truth and a sacred popular tradition. Nor did he lose any opportunity of proclaiming the doctrine that the Prussian monarchs were in possession of absolute sovereignty solely by the grace of God, and not by that of the people. During the discussion of a bill intended to place the Jews, who until then had enjoyed almost no civil rights in Prussia, on an equal footing with the Christians in certain respects, he seemed to take pains to prove, that, besides being imbued with the most reactionary political views, he was also brimful of religious intolerance. He said, that, while he was proud of belonging to a political and religious school which was commonly considered as reflecting the darkness of the mediæval period, he was prouder still of having imbibed anti-Jewish prejudices with his mother's milk. An amendment to the same law permitting Jews to hold civil office he opposed most vehemently, on the ground that he should feel shocked and outraged to see a Jew represent the sacred majesty of the king.

Thus Herr von Bismarck made his *début* in public life as the *preux chevalier* of the Prussian Tories. The course of the party he led but hastened the coming of a revolutionary crisis, and its conservatism, like that which upheld slavery in the United States, was of the destructive kind. In trying to hinder all political progress, it only fostered the existing germs

of revolution. Within a few months a revolutionary tide surged high against most of the Continental thrones. Berlin, no less than Paris, Vienna, Munich, and other capitals, became the scene of street battles. The reforms which king and nobility had refused to grant were now exacted by the exasperated people over barricades. The Tory champion was appalled, but not cowed, by the determined and triumphant assertion of popular rights. Pugnacity, equally with enthusiasm, is one of his characteristic qualities. No sooner had the party of reaction recovered from its first fright than Bismarck eagerly lent a helping hand to its efforts to overthrow the democratic cause. He looked upon the rising in arms against royalty as an unpardonable crime, and was in the habit of saying in those days that all great cities ought to be wiped from the face of the earth, as the parents of most of the modern revolutions. The events of 1848 and 1849 made no impression upon his stolid conservatism, and only rendered his antagonism to popular rights more bitter and unbending.

Elected a member of the lower house of the legislative body, arbitrarily constituted by royal decree after the dissolution at the point of the bayonet of the National Assembly of 1848, he was not slow in showing that he had learned nothing. As before, he became a leader of the ultra-reactionists, and attacked with the spirit of a crusader progress in every form. He opposed the granting of a political amnesty by the king. He advocated the continuance of the iron rule of martial law in Berlin. He denounced the leaders of the democratic movements as rebels. The national parliament, still sitting at Frankfort-on-the-Main, he styled a lawless body. He disputed the soundness of the fundamental principle of all constitutional government, — the right of the legislative representatives of the people to regulate taxation. He urged the preservation, and even the extension, of the hereditary prerogatives of the nobility. He spoke against freeing the mechanical trades from the fetters of the old guild system. He expressed horror of the tendency to reduce the autocratic sovereignty, built up in Prussia by Frederick the Great, to the insignificance of the royal power in Great Britain. Holding all modifications of the old status to be mischievous, he in the session of 1850 of

the same body opposed even the bills submitted by the ultra-reactionary ministry then in power. Thus, he pronounced himself against a limitation of the manorial jurisdiction of the landed nobility, on the ground that such a measure would rekindle the spirit of revolution. His recommendations were often so utterly at variance with ordinary prudence, that his own party more frequently rejected than adopted them. That there was not much of the stuff of a liberal reformer in Herr von Bismarck at this stage of his career requires no further demonstration.

But besides being a virulent adversary of all social and political progress, he was likewise hostile to the unification of Germany, and the aggrandizement of Prussia at the expense of Austria, — the very ends to the accomplishment of which he owes all his later reputation. Realizing that popular liberty would inevitably follow national unity, he strove as firmly against the one as the other, both in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies in 1849 and in the national rump parliament, of the latter of which his party elected him a member, during its brief lease of life in 1850 at Erfurt. In the former he attacked again and again the national constitution elaborated at Frankfort in 1848 and 1849. His great objection to it was, that it had a tendency to destroy what he called "specific Prussianism." "Prussians we are," he said, "and Prussians we mean to remain. I know that these words express the sentiment not only of the Prussian army, but of the majority of the Prussian people. I will add, that I trust in God we shall be Prussians long after that sheet of paper [the national constitution] shall be no more thought of than a withered leaf." The national rising of 1848, in support of the efforts of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein to cast off Danish rule, was denounced, as encouraging a "revolution against a lawful sovereign," by the very man who fourteen years later went to war with Denmark in their behalf. At Erfurt he maintained that the co-operation of Prussia with Austria in strangling liberalism throughout Germany was necessary and justifiable. Again, he, whose principal argument in 1866 in justification of the violent severance of the federal ties between Austria and the rest of Germany was the essentially non-German character of

that power, then scouted the idea that the Hapsburg dominions were not an integral part of Germany. "I cannot acknowledge," said he, "that, because Slaves and Ruthenians are ruled by Austria, these elements represent the national character of that state, and that the German race is simply a subordinate component part of it. I recognize in Austria the representative of an ancient German power that has often and gloriously wielded the German sword."

Herr von Bismarck, although not always a model of discretion, had yet proved too valuable an auxiliary in the repression of revolutionary tendencies not to be signally rewarded by the conservative ministry after the triumph of reaction was fully assured. His errors had been errors of judgment, never of will. Hence it was not strange that he should receive a distinguished reward in the spring of 1851, in the form of an appointment to high office. But it was a little singular, that, by being made a Privy Councillor of Legation and First Secretary of the Prussian Embassy to the Federal Diet, this Hotspur should be employed in a branch of the public service in which sound discretion is more indispensable than in any other. Yet the result proved that the favor of the ministry was not unworthily bestowed. He eagerly accepted the appointment, for it opened the way to a rapid and brilliant career. In less than three months he found himself raised to the rank of Ambassador to the Diet.

Thus Herr von Bismarck's parliamentary career was brought to an abrupt close, or rather was interrupted for many years. During its course he had shown the merit of rigid consistency and fearlessness, and considerable notice was the natural result of the very extravagance of his views. But within the legislative arena it was something more than the character of his opinions and his hardihood in expressing them that made him a noted character. His individuality was strongly marked in many ways. He was neither a fluent nor a graceful speaker; but he possessed much originality of thought and piquancy of expression, unusual felicity of illustration, clearness and precision of statement, considerable dialectic power, a certain ingenuousness, real or assumed, and no small stock of robust wit, — qualities which never failed to gain him the ear

of his audience. Yet he offended more than he pleased: for even then he displayed the self-sufficiency and indulged in the didactic arrogance and repulsive brusqueness of speech for which he has since become notorious. Outside of the parliamentary sphere, he found sympathy and applause only with the party of which he was the mouthpiece. To the great body of intelligent, liberal-minded people in Germany his political professions were so utterly repugnant that even the respect usually accorded to sincerity was refused to him. But he incurred not so much hatred as contempt, and more ridicule than denunciation, for his conservative extravagancies. The public knew well enough that there was not the least danger of a realization of his mediæval ideal of government. He was the butt of the wits of Berlin, and a standing figure in the *Kladderadatsch*, the Prussian Punch.

The favor of the ministry was sufficient to raise Herr von Bismarck to the highest diplomatic rank after an apprenticeship of only three months. But it could not, by appointing him ambassador, transform him at once into a finished diplomatist. He had a great deal to learn in his new profession, and the school he entered was by no means an easy one. If it had been the special intent of his patrons to disgust him with his new calling in the shortest time, they could have assigned him to no better field than the Federal Diet. Conservative though he was, he was none the less full of individual vigor and enterprise, and longed for action and distinction. An impulsive, energetic nature like his was entirely out of place in the stagnant atmosphere of the Diet. That cumbersome, unwieldy assembly, after its resuscitation in 1850, through the efforts of Austria and her satellites, moved with its wonted slowness in the old pedantic rut. His patience was put to the sorest test. Still, with that talent for adaptation which helped him over so many difficulties in his subsequent career, he soon accommodated himself to the circumstances surrounding him, and made the most of his position. His task was anything but easy. Austria and the minor states could not forget that in 1848–49 the imperial crown of Germany had been within the grasp of Prussia. Not content with their great triumph at Olmütz, they continued to treat her as a still danger-

ous foe, whose every move had to be watched and thwarted. Periodical encounters with these adversaries formed the main incidents of the official experience of Herr von Bismarck during the seven years he remained at Frankfort. In his new post he threw off at once, but perhaps more from a sense of duty than from conviction, whatever sympathies he had for Austria, and served the Prussian interest with the utmost devotion. His duties were varied and comprehensive enough to make him by degrees an adept in his new calling. He had hardly assumed his official functions when he was required to deal with the important subject of the reconstruction of the customs-union. This was undertaken by Prussia in 1851, with a view to enlarging the territorial extent of that economic institution, and through it of her own political influence in Germany, and, after two years of diplomatic manœuvring, was carried, in spite of the desperate opposition of Austria. To this auspicious result Bismarck contributed not a little. Next the Crimean War, in its reaction on German affairs, afforded him another opportunity for rendering valuable services. Besides these, the affair of Neufchâtel, the chronic Schleswig-Holstein imbroglio, and various minor matters, occupied his attention.

His colleagues were not slow in discovering that in point of natural abilities he had no superior among them, and that he mastered their profession with astonishing quickness. Jealousy of the power he represented was transferred to the person of the representative. His disregard of stiff forms and hollow conventionalities, freedom of official intercourse, frankness in telling unpleasant truths, no less than the consciousness of superiority which he often showed, and the imperious tone he assumed at times, could not fail to make him more enemies than friends at the Diet. The unfriendly character of his relations with Count Rechberg, the Austrian ambassador, especially, was matter of notoriety, and many anecdotes illustrating it were in circulation at the time.

The experience of Bismarck at Frankfort had a decisive bearing upon his future career. It opened his eyes completely to the historical antagonism between the dynastic interests of Prussia and Austria. From year to year he saw more and more clearly that they were irreconcilable, and that they must

necessarily lead, sooner or later, to a conflict, upon the issue of which the permanent preponderance of one of them in Germany would depend. As this opinion became more firmly settled in his mind, his conviction also became clear that the decision of the rivalry in favor of Prussia could be made the stepping-stone to lasting fame. Daring and ambitious, he resolved to make the accomplishment of this the great aim of his life. In 1862, documents, the authenticity of which has never been questioned, were published in several German periodicals, which went to show, that, in accordance with this resolution, he had, as early as 1856, elaborated a plan for remodelling the map of Central Europe. He put it in the form of a memorial, which he submitted, soon after the conclusion of the Peace of Paris, to King Frederick William IV., and a little later to Count Walewski, then French Minister of Foreign Affairs. It recommended the formation of a close alliance between France, Russia, and Prussia, for mutual territorial aggrandizement. Russia was to be extended to the Vistula; France to annex Belgium, and certain parts of Germany on the left bank of the Rhine; Prussia was to be permitted to organize a new German federation under her own leadership, with a view to the eventual absorption of the minor states. But the project was not favorably received, either at Berlin or Paris. It was, in fact, chimerical, and proved less the wisdom of its author than an earnestness of purpose, a boldness of conception, and, above all, a readiness to employ any means for the accomplishment of ends he considered legitimate, — traits of character which were developed more fully in the subsequent phases of his public life.

Although Bismarck was thoroughly cured at Frankfort of his former veneration for Austria and the existing federal organization of Germany, his political views were not modified in any other respect. His mind remained impervious to the truth that the people as well as the sovereign possesses rights. All liberal ideas continued to be as repugnant to him as ever. An autocratic monarchy was still to him the most perfect form of government. He was still ready to go as far as he who went farthest in the persecution and suppression of all liberal tendencies. The tide of reaction during the last

part of his stay at Frankfort rose too high for him. His stolid conservatism was one of the reasons of his removal early in 1859 to the more congenial political atmosphere of St. Petersburg, when, consequent upon the accession of Prince William of Prussia to the regency in 1858, a more liberal era seemed to be dawning upon Prussia and Germany at large.

Another motive for his transfer to the Russian capital was his too pronounced sympathy with France and Italy in the differences of those powers with Austria, differences which resulted in the war of 1859. His leaning towards the adversaries of Austria was owing, not to any partiality for the national cause of the Italians, but to the antipathy he had conceived for the traditional rival of Prussia. But besides this, he had another ground of sympathy with the enemies of the House of Hapsburg. Strange as it may seem, he, the firm believer in the divine origin of monarchical authority, the ardent defender of hereditary rights, the mortal foe of all revolutionary outgrowths, cherished a profound admiration for the man, or rather for the political system of the man, who claims to sit on the imperial throne of France by the will of the people. The achievement of autocratic ends by democratic means, the substitution of material prosperity for political liberty, the absolute supremacy in the state of one will, the subjection of all the functions of the body politic to the inspiration of one mind, the merciless destruction of all that stands in the way of this result, — all these features, which constitute the glory of the Second Empire, were captivating to Herr von Bismarck's imagination. Nor did he confine himself to mere admiration of the "enlightened despotism" of the second Napoleon. As the sequel proved, he became a close imitator of his crafty prototype.

His removal from Frankfort did not put an end to the pursuit of his great scheme for raising Prussia to larger territorial extension and political consequence. On the contrary, as ambassador to the Russian court he prosecuted it with even increased ardor. He not only interested Prince Gortschakoff in it, but, impressed with the belief that the war between Austria and the Franco-Italian allies offered Prussia a grand opportunity for securing a permanent preponderance in Germany, he made

another attempt to win over his government to his project of 1856, in a modified form. On the 12th of May, 1859, he addressed a confidential communication to the Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which he fully disclosed the thoughts then uppermost in his mind. In this exposition, which was brought to light after sleeping for seven years on the shelves of the Berlin Foreign Office, he expressed the conviction, as the result of his eight years' observations at Frankfort, that the bonds attaching Prussia to the federation fettered her in times of peace and fatally weighed upon her in times of war. This evil, he maintained, Prussia would be obliged, sooner or later, to remedy *igni et ferro;* and he held that just such critical periods as the existing one offered opportunities for the needed relief. In his eyes the condition of things in Austria, France, and Russia seemed at that moment more favorable for bettering the position of Prussia in Germany than it had ever been before. Unfortunately for the author, this urgent plea for a violent overthrow of the federal structure was as little heeded as its predecessor of 1856. But Bismarck, though keenly disappointed, did not lose courage. He patiently bided his time, which was not long in coming.

He remained at St. Petersburg until the spring of 1862, when he was appointed ambassador to the Court of the Tuileries. He was glad to go, and was no less gladly received by Napoleon and his cabinet, who well knew his sympathies with the imperial *régime*. But he was not to enjoy the pleasures of the French capital long. He had not been at his new post more than six months, when he was unexpectedly summoned to take a place among the immediate advisers of his royal master. To make clear the cause of this sudden summons, it is necessary to review the events in Prussia after his departure from Frankfort.

The condition of Prussia when Prince William assumed the regency was such that even a large portion of the conservative party realized the desirableness of a change of rulers as well as of policy. The prestige of the state had been seriously impaired abroad; and in Germany its influence was far less than that of its rival. Within its own limits, the pitch to which political oppression and spiritual tyranny had been carried dur-

ing the preceding nine years by a servile, bigoted Church, had produced an all but fatal stagnation in public life. But a change for the better, under the rule of the Prince Regent, was hardly expected by the liberal party. The sanguinary record he had made in 1849, in the suppression of the democratic uprising in Southern Germany, justified a fear of the continuance of a reactionary policy. Great and agreeable was, therefore, the surprise of the friends of political progress, when, soon after assuming the reins of government, he took occasion to tell his subjects that he considered it Prussia's mission to make "moral conquests" in Germany, and promised to rule in strict accordance with the constitution and laws. His declarations were received with great popular joy throughout the fatherland, and were universally looked upon as harbingers of an era of comparative liberty and advancement towards national unity. But it appeared, after a time, that the hopes raised by the first utterances and acts of the Prince Regent had been unfounded. Events occurred one after another, between the time he took possession of power and his formal accession to the throne upon the death of Frederick William IV., that proved him to be still too much imbued with the traditional autocratic predilections of the Prussian monarchs, and too deferential to the so-called legitimate rights of his fellow-sovereigns, to warrant expectations either of larger popular liberty or of a decided furtherance of the national aspirations under his reign. What was at first but apprehension grew gradually into a settled belief. That his own subjects, as well as the German nation at large, were right in distrusting William I. was soon to be proved by a direct conflict between royal pretensions and the legislative representatives of the Prussian people.

King William desired to make Prussia great, but knew no other road to greatness than military power. Himself a most enthusiastic soldier, he considered the army the main pillar of the Prussian monarchy, and the first interest of the state, calling for his particular care. Long before he became ruler he had conceived and elaborated certain projects for the reorganization and enlargement of the military forces of the kingdom, to the realization of which he devoted himself imme-

diately after succeeding to the crown. In February, 1860, the project of a law was submitted to the lower house of the Landtag by the Minister of War, embodying the army reforms contemplated by the king. According to the terms of the bill, the annual levy of recruits was to be increased from forty thousand to sixty-three thousand men, — the standing army being thereby nearly doubled, — and the length of service on the active and reserve list of the regular forces to be extended from five to seven years; the national guard (Landwehr) was no longer to form part of the army proper in time of war. The cost of carrying out the proposed reorganization was estimated at five millions of thalers, and the permanent increase of the war budget at ten million thalers per annum. The heavy addition proposed by this bill to the military burden already weighing upon the people, without any other compensation than a reduction of the aggregate time of service in the regular force and Landwehr from nineteen to sixteen years, staggered the majority of the house. The committee to which the bill was referred reported against it in due course of time, and the house accepted its conclusions. Thereupon the government withdrew the bill, but subsequently brought in a new one, appropriating nine millions of thalers for putting and keeping the army on a war footing for one year. On the promise of the government not to use the money so as to prejudice the final action of the legislative power in regard to the proposed reorganization of the army, to which the house was ready to consent, provided certain features of the bill should be modified, the amount was voted. In the session of the following year the house was again persuaded by the same assurance to vote this special appropriation for another fiscal period; but the notorious fact, that, notwithstanding its positive pledge, the government was using the money to carry out the king's scheme of reform, had already created so much distrust that the measure prevailed by only a small majority.

A new Landtag was elected and met early in 1862. Owing to the weak foreign policy of the government and its growing illiberality in domestic affairs, the opposition in the house had been reinforced to such an extent as to have become an overwhelming majority. Soon after the opening of the session, a

resolution was carried by the liberals calling on the Minister of Finance for a more detailed statement of the expenditures of the government than the one he was in the habit of submitting. The object was to compel the ministry to a formal avowal of the improper employment of the appropriation for the army. The minister promised to submit a specific budget in future, but refused to exhibit one for the current year. The house, however, insisted upon its demand, and was thereupon dissolved by royal decree.

This step on the part of the government ushered in a conflict that was to become one of the most remarkable struggles between king and commons known to history. The dissolution of the house was a formal declaration of war by the sovereign against the legislative power of the realm. The first battle was fought in the elections for a new house, which the government had immediately ordered. Notwithstanding the resumption by the ministry of the old practice of official interference in the canvass, which had been apparently abandoned when William I. ascended the throne, the opposition achieved a complete triumph. Upon the assembling of the new Landtag, the Minister of Finance brought in the specific budget, the demand for which had caused the dissolution of the former house. But the fact that the extraordinary appropriation for the War Department was made to appear in it as part of the regular budget disclosed the determination of the government, in violation of its solemn pledge, to treat the reorganization of the army as an accomplished fact. It satisfied the opposition that the ministry had been acting throughout in bad faith, and had insidiously and by false representations obtained the means for carrying out an unlawful project year after year. The result was, that, September 17, 1862, the whole increased appropriation was stricken from the budget by a vote of two hundred and seventy-three to sixty-eight.

This was a most emphatic rebuke of the course of the government. But the king was resolved not to yield to the house. He was not only loath to abandon a long-cherished project, but believed that to give way to the representatives of the people would be to lower the royal dignity. There were two ways open to him of overcoming the resistance of the

house, — persuasion, and a determined opposition. Hence, when he found himself confronted by the ministerial crisis consequent upon the rejection of the budget, he felt the necessity of securing at the head of his ministry a man who had both the ability and the will to employ either method, as occasion might require. The talents, boldness, and energy of Herr von Bismarck were no less well known to him than his zealous conservatism and attachment to the royal interest; and the ambassador's name was, moreover, suggested to him by the High Tory leaders who had his ear. The result was, that within tweny-four hours after the vote of the house Bismarck was summoned by telegraph from Paris. He responded so promptly that within forty-eight hours he was able to report himself in person ready to receive the king's commands.

Most men, in view of the existing complications between king and commons, would have thought twice before consenting to assume the responsibilities of the post of chief adviser to the sovereign. Not so Herr von Bismarck. He accepted without hesitation the portfolio of Minister of Foreign Affairs, to which were joined the functions of Minister President. A mind of his bold stamp would naturally make light of the apparent difficulties of his new position. He disregarded the obstacles before him altogether, in his satisfaction at having now obtained possession of the power he had so long coveted. In the brilliant prospect suddenly opened to him he saw the long-sought opportunity of fulfilling the great task he had assigned to himself. The impediments that lay between him and his goal were insignificant to his firm will and absolute confidence in himself, and he assumed his new duties and responsibilities without misgiving.

At first the new premier seemed to be inclined to make concessions to the overwhelming majority of the house. He withdrew the objectionable appropriation bill, in order, as he asserted, "to temper the existing conflict." But the opposition wanted positive guaranties from the new chief of the government. A resolution was offered, not only requiring the government to submit its estimates for the current fiscal year, but condemning the use of any portion of the public funds for any object not sanctioned by the house, as a violation of the

constitution. The resolution went to the Committee of Ways and Means, and gave Bismarck the first occasion to display his capacity as a ministerial tactician. With a marvellous combination of flattery and casuistry, of threats and grim humor, he sought to persuade the committee to report against it. Addressing the members with an appearance of frank confidence, he told them that the government was most anxious to avoid all further collision; that what had occurred was only a proof of the intelligence and capacity of the Prussian people. He claimed that the various branches of the government had co-ordinate rights in the regulation of the public expenditures, and that the legislative power had no absolute veto upon the royal will. Next he tried to dazzle the committee by a revelation of his designs for the aggrandizement of Prussia. "As long as we choose to wear heavy armor upon our small body, we must not fail to make good use of it. Germany looks not to the liberalism, but to the military power of Prussia. We must be fully prepared for action at favorable moments. The problems of the times will be solved, not by speeches and resolutions, *but by blood and steel.*" But the committee were neither to be cajoled nor imposed upon. The resolution was reported back with a recommendation that it pass; and the only fruit of his effort was, that from that time forward he became known throughout Germany as "the man of blood and steel."

During the discussion of the resolution in general session Bismarck again tried his best to prevent its passage. But neither his speeches nor the arts he practised in the lobbies were of any avail. He surprised the members by the affability with which he approached them, and the freedom with which he seemed to confide to some of the leaders of the opposition the secrets of his policy. Such condescension on the part of a minister of the crown was extraordinary; but it did not help him. The resolution passed by a vote of 251 to 36.

No sooner was it passed than Herr von Bismarck threw off the mask. A few days later he appeared in the house with a royal message announcing the prorogation of the obstinate assembly, and at the same time the determination of the king to insist upon the army reforms, and to carry on the government

without a budget. This high-handed proceeding was the signal for a complete rupture between the new ministry and the popular branch of the Landtag; and the whole liberal public now felt that its misgivings on the accession of Bismarck to power had been well grounded. While the liberal members everywhere met popular ovations, and a bitter outcry was raised on all sides against the premier, he, on his part, retaliated to the utmost extent of his power. He entered upon a crusade against the liberal press. He caused disciplinary proceedings to be commenced against numerous officials who expressed sympathy with the house, and instigated addresses to the king, denouncing the resistance of the house to the royal will, and begging him to persist in his course, with an assurance of the support of the people. All this naturally intensified the indignation against him.

The Landtag was again convened in January, 1863. In the discussion of the customary address to the crown, at the opening of the session, the bitterness engendered by the acts of the ministry during the recess became speedily manifest. In spite of the threat of the premier that he would advise the king not to receive it, an address was adopted, in which the government was accused in direct terms of a flagrant breach of the organic laws of the state. It was certain that the illegal appropriations for the War Department, again demanded by the ministry, would be again rejected. Foreseeing this, the government was glad to find a pretext in a dispute between the Minister of War and the presiding officer of the house, in which that officer's right to treat members of the ministry like other members of the house was denied, for again proroguing the Landtag, before a final vote upon the budget should be reached.

In Prussia the constitutional advisers of the crown do not, as in Great Britain, merely reflect the will of Parliament. Nevertheless it was a bold step on the part of King William to defy the wish of the majority of the house, distinctly expressed in the course of the dispute just mentioned, for a change of his ministry. That he thus deliberately followed in the footsteps of the Stuarts was chiefly due to the complete ascendency of his premier over him. But this rapidly acquired sway did not rest solely on the prime-minister's

devoted support of a pet royal scheme. Herr von Bismarck had dazzled the king's eyes by a partial unfolding of his grand design for making Germany Prussian. Moreover, his hold of power was strengthened by his social qualities. Notwithstanding his habitual brusqueness in official intercourse, he was an accomplished courtier, and shone in the *salon* no less than in the council chamber. His polished manners, spirited conversation, and sharp wit, as well as his fondness for the favorite sports of the king, aided him no little in establishing himself quickly and firmly in the royal favor.

The popular instinct did not fail to perceive the strong hold Bismarck had on the king. By degrees he came to be considered the evil spirit of the state. He was by no means unconscious of his unpopularity; the popular indignation against him only steeled his nerves, and he soon satisfied his adversaries that he was determined to win, and would shrink from nothing that served his purpose.

Shortly after the prorogation of the Landtag, a royal ordinance was promulgated which furnished strong evidence of the purpose of Bismarck to fashion his rule upon the Napoleonic model. The ordinance instituted the very same system for muzzling the press that had been followed in France under the Second Empire. Against this decree the press, in defiance of penalties, protested most energetically. Though scores of criminal prosecutions were commenced against liberal papers, they failed to intimidate them. Protests and remonstrances from municipal bodies and the people at large poured into Berlin, and the law faculties of three universities pronounced the ordinance unconstitutional. The heir-apparent of the crown not only declared publicly at Dantzic that it was promulgated without his knowledge or approval, but likewise addressed letters both to his royal father and to the Minister President in which he protested against the whole prevailing system as endangering his interests as successor to the throne. His letter to the king and his father's angry reply found their way after a time to the press, and made a profound sensation, encouraging the liberal party to continue its struggle for constitutional rights.

While this internal feud claimed the largest share of the

attention of the head of the ministry, external questions of grave import likewise occupied him from the very moment he assumed office. In 1860 King William had positively and in rather offensive terms refused to recognize Victor Emmanuel, "the robber-king," as the Prussian Tories called him, as king of Italy. But a few months before Bismarck took charge of the portfolio of foreign affairs, regard for the commercial interests of Prussia had induced the king to reconsider his resolution and reopen diplomatic relations with the House of Savoy. One of the first acts of the new minister was the transmission of a circular despatch to the diplomatic representatives of Prussia, in which he dwelt at length upon the motives of the Berlin cabinet in recognizing the kingdom of Italy. The recognition was not to be taken as an implied approval of the annexation policy of the Italian government, nor as an acknowledgment of its title to the unlawfully annexed provinces, but simply as an admission of an accomplished fact. It was a plea in defence of the Berlin cabinet against the charge of inconsistency which had been raised by Austria, and it was not received with much favor.

An edifying homily on the evils of arbitrary government, which the pressure of public opinion compelled Herr von Bismarck to deliver to the elector of Hesse for persistently tyrannizing over his subjects, in spite of their resistance and the remonstrances of the Diet, was still less a success. The internal administration of Prussia afforded the elector abundant material for an effective retort. Nor was the premier's insincerity less patent in his concentration of troops upon the frontier, during the rising of 1863 in Poland. It served to prevent the transmission of arms to the insurgents, and to cut them off from receiving assistance from the Prussian Poles, while he professed that the movement was not made in the interest of the Czar, but of a possible increase of Prussian territory, as a result of the insurrection.

But by far the most serious external complication that Bismarck had to deal with, during the first year of his administration of the foreign office, grew out of the old jealousy between Prussia and Austria. In pursuance of the free-trade policy adopted in 1860, France had proposed a commercial

treaty to Prussia, the object of which was to stimulate commercial intercourse between the two countries by a mutual reduction of duties. Prussia having accepted the proposal, articles had been signed in March, 1862. Austria, moved at once by her animosity towards the author of her humiliations in 1859, and by her chronic distrust of Prussia, immediately commenced a series of attempts to prevent the execution of the treaty. Some of these efforts were peculiarly exasperating to Prussia, as they were designed to give the impression that Austria was more favorable than herself to federal reform and union.

Early in 1863, within a few months after Herr von Bismarck took charge of the Berlin foreign office, all Europe was startled by the announcement that an angry despatch had been addressed by the new premier to the Vienna cabinet, in consequence of which the relations between Prussia and Austria had assumed a hostile character. After reminding Austria that in 1859 Prussia had not only taken no advantage of her precarious condition, but had even prepared to go to her support, he broadly hinted that under similar circumstances he should not advise the king to pursue a similar course. If Austria refused to go hand in hand with Prussia, she would have to seek another point of gravitation at Pesth. The Austrian government would have done well to bear in mind these ominous words. But the domestic troubles and the want of influence abroad of the Prussian government led Austria to make light of the warning, — a mistake for which she paid dearly.

The ill feeling between the two governments was increased by the refusal of King William to attend a conference of German princes at Frankfort, called by Austria for the purpose of making such changes in the federal relations of the German states as the times required. The invitation was given by Francis Joseph in person, at the watering-place of Gastein, and only the urgency of Bismarck caused it to be declined. The reforms proposed by the conference were so superficial, that the great influence now exercised over King William by his premier was hardly needed to lead him to refuse to accept the action of the congress. Everything seemed to tend towards a rupture between the two powers, when within

four months the world was surprised to learn that they had come to a cordial understanding, which speedily ripened into an alliance offensive and defensive. This was brought about through the agency of the very man whose special delight it had seemed to be to cross Austria in every way.

The cause of this unexpected revival of friendship was the Schleswig-Holstein question. The statesmen of Europe had vainly exercised their ingenuity for fourteen years in attempts to solve this perplexing problem, when Bismarck came into power; and he found it as far from a solution as ever. In the autumn of 1863 the long-pending quarrel reached a crisis. Denmark having again and again defied the authority of the Diet, in the month of October of that year a resolution ordaining federal execution against the recusant pygmy of a kingdom prevailed by a large majority in the Diet upon the joint motion of Prussia and Austria.

The surprising convergence of the policies of the two German powers on this question was due to precisely the same causes as their divergence on every other question. The secret of their new harmony lay in the same inveterate jealousy that ever regulated their mutual relations. Herr von Bismarck perceived as clearly as Count Rechberg, who had attained to the same post in Austria that his former colleague and adversary at Frankfort held in Prussia, that the stubbornness of Denmark had rendered war inevitable. Germany was ablaze with excitement and sympathy for the Duchies, and with eagerness for the summary punishment of Denmark. Each of the premiers was anxious to take the management of the coming conflict into his own hands, and monopolize whatever advantages might be gained from such leadership. Each wished to control the action of the other, and hence the offensive and defensive alliance.

There is nothing on record to show that Count Rechberg had any other aim than to secure for Austria the prestige of leading a popular movement, and to prevent Prussia from turning the contingencies of the war to her own exclusive benefit. But Bismarck had more positive motives, and of larger scope. Ever devoted to his one design of weakening the position of Austria and strengthening that of Prussia in Germany, he re-

solved to make the complications with Denmark both bear substantial fruits to the dynasty he represented, and serve as an instrument for breaking up the traditional coalition of Austria with the minor states, which formed the basis of her predominance and the main stay of the Diet, as against the interests of the House of Hohenzollern. For this double purpose he conceived a plan more ingenious than scrupulous, the features of which, even if he had not himself disclosed them a year later before the Prussian parliament, were distinctly revealed by subsequent events.

To bring about an alienation between Austria and her princely satellites, Bismarck's first step was to persuade the former to accept the London treaty of 1852 as a basis for the solution of the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty. The Diet as such had never recognized this pact. Public opinion in Germany insisted vehemently, that, as Denmark had never pretended to acknowledge its binding force, the great German powers were released from all obligations under it. To uphold this unpopular treaty was the most ill-advised course the Vienna cabinet could possibly take. Yet Herr von Bismarck had no difficulty in persuading Count Rechberg to stand with him on that dangerous ground. Whether the Prussian premier bribed the Austrian to this by promises relative to the distribution of the prospective spoils of the war, or whether Austria, in the blindness of her jealousy, followed his lead without such inducement, remains an open question to this day. But certain it is that Count Rechberg fell into the snare, and that from the time of the joint motion at the Diet for armed execution against Denmark Austria followed closely and eagerly in the footsteps of Prussia.

The calculations of Bismarck proved correct. The minor states, which for once had yielded to popular opinion, opposed the London treaty, and advocated the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg to the sovereignty of the Duchies. They were speedily arrayed in as distinct hostility to Austria as to Prussia. Though successful in his intrigue, the Prussian premier was not long in finding out that to uphold the London treaty reacted very unfavorably against him at home, and involved him in another serious difficulty with the Land-

tag. The Diet having resolved, in December, 1863, to enforce the federal decrees against Denmark by military execution, and charged Austria, Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover with this duty, it devolved upon Bismarck to appear before the Prussian lower house with a demand for special appropriations for placing part of the army on a war footing. It was in connection with this demand that he was made to feel the great unpopularity of his foreign policy.

Some months after the last prorogation of the Landtag, in consequence of the affair with the Minister of War before related, the government had determined to dissolve the house and order new elections. In the canvass the admiration of the premier for Louis Napoleon's methods of government was once more exemplified by the employment of several of his well-known appliances for obtaining parliamentary support. But reckless as were the efforts of the ministry for the return of a conservative majority, they proved vain. The elections resulted in as large a preponderance of the opposition element as before. The new house met in November, 1863, and its first act was to pronounce the premier's press ordinances unconstitutional, and to institute an investigation into the improper interference in the elections by government officials acting under the special orders of the ministry.

The great struggle, however, between the ministry and the opposition, as has been already hinted, arose upon the policy to be pursued in the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty. The opposition was in complete sympathy with the Federal Diet in its antagonism to the execution of the treaty of London, and in its support of the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg to sovereignty in the Duchies. When, therefore, the government asked authority to negotiate a loan of twelve millions of thalers for the extraordinary expenditures of the War Department, and declined to abandon its Schleswig-Holstein policy, the authority was refused by a vote of two hundred and seventy-five to fifty-one, after a debate marked by such bitterness and personalities that the premier challenged one of the leaders of the opposition to a duel.

The refusal to authorize the loan was immediately followed by the prorogation of the house. Under the authority of the

king, certain accumulated savings of the state were unlawfully employed for the extraordinary military expenditures. The Federal Diet was dealt with in a no less high-handed manner, notwithstanding the many popular demonstrations in its favor throughout Germany, and the protests of the minor states. The Diet, in its weakness and its fear of provoking civil war, was obliged to instruct the commanders of the Hanoverian and Saxon contingents, to whom it had intrusted the active execution of the federal decree, to permit the transit of the Prussian and Austrian troops through Holstein.

The preparations for the invasion of Schleswig having been completed, the Eider was crossed by the forces of the allies February 1, 1864, and in less than three weeks the whole of Schleswig, with the exception of the island of Alsen, was in their possession.

So far Bismarck had been successful in the prosecution of his plot. Austria was now fully estranged from the governments of the minor states, and had forfeited the popular sympathy which her reform movements during the two preceding years had created for her. Partly by his pretence of upholding the London treaty, and partly from the fact of having Austria at his back, he had kept the other great powers from interfering in behalf of Denmark. He had secured in addition a fast hold upon the best part of his intended prey. Yet he was still far from complete success. The risk of provoking the active intervention of foreign governments remained. The Saxon and Hanoverian contingents, as the instruments of the Diet, had as yet a firm foothold in Holstein and Lauenburg. The smaller states were no more pliant to his wishes than before, still zealously supporting the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg. Moreover, it was by no means certain that Austria would follow his lead as readily in the future as in the past.

But Bismarck's astuteness was equal to the emergency. He continued to conciliate the great powers by assurances that the integrity of the Danish monarchy would be respected, and that his government was opposed to the agitation in favor of the incorporation of the Duchies with Prussia, which was nevertheless secretly instigated by him both in and out of the kingdom. He thus kept them in a passive attitude, until the ob-

stinacy of the Copenhagen cabinet at the London Conference in April, 1864, caused them to abandon their *protégé*.

With his German adversaries he had a harder task, and even found himself obliged to give way to them. He not only failed to induce the Diet to permit the occupation of the principal towns of Holstein by Prussian troops, but was constrained to adopt the demand of that body for the constitution of the Duchies as an independent state under the Duke of Augustenburg. Into this concession he was forced by the urgency of his ally, who, frightened by the growing agitation for the annexation of the Duchies in various Prussian quarters, took up the policy of the Diet. The two powers declared jointly at the London Conference that "the Duke of Augustenburg had in the opinion of all Germany the strongest claim to the succession to the sovereignty of the Duchies; that he was sure of being recognized by the Diet; and that he was, moreover, the choice of the great majority of the people of the three provinces."

This involuntary concession would have resulted in a miscarriage of Bismarck's plottings, but for the failure of the Conference, in consequence of the stubbornness of Denmark. He not only escaped this peril, but was rewarded for his timely yielding by the consent of Austria to a vigorous prosecution of the war, in which she had hesitated to join after the expulsion of the Danes from the mainland of Schleswig. Hostilities were reopened by the allied troops with so much vigor that the king of Denmark was compelled to accept the treaty of Vienna, signed October 30, 1864, by which he assigned all his claims to the Duchies to the monarchs of Prussia and Austria.

No sooner had the treaty been signed than Bismarck proceeded to revenge himself upon the Diet for its opposition to his policy in the Duchies by requiring the withdrawal of the Saxon and Hanoverian troops from Holstein. To make his contemptuous treatment of that body the more pointed, he addressed his demand directly to the courts of Saxony and Hanover. These evinced sufficient spirit to refer the demand to the Diet; but the combined pressure of Prussia and Austria made resistance futile, and the troops were recalled, leaving the allies in undisputed possession of the three Duchies.

Bismarck's longing to annex the conquered territory to the dominions of the Hohenzollern had now matured into a fixed purpose. But there were two serious obstacles to its realization, — the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg, and the title of Austria, as good as that of Prussia, to a share of the common prey. Both difficulties were formidable, but insufficient to awe Herr von Bismarck into an abandonment of his projects. An occasion for the active prosecution of his annexation scheme soon appeared. Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg presented resolutions at Frankfort to the effect that the Diet alone had authority to determine the future political relations of the Duchies, and came within two votes of carrying them. Bismarck lost no time in informing the cabinets of the three kingdoms that he considered their motion as aimed at the sovereign independence of Prussia and transcending the federal authority, and that Prussia would not consider herself bound by it, if it prevailed. At the same time he addressed a despatch to the Vienna cabinet, to the effect that Prussia would not commit herself as to the future of the Duchies, and that the proposition to constitute them an independent state under the Duke of Augustenburg was inadmissible, as prejudicial to the undecided claims of others, and among them that of the Prussian monarch himself. He even went so far as to add the startling suggestion, that the annexation of the Duchies to Prussia would prove not only advantageous to the whole of Germany, but harmless to Austria. It required no little assurance to pronounce the claims of Duke Frederick inadmissible, when not many months had elapsed since the same authority distinctly indorsed those claims.

Count Mensdorff-Pouilly, who had succeeded Count Rechberg as Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, saw the weak points of the Prussian note, and exposed them in a spirited reply. He said that Austria had undertaken the solution of the Schleswig-Holstein imbroglio solely in the general interest of Germany, and would remain true to her original motive; that, if Prussia had claims to the succession, they should have been put forth before, and not after, the joint declaration at London; and that, as Austrian blood had not been shed for the aggran-

dizement of one German power at the expense of the other, Austria could not consent to an incorporation of the Duchies with Prussia without corresponding territorial compensation.

The immediate effect of this rebuff was a radical change in the relations of the two powers. The humiliating conclusion was forced upon the Austrian government, that it had been all along but a tool in the hands of an unscrupulous intriguer, who, having accomplished his purposes, was now ready to cast his ally off. It saw, that, instead of foiling, as it had hoped, the ambitious schemes of its rival, it had only promoted them. Thenceforth it used its best endeavors to conciliate the minor states and unite with them in a common policy.

The revelation of Bismarck's plan of annexation led to the most imposing demonstrations on the part of the people of the Duchies of their preference for an autonomous government under the Duke of Augustenburg. The larger portion of the nobility, the clergy, the officials of the civil service, the whole business community, and the people at large, expressed themselves in the most decided manner against the Prussian policy. This reluctance to submit to Prussian rule was mainly due to the illiberal domestic policy so persistently pursued by the Bismarck ministry. Had Bismarck been willing to abandon his anti-constitutional practices in Prussia, he would have encountered no such universal hostility in the Duchies.

The strong anti-Prussian demonstrations in the Duchies led Bismarck to proceed to his goal by a less direct course. On the 21st of February, 1865, in a despatch addressed to the Vienna cabinet, he offered to agree to the union of the Duchies as an independent state under the rule of Duke Frederick, but on conditions which would have made the new state the merest vassal of Prussia. The proposal was rejected by Count Mensdorff, who objected to each and every one of the conditions, as contrary to the letter and spirit of the existing federal pact.

Encouraged by the growing discord between Berlin and Vienna, the minor states now renewed their efforts to baffle the designs of their Prussian adversary. In the month of March, Bavaria, Saxony, and the Grand Duchy of Hesse proposed to the Diet to summon Austria and Prussia to surrender the govern-

ment of Holstein to Duke Frederick. During the discussion of the motion, Herr von Savigny, the Prussian ambassador, under the special instructions of Bismarck, made the decisive declaration, that his government considered the claims of Duke Frederick not only as not established, but as incapable of establishment, and that the Prussian recognition of the claims of the Duke at the London Conference had been but a temporary expedient. Austria, however, supported the motion, and it prevailed. No sooner was it adopted than Savigny filed a protest, denying the right of the Diet to pass upon the future relations of the Duchies, and declaring that Prussia would pay no regard to the resolution.

A reaction in public opinion concerning the question of the Duchies had already arisen in Prussia. The successes obtained by the Prussian troops in the war against Denmark had flattered the military pride of the people. A feeling arose, shared alike by the supporters of the ministry and a considerable portion of the opposition, that Prussia was entitled to a substantial compensation for her sacrifices of blood and treasure. The belief was general that national unity could be accomplished only by the same surrender of their sovereign rights, on the part of the several autonomous states, which Herr von Bismarck proposed to exact from the Duke of Augustenburg. Had the head of the government then put the cause of national unity in advance of the interests of royalty, as he did a year later, it would have been easy for him to revolutionize public opinion in his favor.

As it was, Bismarck was emboldened to pursue a more aggressive policy, and as early as the spring of 1865 it looked as if he meant to provoke a collision with Austria. Without any previous notification to the Vienna government, it was announced on the 3d of April that the king of Prussia had directed the removal of the station of the royal navy from Dantzic to the port of Kiel in Holstein. Austria protested, and ordered two men-of-war to that port, to protect her rights of joint dominion; but Prussia persisted, and carried out her purpose. To prevent its accomplishment by force would have involved the risk of war, for which the Vienna cabinet was as yet unprepared. Shortly after this incident,

Bismarck made pretence that the exercise of the sovereign functions by Duke Frederick in Holstein, with the countenance of Austria, imperilled Prussian interests, and demanded his expulsion. In consequence of this demand, which was refused by the Vienna cabinet, and the vigorous measures taken by the Prussian government to repress popular agitation in the Duchies in behalf of the Duke, the friction between the two powers steadily increased during the spring and summer of 1865; and it was plain that Bismarck was even then willing to push matters to a crisis.

But King William was not yet prepared to adopt his premier's policy. His disinclination to draw the sword, and the equally peaceful disposition of the Austrian emperor, averted the danger for the time, and gave rise to a compromise in the form of the treaty of Gastein, concluded August 14th by Count Bismarck and Count Blome, and subsequently ratified at a meeting of the two monarchs at Salzburg. By its terms the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were to be separately administered by Prussia and Austria, and the latter power, in consideration of two and one half millions of thalers, ceded all her claims to Lauenburg to the former. In recognition of his success in bringing about this arrangement, Herr von Bismarck was soon after raised to the hereditary dignity of a count of the realm.

The new treaty was another great gain for Prussia, and another grievous blunder on the part of Austria. While the former strengthened her hold upon the Duchies, the latter not only failed to secure the permanent maintenance of peace, but, in abandoning, as she virtually did, the cause of the Duke, lost also the best means of thwarting the designs of Prussia, and opened anew a gulf between herself and the minor states. Although Austria now proceeded to carry out her part of the Gastein convention with a most confiding disregard of her own interests, and consented to join Prussia in checking all attempts at Frankfort, in the Duchies, and in the Diet, to protest against the treaty and reach a different solution of the problem, her fidelity to her engagements was of no avail. Count Bismarck looked upon the Gastein arrangement simply as another step towards the great end he had kept steadily in view; and so

far from being satisfied with having obtained a firm grasp upon two of the Duchies, he was resolved not to stop until the third had been added to his spoils.

In pursuance of the treaty of Gastein, the two contracting powers had each appointed a military officer of high rank to act as governor of Schleswig and Holstein respectively. The Austrian governor, Baron Gablenz, did not repress the popular demonstrations in Holstein against the policy of the allies with the same violence as the Prussian governor, General von Manteuffel, in Schleswig. His milder sway was taken advantage of by Count Bismarck, who, under date of January 20, 1866, gave the cabinet of Vienna to understand that the character of the Austrian administration of Holstein could not fail to disturb the amicable relations between the two powers. A few days later an event took place which furnished him with a better pretext for bringing about a rupture. On the 23d of January a meeting was called of the sympathizers with the people of the Duchies throughout Germany at Altona in Holstein. It was at first interdicted by Baron Gablenz, but was subsequently permitted to take place upon the assurance of the leaders that no formal resolutions should be voted by the assemblage. The authorization of this meeting, one of the most imposing popular gatherings ever held in Germany, was immediately seized upon by Count Bismarck as a pretext for the despatch of his famous note of January 28th to Vienna, in which he took the ground, that, in not opposing more energetically the popular demonstrations in Holstein, Austria was pursuing an aggressive course, which, by fostering revolutionary practices, endangered the rights of Prussia. Throughout this document he assumed the tone of injured innocence, lamenting that his strong faith, born of the days of Gastein and Salzburg, in the perfect accord of the policy of the two governments with regard to their common enemy, — Revolution, — had now proved a delusion. The charge against Austria of sympathizing with revolutionists nobody believed less than its author. But had he not instilled this false belief into the mind of the king, he would never have been permitted to demand peremptorily, at the conclusion of the note, that Austria should thereafter abstain from further encouragement of revolutionary practices,

— a demand which he justified by assuming, that, under the treaty of Gastein, Prussia still had a co-ordinate right of control over the administration of Holstein, — and to announce, that, unless the Vienna cabinet complied, Prussia would consider herself at liberty to act as her interests required. Count Mensdorff, in his reply, denied in very dignified language that Prussia possessed any right of control over the administration of Holstein, and repelled the charge of revolutionary proclivities, — but at the same time assured the king's government that Austria would strictly adhere to the treaty of Gastein.

Matters had now reached such a pass that the Prussian premier found himself called upon to decide definitively whether to push the existing complications to the extremity of war or to moderate his policy and seek a peaceful solution. He resolutely chose the former course, a determination which required no little courage. He could, it was true, rely on the neutrality of the other great powers. From Napoleon, at an interview at Biarritz a short time before, he had received, as subsequent developments clearly proved, the promise of French neutrality, (how obtained has never become fully known,) in case Prussia came to blows with Austria. England was entirely indisposed to intervene actively in a quarrel in which she had not the least practical interest. Russia remembered too well the ungrateful return made by Austria in 1854, and again in 1862, for her powerful aid in 1849, to render it at all probable that she would side against Prussia. Yet these were but negative advantages, and in all other directions the prospect was unpromising. His first obstacle was the great reluctance of the king to go to war with an essentially German state, to whose monarch he was attached by ties of relationship and personal regard. In the second place, while he had nothing to fear from foreign interference, he had at the same time no foreign ally. Again, in Germany, the minor states formed an all but solid front against him. The popular hostility to the treaty of Gastein was so great that the sympathy excited for his policy by his proposition of February had disappeared. Moreover, the conflict between the crown and the legislative power continued to be a source of weakness to him, for the gap between the two branches of government was rather widened than narrowed in

1865. Having met again in January of that year, the house had been more than ever provoked by a decision of the supreme court, pronouncing, in contravention of the constitution, a prominent member of the opposition liable to criminal prosecution for words spoken in debate; and the ministry persisting in its former attitude concerning the budget, the liberal majority again refused to vote it, whereupon the house was once more prorogued in June. It met again, in no better temper, a few days before Count Bismarck addressed to Austria his January despatches, and it was certain that it would refuse to vote money for a war of the premier's making.

But the premier's wealth of expedients proved once more equal to all these difficulties. As he had obtained the king's approbation of his previous aggressions by frightening him with the spectre of revolution, so he now overcame his reluctance to an offensive war by persuading him that Austria was bent upon provoking a collision, and that simple self-preservation required Prussia to anticipate the blow. For the next step, the securing of an ally, the way was already paved by the conclusion, in 1865, of a commercial treaty with the new kingdom of Italy, the acceptance of which by the customs-union he had secured in spite of the remonstrances of Austria and the scruples of a number of the smaller states. This treaty, aside from its economical bearing, had been of great political importance to Italy, as it involved the recognition, by all the contracting states, of the new order of things established in the peninsula in 1859 and 1860; and now the eagerness of the Italian rulers to complete the work of national unification, by delivering Venetia from the Austrian yoke, made them ready listeners to the first intimations of the desire of the Berlin cabinet for an offensive and defensive alliance, which were conveyed to them likewise, it may be safely presumed, by the imperial keeper of Count Bismarck's secrets at Biarritz. Of the third obstacle to his designs, the tenacious opposition of the legislative majority, he rid himself by boldly resorting, in the latter part of February, to a dissolution of the house, after a session of only four weeks. To counteract the effect of this hazardous measure, and stir up popular prejudices against Austria, he now made use of the very instrument of agitation, the

press, for which he had all along professed the most sovereign contempt. The columns of the official and semi-official organs of the ministry at Berlin were filled with allusions to projects of federal reform said to be contemplated by the ministry, and with more or less open attacks on Austria. Lastly, the premier made sure of the "sinews of war" by obtaining the royal consent to a resort to the large reserve fund which the Prussian government had been accumulating ever since the days of the first Frederick, now amounting to upwards of thirty millions of thalers, and to a sale of certain railways belonging to the state. The sums thus secured were more than enough to begin a war, and Bismarck knew the martial temper of the Prussian people too well to doubt for a moment, that, the war once begun, he could safely count on procuring all the money which might be needed to bring it to a successful conclusion.

While Count Bismarck was thus preparing for a crisis, Austria exerted herself to foil his schemes by countenancing more and more the popular movement for the autonomy of the Duchies. The danger seemed to the Berlin government so serious that on the 11th of March a royal ordinance was promulgated by the governor of Schleswig, by which all agitation, direct and indirect, for the Duke of Augustenburg was constituted a criminal offence in both Duchies, punishable with imprisonment for five to ten years. This brutal decree produced the most intense indignation in and out of the Duchies. The Vienna government regarded it as a direct violation of its rights under the treaty of Gastein, and within five days after its promulgation Count Mensdorff sent a secret circular to all the smaller states, announcing that the Vienna cabinet, in view of the Prussian ordinance, was under the necessity of demanding peremptorily at Berlin whether or not the king's government really contemplated the overthrow of that treaty. Should the answer be unsatisfactory, the imperial government would refer the question of the Duchies for ultimate decision to the Diet, and call the attention of that body, in view of the threatening attitude of Prussia, to the ninth article of the federal pact, requiring the protection by the Diet of one member of the federation from the aggressions of another.

To the Austrian ambassador at Berlin Count Bismarck denied all intention of violating the treaty, but refused to enter into any explanations. It so happened that it was in his power to make a telling retort; for though Prussia had already taken some initiatory steps towards placing her army on a war-footing, it was a more incontrovertible fact that the Vienna government had gone farther than its adversary in preparing for war. The studied sullen silence which Count Bismarck had preserved during a whole month had had the desired effect of inspiring Austria with fear of a surprise, and of leading her to take what were deemed indispensable precautions by a limited concentration of troops along the northern frontier of the empire. Considering the well-known greater efficiency of the Prussian military system, which rendered it possible to marshal the forces of King William in their full strength in one third of the time required to assemble those of Francis Joseph, the Vienna cabinet was justified in being on its guard. But its action at the time furnished the Prussian premier, who well understood the moral advantage of placing Austria in the light of an aggressor, with an effective argument, of which he made speedy use. On the 24th of March, he addressed, in his turn, a confidential circular to the courts of the minor states, in which he raised the charge of hostile designs against Austria, and in support of it, instead of confining himself to vague assertions, as Count Mensdorff had done, he enumerated in detail the warlike steps which he said the Vienna government had already taken. Assuming his charge to be thereby proved, he informed the several states that the paramount duty of self-defence rendered it incumbent upon Prussia to make counter preparations, and accordingly he desired to know to what extent Prussia could rely on their active assistance, in case Austria proceeded to an aggressive war. At the same time he shrewdly represented the existing complications as another illustration of the utter insufficiency of the old federal structure, and intimated an intention of making some definite propositions for remodelling it at no distant day.

That he was very much in earnest the minor states were forced to believe by the promulgation of royal orders, under date of March 28th and 29th, summoning a large portion of

the furloughed Prussian soldiery to their colors. Nevertheless, there remained to the small potentates sufficient courage simply to refer Count Bismarck to article ninth of the federal pact, as affording an ample remedy for all his grievances.

Meanwhile, Count Mensdorff, although not among the recipients of the Prussian circular, had deemed it his duty to take cognizance of it, in order to deny the warlike purposes therein attributed to his government. This he did in very emphatic and unequivocal terms, through the imperial ambassador at Berlin, who was instructed to declare to Count Bismarck, in the name of the Emperor, that nothing was farther from the thoughts of his Apostolic Majesty than an aggressive policy towards Prussia, — that, on the contrary, he was firmly resolved upon a strict observance of the provision of the federal constitution which forbade the members of the federation to settle difficulties among themselves by force. Coupled with the note was a special request to submit it to King William. It was, no doubt, at the instance of the latter that Count Bismarck replied in a rather conciliatory tone. While defending his own course by again referring to the Austrian armaments, he, on behalf of his royal master, responded to the personal assurances of the Emperor, to the effect that nothing was more remote from the King's mind than an offensive war.

Nothing has ever placed in doubt the perfect sincerity of Austria in these assurances. But the same cannot be said of Count Bismarck's reply; for on the very day on which he made known to the Austrian ambassador the King's answer to the Emperor's message, he signed a treaty for an offensive and defensive alliance with Italy. In signing this treaty he was guilty both of a piece of double-dealing towards Austria, and of a direct breach of the still subsisting federal obligations of Prussia, which strictly prohibited her from entering into a coalition with a foreign state against any member of the federation. Italy, however, agreed to nothing dishonorable on her part. Though eager to accept the proffered aid for wresting Venetia from the clutches of her oppressors, she did not wish, even for this end, to ally herself unreservedly to a despotic government, and hence engaged to co-operate with Prussia against Austria only on condition that the principle of national

unity for which she contended should be inscribed on the banners of her ally, and that liberal internal reforms should be inaugurated in Germany through Prussian agency. This is fully established by the tenor of the instructions of General Govone, who negotiated the treaty, in which distinct reference is made to the promise of Prussia to convoke a national German parliament. Thus Germany appears to be in no small degree indebted to Italy for whatever aid the cause of unity and liberty within her borders received through the war of 1866. Yet it would be unjust to impute to Count Bismarck any hesitation to agree to the Italian conditions. Although still unfriendly to the progress of liberalism, he was too clear-sighted not to perceive the immense moral force that might be derived from the introduction of popular elements into the coming struggle. In return for the promise of Venetia, Italy engaged to assist Prussia with all her military resources in bringing about the severance of all political connections between Austria and the rest of Germany.

Count Bismarck hastened to make good his word. Within twenty-four hours after the signing of the treaty, the Prussian ambassador to the Diet offered a motion for the convocation of a national representative assembly, to be elected by universal suffrage, whose business it should be to deliberate upon propositions for the reconstruction of the federation to be submitted by the Diet. Accompanying the motion was a lengthy exposition of the motives of the Berlin government for this step, which was a masterpiece of diplomatic writing. After proving the necessity for federal reforms, not so much from reasons of his own as by quotations from Austrian declarations to the Diet in former years, and tracing the failure of all previous projects to their want of thoroughness, he adduced his reply to the Austrian proposition of 1863 to show that he had been early in favor of giving the people a voice in the reconstruction of the fatherland. With characteristic boldness he then proceeded to demonstrate that universal suffrage was the only sure remedy for the prevailing evils; but, lest the ultra-conservatives of the Diet should be appalled at this sudden profession of extreme democratic views, he softened its effect by alleging that his government had had the less hesitation in

recommending the adoption of the proposed remedy, inasmuch as it firmly believed it would lead to the preservation rather than the destruction of monarchical institutions, — a conclusion for which he was obviously indebted to observation of the working of universal suffrage in France.

The Prussian circular of March 24th had prepared the members of the Diet for some such movement on the part of Count Bismarck, but they did not dream of being invited to accept so radical a proposition; nor did they stand alone in their astonishment. All Europe was amazed at this sudden display of democratic leaning on the part of one whose whole record had been that of a bitter enemy of popular rights in general, and of parliamentary institutions in particular. Nobody believed the conversion genuine. The proposition was universally considered a mere strategic move for a temporary purpose, like the recognition of the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg. Even in Germany the opinion prevailed at first that it was a mere bid for popular sympathy, and the liberal party were in no haste to welcome it. Austria and the minor states, on the other hand, took time to act upon Prussia's motion, and weeks elapsed before anything was done about it in the Diet.

Meantime there was a most lively exchange of diplomatic missives between Berlin and Vienna. Count Mensdorff, who was as yet unaware of the Prussian arrangement with Italy, announced that the Emperor, in order to give an unequivocal assurance of his anxiety for the maintenance of peace, had ordered his ambassador at Berlin to lay before the King's government a detailed official statement of all the military preparations so far made in the empire. He also expressed the hope that King William would now substantiate his pacific professions by countermanding the orders issued in the latter part of March to mobilize a portion of the army. To this Count Bismarck replied, that, as Austria had first armed, it was her part to lead in disarming. Count Mensdorff promptly declared that his government was ready to order all the troops on the northern frontier back to their former stations, provided Prussia positively engaged to do the same. The Prussian premier could safely agree to disarm in the measure of the Austrian disarmaments, for he well knew that Austria would find it im-

practicable fully to carry out her part of the agreement, for the simple reason that she had now more than one foe to deal with. Within a short time the attitude of Italy had become so menacing, that the Vienna cabinet was suddenly confronted by the alternative of either modifying its offer to disarm or of being taken unprepared by an attack from the South. Hence, at the last moment, Count Mensdorff was obliged to notify the Berlin government, that, while Austria was ready to fulfil her agreement north of the Alps, the situation in Italy precluded her return to a peace footing in Venetia. This was just what Count Bismarck had calculated upon. In his reply, after coolly denying the notorious fact of the Italian armaments, he made known the determination of his government not to disarm, unless Austria did the same in every part of her dominions. This was the last of the mutual propositions to disarm.

Hardly had Count Bismarck steered clear of this obstruction to his schemes, when another arose, on which he and his plans alike barely escaped shipwreck. From the moment of the promulgation of his project for a national parliament, he had become an object of suspicion to his old political friends. They were seized with apprehensions that he had suddenly been converted to the obnoxious principles which they had so long combated under his leadership. Their distrust quickly passed into outright hostility, and they began to prejudice the King against his premier. The Vienna cabinet, in connection with its last effort to bring about a mutual disarmament, having offered to obtain for Prussia the cession of certain strategic points in the Duchies, provided she would consent to their autonomy under Duke Frederick, the Tories strove to make this a means of driving the premier from power. They persuaded the King to direct the Count, who was opposed to taking any notice of the Austrian proposition, to reply in courteous terms, regretting the inability of Prussia to accept the proposed compromise, but reaffirming the willingness of Prussia to abide by the treaties of Vienna and Gastein, and offering to treat on liberal terms for the cession of Austria's claims to the Duchies. Had Francis Joseph listened to this offer, Count Bismarck would have been obliged to tender his resignation; but Austria would not entertain King William's proposal.

Besides these proceedings with Austria during April and the early part of May, Count Bismarck had some sharp passages with the Diet and the governments of the minor states. The majority of the former, although afraid to reject his project of a national parliament, were anxious to make all possible delay, and had done nothing at the end of a fortnight beyond referring the project to a special committee, and adopting a motion calling on Prussia to state in detail what functions she proposed for the new parliament. To this call Count Bismarck flatly refused to respond, unless the Diet previously fixed a day for the convocation of the parliament, — and this on the not very flattering ground, that, without such direct pledge, he should have no faith in the intentions of the Diet to take his proposition into serious consideration. Next, Saxony, which, following the example of Austria, had placed her little army on a war footing, was given to understand, that, unless satisfactory explanations were received, Prussia would find herself obliged, in view of the strategic position of the former, to take proper military precautions to insure her safety in that quarter. But Baron Beust, the head of the Saxon cabinet, and an inveterate opponent of Prussia and partisan of Austria, whose political destinies he was six months later called upon to fashion, insisted upon the right of Saxony, under existing circumstances, to prepare for her defence, and announced his determination to submit the case to the Diet, to which Prussia should have made her complaint. This strong position Count Bismarck adroitly tried to turn by contending that Prussia was the threatened party, and had a right to expect from the Diet that it would compel Saxony and Austria to disarm. He added, that, should the central federal power fall short of its duty in the premises, Prussia would not hesitate to provide for her own security.

A motion in the Diet, by Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Hesse, and other states, to request all members of the federation that had made preparations for war to return to a peace footing, proved equally futile.

Then followed a final attempt by the great powers, mainly at the instance of the British government, to bring about an amicable arrangement. Their invitation to Prussia, Italy, and Austria to meet them in conference at Paris was readily ac-

cepted by the two first-named states. Count Bismarck was too crafty not to perceive that his seeming eagerness to accept mediation would do much to relieve him from the charge of deliberate provocation of Austria, and that there was not the least probability that anything would come of the conference. He was fully aware, that, as England and France favored the cession of Venetia to Italy, the majority of the conference was sure to recommend it to Austria, — a mode of settlement to which that proud power would never consent. What he had foreseen occurred. Austria made the exclusion of the Venetian question a *conditio sine qua non* of her participation in the conference, and, in view of the now recognized fact of the Prusso-Italian alliance, having no longer faith in the efficacy of any efforts to preserve peace, at once resolved upon a line of conduct that would secure to her, in the event of war, both the active aid of the smaller states and the sympathy of the German people.

On the 1st of June the Austrian ambassador announced to the Diet, that his government, wholly despairing of an arrangement with Prussia concerning Schleswig-Holstein, in pursuance of the intention announced in its despatch of April 27th, now formally referred the controversy to the central federal authority, and would, moreover, convoke the Estates of Holstein at an early day, in order to give the people of the Duchies a voice in the determination of their destiny. This move gave Count Bismarck what he had been anxiously awaiting, a plausible *casus belli*. Two days later, he made an emphatic protest against the convocation of the Holstein Estates, as a flagrant violation of existing treaties. To prove this, the Prussian *Moniteur* of the following day published for the first time the terms of a secret convention, concluded between the two powers when they formed their alliance against Denmark, by which each of the contracting parties pledged itself not to take any step affecting the future relations of the Duchies, without the consent of the other. Nor did he content himself with a simple protest. As though determined to cut off all remaining possibility of a peaceful settlement, he, in the famous circular despatch of June 4th, made a fierce attack upon the Vienna cabinet. The records of diplomacy show no

paper more offensive than this, either in form or substance. The main charge, that the government of Austria had tried to make war inevitable in order to obtain an excuse for the certain bankruptcy of the empire, was without the slightest foundation in fact.

The effect of this manifesto throughout Europe was to confirm the general conviction of the utter unscrupulousness of its author, and of his determination to bring on war at all hazards. But Count Bismarck did not confine himself to diplomatic weapons. On the 5th of June, the Vienna cabinet, through the military governor of Holstein, issued a decree convoking the Estates of that Duchy. As soon as intelligence of this reached Berlin, instructions were telegraphed to the military governor of Schleswig to march his troops forthwith into Holstein, and re-establish the status anterior to the treaty of Gastein, which, according to the Prussian construction, the action of the Austrian government had abrogated. On the 7th the Prussian columns crossed the Holstein frontier. The Austrian forces, being too weak to resist, and having orders from Vienna to retreat, fell back before them. In a few days the whole of the Duchy was in the hands of the invaders, and their commander, in obedience to his instructions, proceeded at once to wipe out all traces of Austrian rule by removing all officials acting under its authority. Simultaneously he extinguished all agitation in favor of Duke Frederick, by dissolving all political societies and suppressing all anti-Prussian newspapers.

The forcible occupation of Holstein was virtual war; but a fortnight elapsed before the actual clash of arms. Count Bismarck made use of this interval to turn as far as possible the current of public opinion to the side of Prussia by urging on projects of federal reform. The committee of the Diet, having this matter in charge, with incomprehensible blindness failed to see, that, the more the Diet resisted, the more its adversary could and would demand. It was the stubbornness of this infatuated body that enabled him to carry what he cared much more for than concessions in the interest of the people, — the exclusion of Austria from the reconstructed federation. But before he could make this final move, his Tory enemies pre-

vailed on the King to send a special envoy to the Emperor with a last proposition for a compromise. The refusal of the Emperor to entertain it having been telegraphed to Berlin, the King at once consented to the transmission of a circular despatch to the governments of all the minor states, in which the decisive blow was struck. This document was an amplification of the several features of the project already laid before the Diet, with some vital amendments. One of these provided for the exclusion of all Austria, German and non-German, from the proposed new federation; another, for the election of a national legislature by universal suffrage in the manner fixed in the federal constitution of 1849, — the same which the Count sixteen years before had delighted to flout; and a third, for the division of the military forces of the reconstructed federation into a northern and southern army, with the kings of Prussia and Bavaria as commanders.

No man comprehended better than Count Bismarck that only by force of arms could Austria be made to resign her historical position as a German power, and that his proposition was tantamount to a declaration of war. But the outbreak of hostilities was hastened by an equally decisive step on the part of Austria. On the 11th of June the Austrian ambassador informed the Diet that the recent events in Holstein placed his government under the necessity of moving for the mobilization of the various federal contingents, with a view to the protection of the members against the threatened attack of Prussia. On the 14th the motion prevailed, in spite of the earnest protest of M. de Savigny in behalf of Prussia, who announced that his government would consider the federation dissolved by such a virtual declaration of war against one of its members, and would act accordingly. In consequence of the vote of the Diet, Count Bismarck summoned Hanover, Saxony, and Electoral Hesse to declare themselves openly for or against Prussia, and an answer within twenty-four hours was demanded. Their replies being unsatisfactory, another day saw three hundred thousand Prussian soldiers in motion against them, and the Seven Weeks' War fully inaugurated.

A superficial survey of the relative strength and resources of the contending parties led the majority at that time, on

both sides of the Atlantic, to the erroneous conclusion that Prussia was engaged in a most perilous venture, much more likely to ruin herself than Austria. That public opinion throughout Europe, outside of Germany, was strongly hostile to Count Bismarck, is as true as that even in Germany, outside of Prussia, his partisans were comparatively few, and all parties were still making common cause against the "man of blood and steel." The conservatives saw in him a reckless intriguer, who shrank no more from trampling upon the sovereign rights of the small princes than from employing revolutionary means in the pursuit of his ends. The liberals hated him still as the arch-enemy of liberty, with whom might went much farther than right. The attempt to assassinate him, on the 6th of May, by an enthusiastic South German youth misled by ardent love of country, exemplified the intensity of this hatred. Distrusting his sincerity, they spurned his offer of organic reconstruction on a liberal basis. Even in Prussia the majority of the liberal party, while anxious to see his reform scheme prevail, as promising a substantial gain to the cause of unity and liberty, had as yet no genuine confidence in him, and were above all averse to the realization of their political desires through a fratricidal war. This honorable popular sentiment against war, as a remedy for mutual grievances among states of the same nationality, was manifested in a most signal manner in the months preceding the outbreak of hostilities. With the single exception of Breslau, the capital of Silesia, the municipal bodies and chambers of commerce of the most important cities in the kingdom addressed resolutions to the king to the effect that the political ends for which resort to the sword was threatened could be more effectively attained by a liberal domestic rule and a frank appeal to the patriotism of the German nation. How deep was the popular feeling against war was further shown by the extreme reluctance, and in many cases open refusal, of the levies of the Landwehr in different parts of the kingdom to obey the royal summons to arms.

Nevertheless, the odds against Count Bismarck were not so great as they appeared to be. The Prussian army was ar superior in numbers, organization, equipment, and intelli-

gence to the force it was to encounter. The disaffection of the Landwehr was successfully overcome; and, once in the field, the spirit of discipline, as the sequel proved, made it as reliable and efficient as any other part of the army. Again, the letter of the French Emperor to his Minister of Foreign Affairs, under date of June 11th, in which the facts of the Biarritz interview with the Prussian premier were for the first time fully disclosed, and the imperial writer approvingly recognized the necessity of a territorial aggrandizement of Prussia, gave positive assurance of French neutrality on the eve of the war. Then the presence of mind and bravery of Count Bismarck, on the occasion of the attempt to shoot him in the streets of Berlin, and the popular abhorrence of political assassination, produced a growing sympathy for the man, which gradually extended to his cause. Furthermore, the adroitness with which he was by degrees forcing the Schleswig-Holstein question into the background, and bringing his liberal programme for the reconstruction of Germany to the front of the political stage, every day added to his friends. So marked became this reaction, that it encouraged him to venture upon the bold measure of dissolving the Landtag and ordering new elections, even before the firing of the first shot had consolidated public sentiment in hearty support of the war, as he was confident it would, from the very composition of the Prussian army, which makes it in the literal sense of the words a "people in arms." The result of the primary elections, which took place before the commencement of hostilities, was the return of a government majority to the new house.

In all Count Bismarck's career there is no more striking proof of the resolute boldness and intense energy of his nature than the spirit which he infused into the conduct of the war. The decision of the controversy being once referred to the cannon, every power and resource was devoted to the one end of succeeding in what he knew would be a struggle of life and death. Every instrumentality, no matter what its character, likely to aid him, was welcome to him. His programme included the kindling of domestic insurrection in Austria, and the employment of revolutionary leaders like Kossuth and Klapka for that purpose. The impetuosity with

which the Prussian hosts swept down their enemies, north and south and east and west, was largely due to his inspiration. He was convinced that a short and decisive campaign could alone prevent the conflict from becoming a general one, involving all Europe; and the course and result of the war furnished abundant proof that he succeeded in impressing this conviction upon those who had the conduct of it.

The needle-gun having taken the place of the pen, Count Bismarck might now have fairly sought a well-earned and much-needed rest. Yet he had no thought of seeking a respite from his incessant labors, while the conflict he had prepared was being fought out in the field. He realized that the uncertainties of war might at any moment produce a turn of affairs requiring his instantaneous interference. Hence he would not have remained at Berlin, even if his sovereign had not likewise considered his presence in the field indispensable. So, donning the uniform of a major of heavy cavalry, he left the capital with the king, and remained close to his person throughout the campaign.

The marvellous rapidity with which the vaunted martial power of Austria was broken in Bohemia rendered his services necessary even sooner than had been expected. King William had reason to congratulate himself on the attendance of his premier, when, in the night after the Battle of Sadowa, a despatch reached the royal headquarters, in which the Emperor Napoleon announced the cession of Venetia to him by Francis Joseph, and his purpose to exchange the part of absolute neutrality for that of mediator. From that moment Count Bismarck again took the helm, and retained it till the close of the war. The problem of foiling the shrewd move of Austria, meant to make a neutral out of Prussia's ally, and an enemy of neutral France, was a most delicate one. But for the skilful and at the same time resolute course of the prime-minister, Prussia would have reaped much less benefit from the war than she eventually did. While he accepted Napoleon's offer of mediation, the rejection of which would have been the signal for active French intervention, he declined to accede to the suggestion of an armistice without a previous positive agreement upon the terms of peace. In the conditions on which

he signified his readiness to treat, and which he sent by a special envoy to Paris, he boldly claimed the territorial aggrandizement of Prussia, the construction of a new federation under her leadership, and the severance of all political ties between Austria and Germany. These ends he had determined to secure at all hazards. With equal decision he met the counter proposition of Napoleon, in which the latter, forgetful of his programme of June 11th, acceded to everything but territorial gains to Prussia. Thanks to Count Bismarck's firmness, his terms prevailed both over the French objections and the hesitation of his own sovereign, whose sincere belief in the divine origin of royal power made him reluctant to the last to consent to the overthrow of other thrones for the benefit of his own. The basis for an armistice first proposed by the Prussian premier was finally accepted at Paris and Vienna with but slight modifications.

The negotiations for peace at Nikolsburg he conducted with consummate tact, and the same firm adherence to the great objects for which the war had been waged. Generosity to his enemies, under the circumstances, he considered worse than folly. He was as unyielding as the first Napoleon, and, with the exception of his purposed annexation of Saxony, which had to be given up in the face of the joint opposition of France and Austria, he obtained everything he demanded. Seldom have governments been so thoroughly humiliated as were his adversaries, from haughty Austria down to the humblest of her allies. He could hardly have avoided a feeling of personal exultation, when, one after another, the plenipotentiaries and prime-ministers whose chief aim had been to oppose his every move were compelled to approach him, as he sat in triumph in the ancestral hall of the castle of Nikolsburg, the property of the Austrian premier, to sue for peace. His peremptory refusal to accept Austria's offices in behalf of the minor states, and his inflexible requirement that each of them should treat separately, looked very much as though he coveted the satisfaction of letting each separately feel his power. Nor did it much avail the South German potentates to appeal to France for protection. They found themselves forced in the end to submit to Bismarck's terms.

Already, during the Nikolsburg negotiations, the Emperor of the French must have come to the conclusion that Count Bismarck was less accommodating than the recollections of Biarritz had led him to expect. If he had any doubts on the subject, they were dispelled by the Count's emphatic "No" to the inquiry of the French ambassador at Berlin, whether Prussia did not deem it just and proper to restore the political equilibrium, disturbed by the annexation to Prussia of Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Schleswig and Holstein, Nassau and Frankfort, by the cession to France of a portion of the Prussian territory on the west of the Rhine. This untimely demand for territorial compensation, instead of embarrassing the Prussian minister, proved a marked advantage to him. With his usual astuteness, he saw that a more effectual means for removing the existing internal dissensions in Germany and securing general sympathy for Prussia could not possibly have been found than this evidence of a revival of the historical designs of France upon the left bank of the Rhine, and he made haste to inform the public of his prompt refusal to entertain the French ambassador's suggestion. Napoleon's foolish move enabled Bismarck to induce the four South German states, as being sure to suffer first from French extension, to enter into secret treaties for an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia. This transformation of the deadly enemies of a few weeks before into fast allies, held by the strongest military ties, was certainly not the least remarkable of his achievements in that eventful period.

While Count Bismarck's policy was being irresistibly enforced by the great battles in Bohemia, and the lesser combats in the valley of the Main, another triumph, more peaceful, but not less sweeping, was preparing for him in Prussia. Those victories, besides prostrating Austria and inflicting a death-wound upon the Diet, utterly broke the force of the opposition to the ministry at home. The truth, as old as mankind, that the winning cause is ever the popular one, received once more a striking exemplification. Never did success command a blinder worship. Never did people show a shorter memory. The past, with its full measure of outrages upon constitutional rights, was entirely forgotten. Weary of old issues, dazzled

by the refulgence of martial glory, and transported with joy at the brilliant dawn of a new era, the public mind was disposed to overlook the blots upon the record of the central figure in the historical drama. On his return to Berlin, in the early part of August, all Prussia seemed swelling with pride at being governed by a minister whom Europe was now ready to pronounce the foremost of living statesmen.

Notwithstanding the fatigues of the campaign, Count Bismarck was allowed no rest from his official labors. At the meeting of the Landtag, however, within a few days after his arrival, he had the relief of knowing that he would no longer be worried on the floor of the house by a powerful and determined opposition, — the elections having resulted in the return of a strong working majority for the government. To the credit of Count Bismarck be it said, that he made no abuse of this change in the political complexion of that body. Instead of pursuing a vindictive course, his first efforts were directed to effecting a formal reconciliation between the sovereign and the legislative power. He persuaded the king to admit, in his speech from the throne at the opening of the Landtag, the unconstitutionality of the acts of the government, to express a desire for the re-establishment of harmony between the crown and the house, and to ask for the passage of a bill of indemnity. The bill was promptly voted by an overwhelming majority. In return, the premier prevailed on the king to decree full amnesty for all past political offences, on the occasion of the triumphant entry of the victorious armies into Berlin. Good feeling between the government and legislature being thus restored, he applied himself most vigorously to the consolidation of the successes of the war. With untiring industry he prepared and submitted to the Landtag, within a few weeks after the opening of the session, bill after bill for the annexation of the states and provinces selected from among the conquests of the war to give territorial compactness to the monarchy, for the civil and military reorganization of the new dominions, for restoring order to the public finances, and laying the foundations of the new federation to be set up on the ruins of the old. Among the earliest measures introduced by him was a law providing for the election of members of the future federal

parliament by universal suffrage. This prompt fulfilment of his most important promise to the people greatly increased the public confidence in him. While he gave no signs of anything like a radical conversion to liberal political principles, his course was so moderate and conciliatory that the Tories of the upper house now began to play the part of opposition to the ministry. More than once, in the course of the session, he was compelled to check their antagonism by giving them due warning that the government would no longer encourage their ultra-conservatism. His discreet management not only carried all his measures through both houses, but obtained for him a most substantial reward in the form of a donation of three hundred thousand thalers, allotted, at the instance of the majority of the lower house, as his share of the million and a half distributed among the most distinguished conductors of the war, out of the vast indemnities exacted from Austria and her allies.

Simultaneously with his arduous legislative labors, he bore the burden of the negotiation of formal treaties of peace with the South German states on the basis of the preliminaries of Nikolsburg. His powers were still further taxed by the necessity of counteracting the intrigues at home and abroad of the dispossessed princes, and of coming to an understanding with the Northern and Middle states as to the terms on which they were to enter the proposed new federation. Owing to the fear of centralization, and the anxious clinging of the small potentates to their rights of sovereignty, the latter duty proved very perplexing and ungracious. Still an agreement was reached in due course of time, and in pursuance of it the plenipotentiaries of the respective governments met at Berlin late in the autumn for the purpose of framing the organic laws of the "North German Confederacy." At their first session the Prussian premier submitted the draft of a constitution, in which the features of his reform project of June 11th were produced with such modifications as the events that had intervened required. But it was only by dint of great tact and judicious perseverance, coupled at times with considerable pressure, that the resistance of some of the states to a number of the provisions of the draft was overcome, and,

after months of deliberation, it was adopted substantially in the form desired by him.

The next step in the inauguration of the new confederacy was the convocation of the federal parliament. The elections for this body had taken place while the representatives of the governments were elaborating the constitution to be submitted to it. The small fraction of the old opposition party that would neither forget nor forgive the premier's past, and refused to join in the common worship at the shrine of success, had made a gallant canvass. But, as was to be foreseen, the elections resulted in returning a majority for the government. The Reichstag was opened by King William with great pomp and solemnity on the 24th of February, 1868, and the draft of the constitution was immediately laid before it by Count Bismarck.

As submitted, the proposed fundamental charter was but an ingenious contrivance for strengthening and perpetuating the hold, not so much of the kingdom of Prussia as of the house of Hohenzollern, upon the members of the new confederacy, and indirectly upon all Germany. The tendency of every provision was to this end. While apparently securing to the federate states co-ordinate rights, it really concentrated so much power in the giant leader of them all as to make mere vassals of the smaller sovereignties. Their money, their soldiery, their telegraph, postal, and railroad systems, and other sources of strength, were but to serve to increase the power of their mighty confederate, who in return was to give them protection and the other material advantages of unity. In order to secure the greatest concentration and the least limitation of the executive authority in the hands of the Prussian monarchs as hereditary presidents of the confederacy, the chance of legislative interference with their sovereign pleasure was to be reduced to a minimum. For this purpose, contrary to the universal practice in the German legislatures, the members of the parliament were to receive no compensation for their services. The object was to exclude from the federal assembly the liberal leaders of the day, most of whom were men of limited means, and thus to insure the permanent preponderance of conservative elements. Again, the most important prerogative of a representative assembly — the right

of regulating the public expenditures — was to be seriously curtailed by a provision fixing the war budget of the confederacy once for all at an unvarying sum. But the majority of the Reichstag, while willing to give Count Bismarck all reasonable support, was not disposed quietly to accept these illiberal provisions, together with such other objectionable features as the prohibition of the publication of any reports of its debates not officially sanctioned, and the irresponsibility of the executive organs. Instead of the unhesitating consent anticipated, Count Bismarck found a spirited resistance, when these parts of the constitution came up for discussion. With a discretion and moderation which contrasted most favorably with the pugnacity he had formerly exhibited on similar occasions, he bowed to the will of the majority on all points but that of the gratuitous service of members. Upon this he was found so immovable that the majority had to yield to him. The deliberations of the Reichstag were concluded within two months after the opening of the session, — a despatch of business due mainly to the premier's urgency, and unparalleled in the parliamentary annals of Germany. Before the close of the session Count Bismarck was able to announce that all the federate governments had assented to the modifications of the original draft of the constitution, and that, as amended, he would submit it for ratification to the legislatures of their respective states, all of which were shortly afterwards convened and accepted the new organic law.

A prominent American historian and diplomatist professes to have discovered a strong similarity between the constitution of the North German Confederacy and that of the United States. His discovery will not bear the test of a careful analysis of the two instruments. The powers granted to the legislative body in both are, it is true, substantially the same. But notwithstanding this agreement, the practical value of the legislative functions is far less in the former than in the latter, — and this owing to the vital difference in the composition of the respective law-making bodies, and in the prerogatives of the federal executive. It was, no doubt, from overlooking this difference that this error of judgment arose. The North German parliament, like our Congress, consists of two houses. The lower

house there as here is composed of members elected from the several states, according to population and by universal suffrage. But the upper house is not made up, as our Senate is, of indirect representatives of the people, but of delegates of the governments of the federate states appointed by the sovereigns, and intended, not, like the Senators of the United States, to be guardians of the interests of the people, but of monarchical pretensions against possible encroachments of the popular branch. The unequal numerical representation of the several states in the upper house or federal council — Prussia having seventeen votes, and all the rest together only twenty-six — constitutes another decided difference. But the greatest divergence of the two constitutions lies in the origin and powers of the respective federal executives. The President of the United States is elected by the people. He at once executes and is subject to the laws of the land. He is responsible to his constituency to the extent of a liability to removal for violations of law. His appointing power is restricted. His tenure of office is limited in point of time. He can neither declare war nor conclude peace, nor make any valid treaties without the consent of the Senate. The President of the North German Confederacy, on the contrary, holds his office by as permanent a tenure as the throne of Prussia. The office is hereditary in his dynasty. He not only executes, but makes laws. He is personally irresponsible, and is not under, but above the law. His appointing power is unlimited. He makes war at will, and the consent of the Reichstag to treaties is not required even for such as touch upon matters within the legislative province. The absence of a co-ordinate judicial branch of the North German federal polity is another point of dissimilarity. And, lastly, the very essence and chief aim of the American constitution, as expressed in the fourth section of its fourth article, namely, the protection of the liberties of the people of the States composing the Union, will be vainly sought for in the organic pact of which Count Bismarck was the principal author.

The laying of the foundation of the North German Confederacy by the constituent Reichstag was not yet completed, when the Luxemburg question created a grave danger to the

new structure. France sought to obtain, by a secret bargain with the king of the Netherlands, what she had vainly demanded of Prussia after Sadowa. Her intentions had no sooner come to light, through the indiscretion of the cabinet of the Hague, than an intense excitement instantly arose all over Germany. The sanguinary conflicts of the preceding year were at once forgotten, and the people, from the Rhine to the Vistula, and from the Elbe to the Danube, were animated by the one thought of resisting to the last the demand of their grasping neighbor for a rectification of frontiers, justified solely on the ground that Germany was in a fair way of securing the same boon of unity which France had been enjoying for centuries. Count Bismarck, whether from pure patriotism or from a perception of the impulse certain to be given by foreign aggression to the work of national consolidation under the leadership of Prussia, was in full sympathy with the popular outcry against French presumption. This he clearly demonstrated by the defiant manner in which he made known to the French government the treaties of alliance between Prussia and the South German states, of the existence of which up to that time only the contracting powers were aware. It would have been easy for him to rally the whole German people to an enthusiastic support of a contest with France, but he prudently contented himself with convincing that power that the national feeling in Germany was strong enough to overcome all internal discord, and thus honorably avoided the calamity of another war by accepting the proposition to make Luxemburg neutral territory.

Since that settlement, Europe has again and again been alarmed by the apparent prospect of a conflict between France and Germany. But, alive as Count Bismarck has been to the constant danger to which French *chauvinisme* exposed his country, he has not allowed it to disturb him in his unremitting endeavors to infuse into his creation more and more of political and national vitality. A vast amount of labor remained to be done after the adoption of the federal constitution, in order to insure the healthy development of the infant confederacy. The smouldering discontent in the annexed provinces had to be repressed by a combination of conciliation

and rigor; the civil and military institutions of the new parts of the monarchy were to be assimilated to those of the old; and the federate states made to conform their several polities theoretically and practically to federal law. To trace the work of the chief architect of the new political edifice, in all its details, during the last eighteen months, would lead us too far. Suffice it to say, that, with the willing and intelligent aid of a friendly majority during two subsequent sessions of the federal parliament, he added much to the strength which the confederacy derived from the constitution by a series of national reforms, such as freedom of domiciliation, the improvement of the postal system, the introduction of a uniform system of weights and measures, and the removal of various obstacles to commercial growth. That there has been in the new confederacy a steady progress towards organic harmony and stability cannot be denied. But the work of Count Bismarck is still far from complete. As it stands to-day, it exhibits many imperfections and incongruities, such as the existence of universal suffrage under the federal constitution by the side of restricted suffrage under the state constitutions. Nor does the builder himself consider his structure complete or perfect. Some defects, which he could remove by a stroke of his pen, he permits to remain for ulterior ends; others he dares not meddle with at present. It is evident, too, that he still relies mainly on material interests for binding the different parts of the federal fabric more closely together, and is indisposed at present to reinforce their influence by an unhesitating employment of a yet more potent political liberalism. He still seems to make the chicken in the peasant's pot the chief aim of his internal policy. That the assurance of material well-being would be an inducement to the German people to put up with certain political objections to his rule was no doubt a safe calculation. But that something beyond material prosperity is required to make the great body of the German nation cheerfully follow his lead is shown by the results thus far of his attempts to bring the rest of Germany into the new confederacy.

To a man of Count Bismarck's political insight it must have been plain, after Sadowa, and a matter of just self-gratulation,

that the union of all the German states into one great empire, under the House of Hohenzollern, was reduced to a mere question of time. The preparations for this result have, indeed, occupied his mind, since the autumn of 1866, quite as much as the consolidation of the confederacy. The article of the treaty of Prague which guaranties to the Southwestern states the right of forming a separate federation, and the animosity still felt by a large portion of this population towards Prussia, have rendered a discreet policy imperative, and he has confined himself strictly to the establishment of material bonds between the North and South.

As yet the desire for a closer identification with the North German Confederation has made but little progress south of the Main. The meeting last spring of the customs parliament, at which popular representatives of all Germany, excepting Austria proper, assembled for the first time since 1849, was a great step forward, as well as a triumph to Count Bismarck, who had been obliged to resort to threats of commercial isolation in order to overcome the reluctance of the South German legislatures to approve the new custom treaties, in pursuance of which the parliament was convened; yet much less was done for future political unity during the session of that body than he had obviously expected, and since its adjournment the opposition to assimilation with Prussia has become more active than before. The South Germans, governments and people alike, if they were disposed to overlook the fratricidal origin of the Northern confederacy, could not shut their eyes to the character of the new political body with which they were expected to unite. The former saw in such a union a sacrifice of sovereign rights, ostensibly for the national good, but really for the benefit of the House of Hohenzollern; the latter, less liberty, higher taxation, and heavier military burdens. It was not unnatural that neither should be in great haste to be absorbed into Prussia.

Despite all obstacles, however, Germany will move steadily on towards unity and liberty. Nor is it probable that the man whose political practices, if not his theories, have undergone such a radical change within a few years, who has shown such marvellous political tact and foresight, will set his face

against the strongest tendencies of the age, and miss the surest means of making his country politically as well as materially one. Hence, even if he be not as yet a full convert to liberal ideas, (and the continued restraints on freedom of opinion in Prussia indicate that he is not,) it is very certain that the instinct of self-preservation as well as political necessity will keep him from retrograde steps. His admirers have repeatedly asserted that the conservative leanings which he has at times manifested in the last year and a half were not so much symptoms of a lingering attachment to his old heresies as devices to prevent his royal master from growing impatient under the progressive character of his policy. However this may be, his late practical abandonment, in the Bancroft treaty, of the doctrine of the indissoluble allegiance of a subject to his sovereign, and his still more recent declaration in favor of administrative decentralization, and the substitution of local self-government in place of the old bureaucratic system, show very plainly that he does not mean to engage in a fruitless and disastrous struggle with the spirit of the age. How far he has carried his king with him appears from the remarkable passage in the late address from the throne to the Prussian Landtag, in which the monarch speaks with hearty sympathy of the Spanish revolution.

The contemplation of Count Bismarck's public career, either as a whole or in detail, is not edifying. From its opening to its turning-point in 1866, it absolutely failed to command respect or inspire sympathy. His ends were too often ignoble, and his means almost always reprehensible. He showed cunning rather than wisdom, and audacity rather than true courage. His policy resembled more the wiles of the old school of diplomacy than the straight-forward, dignified statesmanship which happily prevails more and more in the councils of nations. Had he died before 1866, his place in history would hardly have been more honorable than that of Metternich. Even now he is still far from being the progressive reformer which an ill-informed public sees in him. Yet, with all his failings, he has been of great service to his countrymen, who will ever remember him as the trenchant instrument of Providence which hewed a way to national unity, and made their

fatherland more respected abroad than it had been since the reign of Charles V. The tendency of the Old World is slowly, but steadily, towards democratic forms of government. Many years may yet elapse before the Continental nations will find themselves in full enjoyment of all the rights of men. But when the last vestige of rule by divine right shall be swept away, they will perhaps praise Count Bismarck as the practical revolutionist, who, by laying violent hands upon the anointed of the Lord, expedited not a little the final collapse of monarchy.

H. Villard.

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## Art. VIII. — The Revolution in England.

We adopt the title of our article, not as a sensation heading, but because a considerable amount of revolutionary sentiment has been developed by recent events in England, and the country appears at length to be on the eve of really organic change. Foreigners revisiting it after an interval of a few years are greatly impressed by this fact. "At last the French Revolution has reached you," was the exclamation of an American, who had been moving in English political circles, to an English friend. It will not be a French, but an English revolution; for the political temperament of the people as a whole is little changed, and the movement is likely still to be slow. But questions are being freely and practically discussed on which a few years ago the lips of Englishmen were sealed; institutions are challenged which a few years ago were sacred; and the nation, we repeat, appears at length to be on the eve of organic change.

The early part of the administration of William Pitt was a period of political progress, though not of organic change. Pitt himself, raised to power originally by the personal favor of the King, was nevertheless by inclination Liberal, not only on economical questions, with regard to which he was the first to put in practice the doctrines of Adam Smith, but with regard to diplomacy and politics; and he appears to have seen with sym-

pathy the earlier portion of the French Revolution, the overthrow of French despotism, and the inauguration of constitutional monarchy in its place. But the excesses of the Revolution produced a violent reaction in England, as well as in other European countries; and the long war, first with the French Republic, and afterwards with Napoleon, not only entirely suspended the cause of political progress, but gave the Tories, as the reactionary party, a power which they retained for some years after the war had closed. Gradually, however, the nation regained its balance, and political progress recommenced. The foreign policy of England grew more liberal; by degrees she detached herself from the despots of the Holy Alliance, who, having been replaced on their thrones by nations welcoming them as liberators from the military tyranny of the French Emperor, had speedily laid aside the popular character with which the War of Independence had for a moment invested them, and formed a conspiracy for the suppression of liberty in Europe. This diplomatic reaction towards the side of Liberalism culminated in the short, but brilliant, ministry of Canning, formerly a lieutenant of Pitt, the author of the "Anti-Jacobin," and during the earlier part of his political life a Tory of the Tories, — who, to balance and counteract the encroachments of despotism in Europe, which he had not the power to avert, helped into existence the South American republics.

Meantime, however, Liberalism had been making progress in home policy. The great reforms in the criminal law proposed by Romilly and Mackintosh had been taken up and carried into legislative effect by Sir Robert Peel, who, though a Tory on organic questions, was always an administrative reformer. Free trade, the sister of political Liberalism, had found successful advocates in Mr. Huskisson and the other members of what was called the party of the Economists. But above all, the cause of civil and religious liberty had made great strides in connection with the struggle for Catholic emancipation. In that struggle not a few of the more open-minded Tories, with Canning at their head, appeared as champions of emancipation, though a good deal perhaps under the influence of a sentimental feeling in favor of the old Catholic nobility,

and without knowing how much was involved in the object for which they contended, or how wide was the application of the principles which they propounded.

In the cabinet of Lord Liverpool Catholic Emancipation was an open question, one half of the ministers being for, the other half against, the measure; and the two sections, whose divergences of sentiment really extended beyond that particular issue, being precariously bound together by the presidency of the venerable mediocrity who had been fortunate enough to be Prime Minister at the time of the final victory over Napoleon. The death of Lord Liverpool was followed by a disruption. The personal brilliancy of Canning, and the growing strength of the party of Catholic emancipation, of which he was the chief, enabled him to thrust aside the section headed by the Duke of Wellington, to which Eldon and the other Tories of the old school belonged, and to form a semi-liberal government, — a government liberal in foreign and economical policy, though its chief remained to the end of his life the obstinate opponent of parliamentary reform.

The sudden death of Canning threw the government back into the hands of the Duke of Wellington, or, rather, into those of the Duke's nominal subordinate, but real master, Sir Robert Peel. A practical statesman and administrator of the highest class, Sir Robert Peel strove to avert the necessity for organic change by the most vigorous administrative reforms, by the abolition of sinecure places, by the reduction of the army and navy, and by the general diminution of expenditure, — a policy which he carried to such an extent that his ministry is still regarded as the golden age by economical reformers, and frequently points the moral of public frugality in the economical speeches of Mr. Bright. The current, however, was too strong to be thus diverted from its course. Wellington and Peel were compelled by the imminent danger of civil convulsions to bring forward and carry a measure of Catholic emancipation. But though by this concession they settled one great and perilous question, and with credit to themselves, (for the perfect frankness and manliness with which they avowed their change of policy and its motives more than preserved their character as public men,) they found themselves on the morrow of that

settlement face to face with the still greater and still more perilous question of parliamentary reform. The rotten borough system, under which the decayed relics of mediæval towns, and petty Cornish villages enfranchised by unconstitutional sovereigns, returned members, while the great cities, recently created by the development of trade and manufactures, returned none, under which the sale and purchase of seats in the House of Commons went on as openly and shamelessly as the traffic in any article of commerce, and which had reduced the representation of the people almost to a nullity in England, and quite to a nullity in Scotland, was too shocking to common sense to be endured any longer, even by the nation which is most patient of theoretical imperfections and most easily deluded by the semblance of practical utility. The Whig section of the aristocracy, expelled by George III. and Pitt from the monopoly of power and of the great offices of state, which they had enjoyed almost without interruption from the accession of the House of Hanover, had learnt popular principles in adversity, and now placed themselves decisively at the head of the reform movement. The progress of the Liberal party in France, which ended in the dethronement of Charles X., lent an impulse to Liberalism in England. Wellington and Peel, unable to stem the increasing force of the torrent, and too deeply pledged against reform to think of any concession which would have satisfied the nation, fell from power, nominally on a secondary question connected with the civil service estimates, really on the question of parliamentary reform.

The only doubt in the minds of Wellington, Eldon, Croker, and other Tories of the antiquated school with regard to the Reform Bill of 1832 was, whether a democratic anarchy would ensue at once, or whether its advent would be deferred for a few years. So entirely destitute were their intellects of the very conception of a people which, rendered loyal to national institutions by their equity and beneficence, might be a law to itself; so absolutely, in their ideas, was government a matter of force, and the retention of government, legally or practically, in a few hands essential to its effectiveness, and even to its existence. Yet the Reform Bill of 1832 enfranchised less

than one sixth of the adult male population of the country. It withheld the vote almost entirely from the laborers and artisans by whose toil the wealth and greatness of England were sustained, and the estates of the nobility were being rapidly doubled and quadrupled in value while their owners slept. The class which it mainly enfranchised was the middle class, a class essentially conservative in temperament on political questions, though generally opposed to the State Church in religion, standing, to a great extent, to the upper class in the relation of tradesman to customer, and apt, in consequence of that relation, to be not only not antagonistic, but subservient to wealth. Moreover, the distribution of seats was still such as most materially to detract from the popular character of the representation in the new House of Commons. Though the rotten boroughs, in the strict sense of the term, were abolished, little regard was had, in the distribution of seats, to the ratio of population, — towns scarcely above the rank of villages returning a number of members equal to that conferred on vast cities or populous counties; so that a majority of the House of Commons was still elected by a mere fraction of the community, and, as such a fraction is sure to be amenable to pressure and manipulation, the keys of power were still left in the hands of the aristocratic and plutocratic class.

Sir Robert Peel, the struggle once over, had the wisdom frankly to accept the new order of things, and to train his party in the art of holding by the influence of position and wealth the power which they had before held by the possession of the rotten boroughs. He discarded the name Tory with its reactionary and odious associations, adopted in its place the name Conservative, and taught his followers under that title to adapt their policy to the existing sentiments of England and of Europe. He took up a friendly position towards the Non-Conformists, studied with especial care the interests of the trading part of the community, and cultivated the good-will of literature, science, and the public press. Sprung from the middle class, (for his father, the first Sir Robert Peel, had been a cotton-spinner,) he was peculiarly qualified, not only by association, but by character and temperament, to conciliate the class from which he had risen, and which under the Reform

Bill had come into political power. He was, in fact, the English counterpart of the *bourgeois* King of France. Though destitute of the brilliant qualities to which the name of genius is commonly confined, seldom rising in his oratory above the level of a good business speaker, occasionally betraying positive want of insight on organic questions, and hampered to the end of his career by the fatal associations of his high Tory youth, Peel played a very remarkable part in political history. His practical ability, his integrity, his vast experience and knowledge of the public business, his personal ascendency in the House of Commons, his special acquaintance with the commercial interests of the country, the union, in him perfectly spontaneous and sincere, of attachment to monarchical and aristocratic institutions with warm popular sympathies and a comprehensive regard for the interests of the whole nation, gave Conservatism a strong hold on popular as well as on aristocratic opinion, not in England only, but in the other countries of Europe. He was the trusted counsellor of the other conservative governments, especially of the government of Louis Philippe, and the advice he gave them was inspired not only by a politic moderation, but by a sincere desire of reconciling the nations with their rulers, and of founding the order of things to which he clung not only on the allegiance, but on the affection of the people.

The memorable administration of Sir Robert Peel (1841–1846) seemed almost to secure the permanent ascendency of his party. Its fall is commonly ascribed to the repeal of the Corn Laws, which was rendered inevitable by the sufferings of the English people under the system of protection, by the growing influence of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and by the Irish famine of 1846. This impression, however, is only partly correct. It is true that the overthrow of the Peel government was rendered possible by the exasperation of the protectionist land-owners, who formed a large proportion of the Conservative party, and who were frantic with fear of a great fall in the value of their estates: an apprehension which was very natural at the time, though experience has since shown it to have been unfounded,—the influence of increased national prosperity having so completely counteracted the loss of the monopoly, that

the value of land, instead of falling, has risen greatly. But this exasperation would probably have subsided, at all events it would not have assumed the form of permanent disruption, had not advantage been taken of it for the purpose of effecting a revolution in the leadership of the party by Mr. Disraeli, who was always a Free-Trader, as he now avers, and by Lord Derby, who was remarkable for his patrician ignorance of all economical subjects, and was ready to throw over protection as soon as the immediate object had been attained. Lord Derby, a high aristocrat, and, from his brilliant, though somewhat superficial qualities, the idol of his caste, had never been able to reconcile it with the due order of Nature that he should remain in a subordinate position, and, before the repeal of the Corn Laws was proposed, there had been some symptoms of his alienation from his leader, and of the gathering of disaffection of which he was the nucleus. Mr. Disraeli had been left out of the ministry by Sir Robert Peel, and through two preceding sessions had been assailing the minister with the most vindictive and personal bitterness. By the action of these two men, who were soon afterwards found in avowed alliance, the revolution was effected. Peel was ejected from the leadership, and Lord Derby became the head of the party, with Mr. Disraeli as his lieutenant in the House of Commons. But the singular union which high society worships in Lord Derby, of oratorical facility with sporting tastes and enough of classical learning and literary power to produce a very meritorious translation of Homer, did not make him a statesman, or give him any firm hold on the confidence of the country. From the time when he leaped into the seat of Sir Robert Peel, the Conservative, or, as it now began again to call itself, the Tory party, suffered twenty years of exclusion from power, broken only by two brief interludes of office, both without a majority in the House of Commons and therefore without real control over legislation, both purchased by sacrifices of principle, both ignominious, and both disastrous. When Nature has determined that an aristocracy shall die, she raises up a Lord Derby as the minister of Fate.

But though the Conservative party was excluded from office by the want of powerful leaders, the temper of the nation

during the years 1846–1866 was decidedly Conservative. It at once repelled the European revolution (if that can be called a revolution which proved to be little more than a contagious revolt) of 1848. Trade was, with brief intermissions, very prosperous; riches increased, and the nation set its heart upon them; a cynical indifference to moral and political objects pervaded not only the upper, but the middle class; on every side appeared the characteristics at once of a money-loving and a pleasure-seeking people. The only progress was in the action of the intellectual forces which were silently sapping the foundations of the state religion. Lord Palmerston, for ten years dictator of England, was nominally a Liberal, and the leader of the Liberal party; really he was a Conservative, and he governed the country, as premier, on Conservative principles. He closely resembled in character and opinions the Voltairean aristocrats of France before the Revolution, and his historic prototype might have been found in Choiseul. In morals he was understood to be liberal and something more; as to religion, he would probably have burnt incense to Jupiter, had that deity happened to be enshrined in Westminster Abbey, as readily as he conferred bishoprics on leading Evangelical clergymen to secure the great Evangelical vote; and his antipathy to Russia gave a certain air of Liberalism to his foreign policy, though the Liberal cause in Europe never received from him any practical assistance. But in his home policy he was above all things an aristocrat, and an enemy to organic change. His personal qualities and political tendencies rendered him the cynosure of a class of men very numerous and influential in England,—men who have made great fortunes as merchants or manufacturers, and, having done so, desire to mingle with the aristocracy, and often exceed the old aristocracy themselves in their oligarchical spirit and their estrangement from the people. These men thronged the brilliant salons of Cambridge House in company with Liberal journalists, whom the insinuating premier, like another Orpheus, had charmed out of their savage independence, and turned into the most domestic of all his political allies.

Lord Russell, while yet at the head of the Liberal party, before he had been supplanted by Lord Palmerston, had proposed a

measure of parliamentary reform embodying a further extension of the franchise, with a view to the admission to political rights of a portion of the working class. In this, whatever may have been his motives, (and they were probably the mixed motives of a party leader under a system of party government,) he was faithful to the traditions of his youth; for he had been chosen, though a very young man and not in the cabinet, by the Whig ministry in 1832 to move their Reform Bill in the House of Commons. Having been proposed by the leader, parliamentary reform became an article in the formal creed of the Liberal party. Wealthy men, seeking a seat in Parliament for social rather than political objects, and presenting themselves as candidates for the suffrage of boroughs traditionally Liberal, declared themselves in their addresses, as a matter of course, favorable to an extension of the suffrage. But Lord Palmerston found a way to relieve them from the unwelcome necessity of giving practical effect to their pledges in the House of Commons, and he owed no small portion of his upper-class popularity to the conviction, that, while he ruled, the political conscience of the party would never be awakened out of its comfortable sleep. Nor were the constituencies themselves extreme to mark the want of reforming zeal in their representatives; for, as we have already said, the reaction extended not only through the upper, but through a great part of the middle class. Lord Russell was allowed, under the leadership of Lord Palmerston, again to bring forward a measure of parliamentary reform; but the measure was doomed from its birth, and was quietly stifled amidst the acquiescence of all but the most decidedly Liberal section of the House, whose numbers in those days would have been easily counted. Even the moderate motion of Mr. Locke King, to extend the franchise in the counties to occupants of houses paying ten pounds' rent, was lost without a serious struggle, Lord Palmerston paying a nominal tribute to his ostensible principles by voting for it, but speaking so as to secure its rejection. A subordinate member of the Palmerston government, having afterwards come out as the most vehement opponent of Mr. Gladstone's Reform Bill, was taxed with having previously voted for a measure of the same kind. The defence

set up for him by his friend was, that he had voted in the conviction that the measure would not be allowed to pass. The result of such a *régime* was not only the suspension of Liberal legislation, but the thorough demoralization of the Liberal party.

The state of political feeling among the upper and middle classes in England was signally illustrated by the conduct of those classes with reference to the civil war in this country. But from that event dates a change. When, to the astonishment of all believers in the London "Times," the bubble of democracy did not burst, and the bubble of oligarchy did, a recoil of sentiment was certain to ensue. The failure of all the predictions, as confident as they were charitable, of anarchy, military despotism, repudiation, confirmed the impression which the victory of the Federal arms had made. The Tories have now slipped over to the winning side; and the colleagues of Lord Cairns, the men who cheered on Mr. Laird, and whose organs in the press met American remonstrance with defiance and redoubled insult, are now eagerly claiming credit for the adoption of a conciliatory policy towards the United States, overwhelming Mr. Reverdy Johnson with caresses, and boasting to the constituencies that they have settled the question of the Alabama. But in the hour of delirious triumph over the supposed fall of the Republic they had unmasked before their own people; and though American diplomacy accepts the overtures of Lord Stanley and his colleagues, before the English people the mask cannot be resumed. The artisans, who to a man were true to the Republic under the most trying circumstances, found themselves placed, on a great moral question, in a position of distinct superiority to the ruling class, and saw their own moral perceptions justified against upper-class education and intelligence in the practical result. Moreover, deserted by the great mass of the politicians and the men of local influence, they were led to seek new leaders among the men of intellect: a conjunction which Cobden noted at the time as one of great significance for the future.

On the death of Lord Palmerston, Lord Russell having again become leader of the Liberal party and head of the government, he and Mr. Gladstone at once took up in earnest the question of parliamentary reform. They brought forward a

measure limited in its scope, and falling short of the wishes of the Radical party, but intended to enfranchise the more intelligent and independent of the working class. The introduction of a *bona fide* Reform Bill, however, at once revealed the condition in which Lord Palmerston had left the Liberal party in the House of Commons. By far the greater portion of the party was immediately seen to be false at heart to its principles and its pledges, and rotten to the core. A large section, headed by Lord Grosvenor, the heir of the enormously wealthy Marquis of Westminster, and by Mr. Lowe, at once passed over to the enemy, and labored in concert with Mr. Disraeli to defeat the bill. But the numbers of this section, on which Mr. Bright fixed the nickname of the Cave of Adullam, were an inadequate measure of the real amount of treachery and defection in the Liberal ranks. The bill was thrown out. Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone proved their sincerity by resignation; and the Conservatives and Adullamites exulted openly, while a large number of professing Liberals, especially of the wealthier class, exulted secretly, but not the less fervently, over the indefinite postponement of parliamentary reform.

The Liberal party in the country, however, was sounder than in the House of Commons. It had not undergone the personal influence of Lord Palmerston, and it of course included multitudes uncorrupted by high society or wealth. The insulting language held by Mr. Lowe and other violent reactionists in Parliament had stung the working class to the quick. "We will set our heel on democracy," said an Adullamite nobleman. They had done so in too literal a sense. The character of Mr. Gladstone, his eloquence, his purity, the remembrance of the benefits which as a financial and economical legislator he had conferred on the working classes, indignation against the perfidy by which he had fallen, moved the hearts of the artisans. The group of literary men, who, with Mr. Mill at their head, had become connected with the popular cause on the American question, continued to uphold it on the question of parliamentary reform, and used their knowledge of political philosophy and history to set forth in articles, pamphlets, and volumes the benefits which would result from the substitution of a national government for the government of a class. Reform

leagues and unions were organized; Mr. Bright addressed a series of great public meetings; and parliamentary reform became a serious question.

It is probable, nevertheless, that the extension of the suffrage might have been put off for a considerable time, had the Conservative leaders possessed the strength of conviction and the courage to stand to the principles which they had so solemnly avowed. Though the artisans of the North were excited and zealous, general apathy still reigned in England south of the Trent. Mr. Bright affirmed, and no doubt believed, that he was at the head of a great force; but multitudes would flock to hear Mr. Bright, and be worked up by his eloquence to momentary enthusiasm, on whom no reliance could have been placed in a hard and protracted struggle against wealth and power. The opponents of reform were in a great majority in the existing House of Commons, and that House had still five years to run. But Mr. Disraeli had no strong convictions, and Lord Derby, though impetuous and overbearing as an orator, is wanting in steady courage as a statesman. A trifling disturbance, hardly to be dignified with the name of a riot, in which about a hundred feet of the railings of Hyde Park were pushed down by the crowd, whether accidentally or by design nobody knows to this hour, so shook the nerves of "the Rupert of debate" that he immediately directed his lieutenant to prepare a measure of parliamentary reform. His lieutenant accordingly, with the assistance of the electioneering agents of the party, prepared a measure which was framed on the principle of ostensibly granting household suffrage, and thereby outbidding the Liberal leaders, but clogging the grant with such conditions as to leave the suffrage practically as restricted as it was before. The conditions, being unskilfully devised and too palpably tricky, broke down, one after another, in the progress of the bill through the House of Commons; the most important of them, and the one declared by the government to be the cardinal principle of the bill, the personal payment of poor-rates, was framed in ignorance of the existing law, and evaporated as soon as it was called in question. And thus the Tory party found itself landed in an extension of the suffrage at least as wide as that which had been proposed by Mr. Bright, and

for proposing which Mr. Bright had been charged with the fell design of "Americanizing our institutions," besides incurring a ruinous loss of character in the process. This, probably, is the true history of the Tory Reform Bill. Mr. Disraeli, indeed, now avers, that, while he was denouncing Mr. Gladstone's limited measure as fraught with democracy and revolution, and its author as a new Tom Paine, and while he was securing the support of the Adullamites by assurances of inflexible resistance to reform, he himself meditated a far more extensive measure, and was "educating" his party up to that mark. But in this he probably does himself, according to our view of the relations between politics and morality, more or less than justice. He concurred with Lord Derby in offering a place in the cabinet to Mr. Lowe, the most sincere, uncompromising, and powerful of all the opponents of reform. This he would never have done, had he at the time made up his mind to propose household suffrage; for he must have known that he would have no chance of carrying Mr. Lowe with him, and that, upon his disclosing his intentions, Mr. Lowe would either become master of the cabinet, which from his power was quite possible, or break it up by his secession.

We have said, and we repeat, that in the course of these events a great amount of revolutionary sentiment has been developed in England. The cause of this sudden advance of political feeling was partly the discussion provoked by the rejection of Mr. Gladstone's Reform Bill, and the challenges which the opponents of that bill threw out with the most reckless insolence to the unenfranchised masses,— partly and principally the signal collapse of the political character of the governing class. A leading German periodical, *Unsere Zeit*, in its review of these events, spoke of the result as "a moral bankruptcy of the nation." It should have said, rather, a moral bankruptcy of the governing class of the nation: with that limitation, the remark was perfectly true. The absence of moral and political stamina in the wealthy and luxurious section of society, which had hitherto monopolized power, might be visible to the eye of a careful observer, but it had never been revealed to the nation before. The people found their claim to political rights one day met with the proudest and

coarsest rebuff, in spite of all that reason and justice could urge in its favor; the next day they found the same claim precipitately conceded, in fright at the gathering of a few open-air meetings of artisans, and at the demolition of some dilapidated park-railings. They felt at once that they were powerful and that they were not ruled by justice. The insulting language of the Tory aristocracy and their Adullamite allies in the debates of 1866 had hardly died on the workingman's ears, when he was summoned to the presence of the Tory leaders to be flattered and caressed, and told that his political virtue and intelligence — the political virtue and intelligence of "the ignorant, the impulsive, the drunken, and the corrupt" — were the great hope of the state. He saw the chiefs of the aristocracy, manifestly for the sake of office, dealing with the highest of all public interests in a manner which the Tory "Quarterly Review" compared to the fraudulent proceedings of a firm of commercial swindlers; and he saw the aristocracy at large cynically applauding this conduct, and exulting in the short-lived triumph to which it had led. He saw, moreover, the sovereign, a woman bereft of honest advisers, and stricken by an overwhelming sorrow, in the hands of adventurers, who were making use of her name for the purposes of their personal ambition. He saw the Established Church a tool in the same hands, and her prelates meeting under political influence to declare that her existence was bound up with that of the Irish Establishment, — an iniquity which was the scandal of Christendom. He saw these things with eyes cleared both by education and discussion as they had never been cleared before. The spell of ages has been broken, and in the nineteenth century spells once broken are not easily repaired. Nor could the traditional allegiance of the people to the unwritten constitution fail to receive a severe shock, when the great constitutional principle of government by the majority in Parliament was given to the winds, and a minority seized on the government, and maintained itself in power by appropriating the principles of its opponents.

The admission of the great artisan class to political power was, however, in itself enough to alter the complexion of English politics, and give a stimulus to the whole nation. The

artisans, if not positively revolutionary, are distinctly democratic. Excluded from the constitution long after they had become more than the equals in political intelligence of a large portion of those who were within its pale, they have formed their political character outside of it, and with little reverence for its consecrated names. They have also grown up, for the most part, in total estrangement from the Established Church, and indeed from all religious organizations, the opinions prevalent among them being mainly of the Secularist type. In their trades unions they have long waged an industrial war with the former masters of the state, and they naturally carry on their antagonism from the industrial to the political arena. They are active-minded, collected in large masses, and fitted in every respect to form the rank and file of a strong movement party. Their influence is already distinctly seen, both in the new positions taken up by public men, and in the progress of political questions in which the artisans are specially interested, especially those relating to trades unions and public education. As electors they are far more independent than the tradesmen, who cannot afford to offend their customers; whereas the skilled artisan, in a market where skilled labor is in great demand, is generally sure of employment, and can set his master at defiance. It was with good reason, therefore, that the Tories regarded with especial dread the enfranchisement of these men.

Moreover, the progress of the discussion has given even men who have no wish for organic change an insight into social dangers with which the present system of class government has proved itself unable to deal. An ordinary tourist in England, living at his hotel in the wealthy quarter of London, or visiting at the country seats of the nobility and gentry, sees nothing of the maladies and perils of English society. At one extreme of that society is colossal, almost fabulous wealth, — fortunes the amount of which surpasses the powers of enjoyment of any ten or any hundred human beings. At the other extreme is a mass of poverty and suffering, daily increasing, and as unparalleled in its magnitude as the wealth. While a Marquis of Westminster, a Lord Derby, or a Lord Overstone is drawing his million or two millions of dollars a

year, eleven hundred thousand persons are normally living in a state of penal pauperism; several millions more, in fact the whole peasant population, are always within sight of the same state; and if a peasant lives to old age, the workhouse or out-door relief, administered under penal conditions, is not only his ordinary, but his almost certain doom. Close to the palaces of Belgrave Square and the sumptuous club-houses of Pall Mall lie tracts seldom visited by the stranger, but equal in extent to cities, which are the teeming abodes of ignorance, filth, and destitution. The other great cities of England exhibit a similar spectacle. In what condition, both in point of material comfort and of civilization, the mass of the Irish people are, no American needs to be told. Vagrants and mendicants, who are frequently also thieves, abound upon the public ways; and in the metropolis the criminal part of the population has grown so strong, and so conscious of its own strength, that the police begin to cower, and outrage stalks the streets with impunity at midday. Close to the centre of civilization lie hordes of barbarians who know no law but force, to whom government is simply repressive, and whose uprising, if it ever in any special season of suffering or excitement should occur, would be as fearful as the invasion of an Attila. The artisans of the manufacturing districts stand of course on a very different level, and are much more a law to themselves; but the state religion has wholly failed to reach them, and the ascendency of the social over the selfish and sensual impulses in their character rests on a precarious foundation. The land of the nation, the distribution of which is the strongest guaranty for the loyalty of the people and the stability of the social fabric, is being rapidly engrossed by a small number of great proprietors; the independent yeomanry, once the sinews of English strength and the pillars of English order and legality, have entirely disappeared; and the nation will soon be a tenant at will on its own soil. Pedantic economists in England tell you, with perfect complacency, that these things are the natural result of certain economical causes. A physical malady is the natural result of certain physical causes, but, if neglected, it may be death. All thoughtful Englishmen are beginning to be sensible of these things, and to desire, on so-

cial grounds, and entirely apart from any merely theoretical preference for democratic institutions, a government national enough and strong enough to grapple with the peril in the interest of the whole community, and to divert the public resources and energies from waste and folly, from Caffir wars, Canadian fortifications, and Abyssinian expeditions, to the real and pressing needs of a suffering and imperilled nation.

If the new Parliament does not adequately reflect this change in the national sentiment, if it consists mainly of the same class of men as the old Parliament, with the same conservative or timid temper, there are explanations of this result. In the first place, though the franchise has been extended, large classes still remain unenfranchised. No votes have yet been given to the great class of agricultural laborers, who, though too ignorant and dull to have any definite political opinions, are certainly not well affected — as in truth they have little cause to be well affected — to the land-owners or their government. In the second place, the registration of the poorer voters, especially of those qualified as lodgers, has as yet been very imperfect, and large numbers of votes have thus been lost to the candidates of the workingmen. In the third place, the redistribution of seats under the late Reform Bill was merely illusory, as Lord Derby himself in fact admitted, and no proportion or pretence of proportion has yet been established between population and representation. In the fourth place, the enormous expense of contested elections to the candidates * remains undiminished, or rather is increased, by the increase in the numbers of the constituencies ; and the nominations are thus practically confined to the rich, or those who can raise large sums of money, which at once explains the failure of the workingmen to elect representatives of their own class. In the fifth place, the vote was not free ; the land-owners, great and small, coerced their tenants at will, in pursuance, it seems, of a sort of feudal tradition, which makes them fancy, that, as the territorial aristocracy of the Middle Ages had a right to

* A contested election for a county costs the candidate at least $ 12,000. For a large borough, the expense, even supposing there is no bribery, is not much less, sometimes much greater. Local lawyers, who have got the constituencies into their hands, demand enormous fees as election agents. In one constituency a candidate was forced to pay fourteen of these agents $ 500 apiece.

lead their tenants to the field, they have a right to lead their tenants to the poll. The special proclamations of a few liberal-minded landlords, that they would not interfere with the tenant's vote, only served to mark the general prevalence of the opposite practice; while, on the other side, there were amusingly frank avowals of the landlord's right to coerce, from several great proprietors, and among them from a lady, who, being abroad, transmitted to her agent a missive couched in the most curt and peremptory language, ordering her tenants on sight of it to vote for the candidate of her choice.* The reformed Parliament, whatever may be the personal inclinations of its members, even if it can avoid extending the franchise beyond the present arbitrary line, can scarcely avoid making better provisions for the registration of voters, — redistributing the seats so as to establish a fair proportion between representation and population, — casting on the counties and municipalities, or at all events reducing, the expenses of elections, — and protecting the freedom of the voter by the ballot, and perhaps also by an act against intimidation. The party of progress will likewise be compelled to give itself the organization, for want of which, in a contest with a party far more compact and unanimous than itself, it lost, through double candida-

* The Duke of Marlborough gave special scandal by allowing his agent to coerce voters on an estate which had been granted by the nation as a reward for the services of the Great Duke. The Duke of Portland, in a letter justifying his use of his influence as a land-owner, naïvely divided the community into two classes, — gentlemen, who might be believed on their honor, and common people, who could be believed only on their oath. "A Conservative Landlord," in a letter published in a leading Tory journal, expressed his belief that there was "one method, and one method only, by which Conservatives could triumph." Conservative landlords, he said, owned three fourths of the landed property of the country, and had three fourths of the expenditure in their hands. Let a list of tradesmen of Conservative and Church principles be made out, and let not a farthing be spent with any one else. This argument would bring "Liberals and freedom-of-conscience Dissenters" to their right minds. No doubt the writer of this letter would sing, "Rule, Britannia! Britons never will be slaves," with as stentorian a voice and in as perfect good faith as any one else. The Tories held scarcely any public meetings. Mr. Brodrick, the Liberal candidate for Woodstock, the Duke of Marlborough's borough, was able to say that his opponent, Mr. Barnett, shrank from any public appearance before the electors. The battle was fought on the Tory side almost entirely by private influence, and to a great extent through the pressure exercised by landlords on tenants at will and by customers on tradesmen.

tures and other violations of party discipline and good tactics, probably a score of seats. What is most important of all, the newly enfranchised masses have not as yet awakened to political life. Hitherto it has not been worth while to agitate them or address them through the press. Now that it is worth while, no doubt agitators and journalists will soon appear; and the people will become conscious of their power, and alive to the objects for which it may be used. The effect of the Reform Bill of 1832 was felt most at first, because the classes then enfranchised were already full of political activity; the complete effect of the Reform Bill of 1867 will not be felt for ten, perhaps not for twenty years.

Household suffrage was recommended by the Tory leaders to their startled and wavering followers, and perhaps was really preferred to a more limited measure by the leaders themselves, on the ground, that, while the enfranchisement of the more independent and intelligent portion of the workingmen would be favorable to the party of progress, the enfranchisement of the lowest class of householders might be favorable to the party of reaction. The "instincts" of the lowest class, it was said, would be good, and they would be amenable to "legitimate influence." Thus a "Tory-Democrat" league was to be formed between the two extremes of society for the coercion of all the respectability and intelligence which lay between. The history of both hemispheres furnishes precedents for such a policy, but scarcely one for its open avowal. It has by no means proved abortive in these elections. Evidently, from the poorer quarters of some of the more retrograde cities, numbers of ignorant voters have been led, under the influence of drink, senseless cries, landlord coercion, and probably bribery, to vote for the taxation of their own tea and sugar to keep up the army which upholds by its bayonets the Church Establishment in Ireland. But though not actually abortive, the manœuvre on the whole has failed. The working class, in the main, has been true to its own leaders, its own interests, and its own hopes. At Sheffield, the scene of the great trades-union outrages, the Tory candidate appealed in the most unblushing manner to the extreme trades-unionists, and received the support of the murderer Broadhead and his

compeers ; but the more respectable societies carried the election of Mr. Mundella, a great employer of labor, noted at once for his strong Liberal opinions and for his beneficent efforts to put an end to industrial wars. In other places a similar game was played by Tory candidates, but with little effect. Morality, as well as Liberalism, must rejoice at this result.

Though wealth has asserted its unshaken supremacy and the new Parliament consists of the same men as the old, its members will have different constituencies behind them, and to some extent a different mission. This will be felt, if it is borne by the current of events into a more advanced position than the majority of the members at present contemplate. The majority of the members probably at present contemplate distinctly two great measures only, — the abolition of the Irish Church Establishment, which the nation has ratified by an overwhelming vote, and the institution of some general and effective system of popular education, which, since the extension of the franchise, has ceased to be a mere matter of philanthropic interest, and become a matter of life or death to the community. But the first of these measures is likely to bring the House of Commons into collision with the House of Lords, which has committed itself deeply to the maintenance of the Establishment, and both are likely to bring it into collision with the Established Church of England, the clergy of which have desperately identified their cause with that of the Established Church of Ireland, and have hitherto shown a fixed determination (which, assuming, as the institution of an Established Church manifestly assumes, that the religion endowed by the state is indisputably true, cannot be called unreasonable) to keep popular education in their own hands.

To the case of the Established Church I may return in a future article. In speaking of the House of Lords, I desire to guard myself against the imputation of any irrational hatred of aristocracy in the abstract. Aristocracy, like the paternal despotism of the head of a tribe, has had its place in history, and served certain purposes in the development of civilization. It is to be approved or condemned, not absolutely, but relatively to the state of a given nation ; and in any case full allowance is to be made for the trial to which the members of a privileged class

are subjected, when they are called upon to resign their privileges for the good of the community. Seldom, if ever, can men brought up under the influence of privilege possess the greatness of mind to acknowledge that the time of their order is come, and that the only service they can render to humanity is by smoothing the inevitable transition and linking the future amicably to the past.

The English House of Lords is now the only hereditary chamber in Europe. In one or two other countries, Prussia and Bavaria, for example, the upper chamber still contains an hereditary element, but always in combination with an element of election or nomination for life. In most countries the upper chamber is wholly elective or nominated for life, and the principle of election greatly prevails, on the whole, over that of nomination. The upper house of the Austrian Reichsrath contains no hereditary members except the princes of the Imperial family, — though, with regard to a certain number of places in the house, nobility, with a large landed estate, is a condition of nomination. England, which of all the great nations of Europe was the first to half emancipate herself from feudalism, satisfied with that half-emancipation, has now let the rest of the world go by her, and has remained to this time complacently in a semi-feudal state. But since the crash of last year all institutions have been put upon their trial by the nation; and in the court of free opinion the House of Lords cannot stand. The feudal baron of the Middle Ages performed, according to the exigencies and after the fashion of a semi-barbarous time, real and arduous functions for the community. He held his lands, not as private property, the revenue of which might be spent in a palace in London or in the pleasure cities of the Continent, but on condition of service, in war as a leader of the local militia, and in peace as a local maintainer of order and administrator of justice, at a period when the central government was very feeble, and there was no national police. He also represented, as a great land-owner, the only kind of property which, before the development of trade and manufactures, was of much consequence and held in high esteem. It was on these substantial grounds that he was called to the great council of the nation, not because he was his father's

son: for though the fiefs, in their origin grants to the individual, naturally and almost inevitably became hereditary, and carried their jurisdictions and political privileges with them, it may very safely be said that the idea of an hereditary legislature, such as the advocates of the House of Lords are now called upon to defend, never entered the feudal mind. Moreover, the House of Lords in the Middle Ages was only partly hereditary. Down to the Reformation the bishops and mitred abbots outnumbered the lay peers; and many of the bishops and abbots, even in the latter days of the mediæval Church, when Church patronage was most abused and Church elections were most corrupt, were men who had risen by a certain kind of merit from the ranks of the people. With such an institution the present House of Lords is identical in nothing except in name. It is simply a titled plutocracy of great land-owners, holding their estates, since the reign of Charles II., as private property, discharged of any public duties military or civil. It represents nothing but the estates of the great land-owners, and the interests and feelings of that class. Wealth in land is almost the sole title of admission to it: no man who is too poor to endow his heirs with a great landed estate for the support of the title, however high his public merits and distinctions, can find entrance into what is ironically called the Temple of Honor; while, on the other hand, no personal lack of merit and distinction will exclude a millionnaire who has invested his fortune in broad acres and lent a steady support to a minister in the House of Commons. Even birth is disregarded, provided the essential condition of great wealth be fulfilled: peerages have been conferred, within a recent period, on two bastards, of whom one was wholly undistinguished, while the other was distinguished in a high degree by the exceeding irregularity of his life. Genius and virtue, without wealth, can be admitted, only if, as in the case of Lord Macaulay, they are childless. At the same time, the life element, formerly preponderant in the House, has been reduced by the suppression of the abbacies, and by the great increase in the number of lay peers, (the vast majority of whom, instead of being Normans, are of quite recent creation,) to comparative insignificance in point of number, and to almost total insignificance

in point of influence,—for the bishops are effectually warned off, if they attempt to encroach on any but ecclesiastical questions. The character of the great majority of the members of the House is such as it is the natural tendency of hereditary wealth and privilege to produce, when their influence is untempered by any necessity for self-exertion or any training in the school of active duty. They are for the most part men living a life of ease and pleasure, rather below than above the average of the upper classes in education and intelligence, and so little interested in public affairs, or willing to sacrifice personal enjoyment to public obligations, that the smallness of the attendance in the House of Lords, even on important occasions, has become a scandal and a source of alarm to the leaders of the order, and efforts have recently been made to induce the peers to attend in more respectable numbers, though hitherto without much effect.

In the Middle Ages, the barons, standing on a real political and social necessity of the time, and feeling the ground firm under their feet, were not timid reactionists, but rather in their narrow way ministers of progress: they carried the Great Charter; they founded the House of Commons; they set limits to the power of the Church; they acted as the pioneers and trustees of liberties which were in the course of time to become the liberties of the people. But the plutocracy which is now invested with their titles has, for the last century and a half at least, been a mere organ of reaction, and of the timorous sensibility of a privileged class, whose privileges are threatened, immediately or remotely, by every measure of change. The House of Lords originates nothing of importance, not even on those neutral subjects on which, if it were really worthy of the name of a senate, it might usefully and acceptably initiate legislation. It does nothing but veto; and its veto has been put indiscriminately on every kind of innovation, even on the best considered and most inevitable reforms,—on the extension of the *habeas corpus*, the mitigation of the penal code, the abolition of the slave-trade, the admission of Jews to Parliament, the admission of Dissenters to the Universities, the repeal of the paper tax which prevented the development of a cheap press, as well as on the Reform Act of 1832, and the abolition of

the rotten boroughs. Its obstructiveness has been limited only by its fears. It dared not, in the midst of famine and fierce agitation, veto the repeal of the Corn Laws; and in the case of the late Reform Bill, the leaders of the aristocratic party, in a sudden panic, had struck their flag. Rational and far-sighted Conservatives, as well as Radicals, may well doubt, and we believe are beginning to doubt, whether such an institution can, without considerable modification, satisfy the needs of society in the future, and whether the infusion at least of a large element of life peers is not necessary to make the upper chamber anything but a source of danger to the Constitution.

It is evident that the position of the House of Lords has been greatly altered by the recent extension of the suffrage. While the House of Commons represented only a mere fraction of the nation, the House of Lords, though representing a still narrower class, might sometimes with impunity assert its independent power. But when the House of Commons represents the nation, as it now does, or will soon do, the result of a collision between the two houses cannot be doubtful, especially if the question on which the collision takes place is one on which the mind of the nation is decidedly made up. Such a question is the question of the Irish Church: for the English people are now heartily sick of the Irish difficulty, and have resolutely determined to put an end to it, if they can, and at all events to show the world that its continuance is no fault of theirs.

This, however, is not the only point on which a collision, possibly resulting in a conflict between the two houses, may occur. Great dissatisfaction is felt, especially among the legal profession, with the constitution of the House of Lords as the ultimate court of appeal, — an incongruous function which this political assembly derives from a rude age, when law did not exist as a science or a regular profession, and when political and judicial powers were everywhere vested in the same hands. To meet this dissatisfaction, Lord Palmerston, assuredly in no revolutionary spirit, proposed, in the exercise of an ancient and well-attested prerogative of the crown, to confer on an eminent lawyer a peerage for life; but the House of Lords, under the inspiration of Lord Derby, desperately resisted the attempt, and asserted the exclusively hereditary character of the House,

exemplifying thereby an old lesson of history, which teaches that institutions and privileged orders doomed to abolition will never hear of compromise till it is too late. By denying the sovereign's prerogative of appointing peers for life, the Lords have rendered indispensable an act of Parliament to confer the power: to that act the House of Commons must be a party; and, in the present temper of the nation, it will be impossible for the House of Commons to confine the power to the case of law peers.

Again, the existence of a landed aristocracy is inseparably bound up with primogeniture and entail,* upon the abolition of which experience shows that the great estates of the nobility would melt away. But the monopoly of land, which primogeniture and entail promote, and which is every day growing narrower, has become, as we have said, already a subject of serious discussion, not only on economical and social, but on political grounds. If Mr. Bright is a member of the new Cabinet, (a member of the new Cabinet, if he chooses, he must be,) the ministry will contain a pledged and powerful advocate of land-law reform, one whose opinions on this most critical question were but recently denounced with frantic violence by that eminent organ of wealth and its privileges, the London "Times." If the evils and dangers of the present system are great in the case of England, they are still greater in the case of Ireland, where it involves not only excessive aggregation of land and divorce of the mass of the people from the soil, but absenteeism: many great Irish estates being entailed with estates in England, where the proprietors almost always reside. The use made by the great landlords of their territorial influence in the coercion of voters at the late elections is not unlikely to make the cup of discontent overflow; but at all events the formidable question of primogeniture and entail is

* Primogeniture is legally operative only in cases of intestacy, which do not often occur; but the law of primogeniture leads the custom. Instead of *entail*, we should, in legal strictness, say *settlement;* for it is by family settlements, renewed on the marriage of each eldest son, not by entails of the ancient kind, that the estates of the nobility are held together. English reformers do not desire to adopt the French law of compulsory division. They only desire to place real estate, in case of intestacy, on the same footing as personal, and to prohibit the tying up of land to persons unborn. The testamentary power they would leave unfettered, as at present.

far nearer to a practical issue in England than those who have not been in the country within the last two or three years are aware.

Thus, without any clear and settled determination to abolish or alter the House of Peers, the nation may find itself actually confronting that institution in the path of necessary progress; and in that case the national mind is now prepared theoretically for a large measure of change.

The monarchy is threatened not so much in itself as through the cognate institutions, the House of Lords and the Established Church, the fall of which it could scarcely survive. A few years ago we should have said that in itself it was in no peril whatever, except in so far as its fate was foreshadowed by the fall of the kindred European dynasties, which have been replaced by monarchies more or less democratic in their origin and character, and evidently destined to stand merely as provisional dictatorships between the monarchical past and the democratic future. But since the retirement of the Queen from public and social life, under the pressure of affliction, and the cessation of drawing-rooms and court balls, the classes whose lip-loyalty was before the loudest, the fashionable world and the London tradesmen, have betrayed the hollowness of their sentiment by a very free use of language for which they would have proposed to hang a member of the Reform League. Pasquinades have been posted on the gates of Buckingham Palace. The most scandalous allusions to Widowed Majesty have been seen in "Punch," side by side with flunkyish sneers at the American Republic and laudations of Governor Eyre. One member of Parliament, a London house-agent, went so far as to suggest in the House of Commons, that, as the Queen could not perform the duties of her station by giving parties and keeping up the rent of London houses, she should be requested to abdicate; and though the House of Commons received the suggestion with loud denunciations of horror, the member in question probably found encouragement and applause elsewhere. In this feeling the serious part of the nation does not share; and when it was expressed in presence of Mr. Bright, it drew from him a crushing rebuke. But the serious part of the nation has been led of late to reflect on the latent dangers of

monarchy, however constitutionalized, by the introduction of the Queen's name into the controversy about the Irish Church, and the attempt, feeble perhaps, but unmistakable, which the late prime minister, stimulated no doubt by the contagious example of the French Empire, made to revive personal government in his own interest. More speculative thinkers have begun openly to question the value of the whole system of constitutional fiction of which England has so long boasted as the masterpiece of practical wisdom, and of the central fiction among the others, and, to proclaim, that, for the future, society can rest securely only on realities. Much depends on the personal character of the wearers of the crown. The remark is constantly heard, and it is no doubt true, that the nation would not bear another George IV. But without giving credit to the stories about the present heir to the crown, of which three fourths at least may safely be set down as the mere creations of a malignant fancy, we may be perfectly sure that in the course of nature another George IV. will come. Take a series of men of average intellect and character, (and George IV. was probably at least up to the average naturally in both,) guard them by a fence of royal etiquette against all the wholesome influences which produce and sustain virtue in other men, deny them the training of necessary self-exertion, of fair criticism, of equal friendship, expose them to every possible temptation, surround them with parasites, supply them with the means of gratifying every passion, and you are morally sure within a limited number of generations to produce a scandalous debauchee. Even in the Middle Ages, when kings were trained in a far rougher and hardier school, an Edward I. was followed by an Edward II., and Edward III. by a Richard II. In those days, when nobody dreamed of any government but a monarchy, the individual monarch met his doom: in these days the monarchy might fall.

At present there is no Republican party; probably the most advanced Radical would disclaim the name of Republican. But there is a good deal of Republican sentiment; and if things hold on their present course, the natal hour of the Republican party is not far distant. This we believe to be the fact; and it will not appear very incredible, when we consider that there

is undoubtedly a strong Republican party in Spain, and that the Spanish Republicans have been a good deal educated by the writings of English politicians. When the Republican party in England is born, it will not die; for this time the Commonwealth will not be the premature aspiration of a group of advanced theorists like Vane and Milton: it will come in the fulness of time, and as the moral and political necessity of the whole nation.

Sober writers on politics, while they note tendencies and predict the ultimate issue with confidence, will avoid committing themselves to dates. A hundred accidents beyond the range of mortal foresight may accelerate or retard the English revolution. The power of wealth is a retarding influence, the force of which would be great anywhere, and overwhelming in so wealth-worshipping and wealth-ridden a country as England, if wealth were not generally too timorous to make an effective use of its power. Much will depend on the turn which political affairs may take in other countries; for England, in spite of her physical and moral insularity, becomes daily more bound up, to the great benefit of her political character, with the destinies of the sister nations which are like herself treading with faltering and stumbling steps the dangerous path that leads from the feudalism and privilege of the past to the rational and equitable institutions of the future. The collapse of the American Republic would, in the judgment of leading English Liberals, have put back the political progress of England for many years. Much will also depend on the appearance or non-appearance on the side of progress of gifted men, combining clearness of political vision with practical force and sagacity; and no positive philosopher has yet enabled us to foresee from hour to hour whether such men will appear or not, though, when they do appear, they greatly influence, maugre all philosophies, the destinies of nations and of mankind.

We assume that all will go on peaceably and constitutionally, and that every question will be decided by the vote of Parliament or at the polls. Perhaps, to make our view of the situation complete, we ought to notice the possibility of less favorable contingencies. We have already said that beneath the foundations of civilized society in England there lies a great mass

of barbarism, which is merely held down by force, and which might, like the Faubourg St. Antoine, in some sudden access of furious anguish, wild hope, or mere predatory violence, overpower its keepers and precipitate the march of events through anarchy into some form of reactionary despotism. On the other hand, there is a standing army, similar in kind to those which have formed the instruments of reactionary governments for the suppression of liberty in France and other countries, though smaller in size, owing to the happy exemption of the island kingdom from the necessity of defending military frontiers. To the direct command of this army the Court has always instinctively clung, repelling all attempts to turn the Horse Guards into a constitutional department. A large proportion of the troops has served in India and other dependencies, where it has been employed in holding down subject races, — a training very subversive of respect for public liberty and of the sentiments of a citizen. The officers, many of them drawn from the aristocracy, and all of them imbued with its spirit, would probably execute with exultation an order to commence the work of forcible repression. Whether the private soldiers would obey discipline or their own interests and their natural sympathies is a question which we believe no Englishman has ever thought of asking himself, — so serenely do they all take it for granted that the fate of other nations cannot possibly be theirs, and that soldiers steeped in the blood of Indian Sepoys and Jamaica peasants will in England always be the servants of the law. That the idea of using force to maintain what Privilege deems order has floated about in certain regions of English society, though it has probably never taken a definite form, we have reason at least to surmise. When something disagreeable is hatching against a community and the shrewder plotters keep their secret to themselves, Providence sometimes warns the community of its peril by such a monitor as Mr. Carlyle. Mr. Carlyle's oracular utterance in favor of the Slave Power showed us the bottom of his philosophy, and probably cured some of us of the habit of canting in Carlylee against cant, and shamming abhorrence of shams. In his recent pamphlet on the Reform Bill the philosopher of the celestial immensities and infinities exhibits himself

in a state of rather terrestrial panic, clinging to the knees of wealth and power for protection against the democracy, and praying for the maintenance of a Christian Church to guard a free-thinker's spoons. After a eulogy on the superior manners of the nobility, suggestive of recent intercourse with them, he proceeds to develop a plan for ostensibly accepting democracy and secretly preparing to smite it with the sword. The plan may be confidently pronounced to be his own; but the spirit embodied in it may be that of the company which he has been keeping. We may add, that the language used by the partisans of Governor Eyre was not applicable only to the maintenance of order in dependencies. Upstart wealth especially is all for arbitrary and sanguinary measures, — more so than the old aristocracy, on which constitutional traditions press with greater weight. Fortunately, however, for England, her citizens have almost adamantine barriers of habit and sentiment to break through before they can resort to force on either side. This comparative immunity from any tendency to violence, the result partly of the Anglo-Saxon character, partly of the happy accidents of English history, is the great advantage which England possesses over her sister nations, and the great reason for looking to her rather than to any of the rest for the ultimate solution of the tremendous problem of political reconstruction which Providence in this age has set before them all.

Meantime the present electoral triumph of the Liberal party, assuring it a pledged majority in a division on Mr. Gladstone's resolutions of not less than one hundred, ought to leave no doubt of its success on the issue taken at the polls respecting the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The majority includes some men of whom the Liberal leaders would probably be glad to be rid, whom they would be glad even to see transferred to the Tory side, as they would rather see a plank added to the enemy's ship than the dry-rot in their own. But as matters appear at the time of writing this, severe and decisive lessons have been given by the Liberal constituencies to secessionists and mutineers. Mr. Horsman has paid the penalty of what his enemies style his wayward egotism and he styles his independence; and Americans, and moral and civilized

beings generally, may note with pleasure the ejection of Mr. Roebuck, rendered more piquant by the supplications to which that paragon of political insolence and outrage descended, when he found himself in serious peril. Whether the majority will long hold together, when the resolution for disestablishing the Irish Church has been reaffirmed, is a more doubtful question. It includes a number of aristocratic Whigs, Liberal on certain questions, such as public education, the opening of the Universities, and free trade, and generally disposed to go as far as they can rather than give up their hold upon the movement party, but separated by a great gulf of sentiment from the Democratic wing. The question of primogeniture and entail especially would put a terrible strain on the alliance, and we have expressed our conviction that this question must soon arise. Personal feelings will probably for the present keep the Whigs to their colors. Lord Derby, who in the autumn of political life throws stones with the vernal levity of a schoolboy, took pains both in public and in private to make it known that his great object in carrying his Reform Bill was to "dish the Whigs," and that the discomfiture of those grandees, whom he hates with the bitterness of a former friend and associate, more than made up to him for any peril in which his policy might involve the country. As to Mr. Disraeli, the same reasons which led the more independent members of the Tory cabinet to separate from him would prevent the Whigs from joining him. But if Lord Salisbury, a man whose character, as well as whose ability, is universally respected, were to become the leader of the Tory party, it is probable that he would attract Whig support. The great deterrent would be the fear of the Whig nobles, lest, if all the aristocracy were on one side, all the people might be on the other. For the English aristocracy has hitherto been led by its instincts, or, as Darwinians would say, trained by the struggle for political existence, to follow the policy of the Scotch lairds, who in times of civil war, to avoid the forfeiture of their property, took care to have the father out upon one side and the son upon the other.

Whether Mr. Gladstone will be a successful prime minister of England is a question on which the uninspired must sus-

pend their judgment. He was brought up in an unfortunate school, political and ecclesiastical, the trammels of which have hitherto hung about him; and we shall now see whether he has force enough finally to cast them off, and to fulfil the expectations of the people. When we are told that he is not a good tactician, we feel rather like King George II., who, on being told by an enemy of General Wolfe that the General was mad, answered, "Then I wish he would bite every officer in my army." A politician who is not a good tactician is the very man for whom society has long been looking out with its lantern in its hand. But to say that a party leader is wanting in generalship, when he has just forced his opponents to accept decisive battle on a field of his own choosing, and there given them a disastrous overthrow, is surely to divest the phrase of any practical meaning. The criticisms on General Grant's generalship were numerous and acute; but the less discerning public was satisfied when he marched into Richmond. Thus much, at all events, the recent elections have made clear beyond the possibility of doubt, — that to be governed by Mr. Gladstone is the object, not only of desire, but of fervent and almost passionate desire, among the great mass of the English people. This is a fact compared with which the supercilious sneers of paper strategists and cynical Epicureans appear to us, we confess, of exceedingly little importance. It is also a fact highly creditable to the English people, and especially to the artisans, whose loyalty to Mr. Gladstone has been most ardent and conspicuous. For, whatever Mr. Gladstone may prove to be, it is certain that what the artisans take him to be is not a demagogue of the type which their friends feared and their enemies hoped they might prefer, but a really high-minded and patriotic statesman, uniting singular cultivation to warm popular sympathies, and bent on governing for the good of the whole nation. Whether they are right or wrong in their belief, their choice of such a leader is a happy opening of their political existence, and a good omen for their future use of power. They have laid a very serious responsibility on the object of their choice; for, if he disappoints them, their bitterness of heart will be proportioned to the warmth of their present affection and the strength of their present hopes.

Another gratifying feature of the elections was the total failure of the No-Popery cry raised by the Tory government to excite in its own favor the religious passions of the people. A certain number of the clergy were perhaps stimulated to more apocalyptic violence of language; to make them stronger Tories than they were would have been impossible. A fanatic or impostor named Murphy, who went about in the interest of the government, delivering slanderous lectures against the Roman Catholic religion in towns where there was a mixed English and Irish population, succeeded in producing several riots, and possibly one or two seats may have been carried by the anti-Catholic and anti-Irish rancor which he excited; but on the whole, this attempt to raise the evil spirits of the religious past proved an anachronism, as well as an offence against morality doubly grave when committed by a government. Scarcely a bosom fluttered at the premier's awful pictures of the approaching absorption of the whole religious universe by the power which at that very moment was losing the kingdom of Philip II., and which was held on its own throne at Rome only by the bayonets of free-thinkers. The declaration that the Protestant religion could not subsist for an hour without the support of the royal supremacy was received by the English with the disgust of men who, having, for practical reasons, long held and wishing still to hold a questionable doctrine in solution, see it suddenly precipitated in the form of a repulsive absurdity; by the Scotch, who were left out of sight in these manifestoes, it was received as rank blasphemy. In the three generations which have passed since the Lord George Gordon riots reason and charity have made some progress.

That they have progress still to make is shown, on the other hand, by the rejection of Mr. Mill at Westminster, mainly in consequence of a religious prejudice which had been raised against him, and to which he lent some color at a critical moment by his uncalculating act of moral chivalry in subscribing to the election expenses of the iconoclast, Bradlaugh. In the heart of no living man is the religious sentiment, whether in its element of reverence or of duty, stronger than in the heart of Mr. Mill; but there is reason to suspect that his intellect is the inflexible and incorruptible servant of the truth. The

requisition to an obscure and commonplace, but orthodox millionnaire, to come forward and oust with his long purse the "atheist" who refused to prostitute religious professions to the purchase of political support, was headed by Mr. Disraeli, who is now the Defender of the Faith, and was signed by a long train of minor defenders, as to many of whom it might pretty confidently be said that nothing deserving the name of a religious thought or emotion had ever entered into their minds or hearts, and that it was a mere accident of birthplace that they were bawling, slandering, and persecuting in the name of Jesus, and not in that of Mahomet, Buddha, or the Hindoo Pantheon.

The resolute initiation by the British nation and Parliament of a policy which promises to remove the reasonable grievances of Ireland, and to stanch the sources of Irish misery and barbarism, is a matter of interest to Americans as well as to Englishmen. The disestablishment of the Irish Church will not of itself restore peace and contentment in Ireland; the land question, in some form, must come; and perhaps behind both may lie the question of Irish nationality. But the principle of perfect equity has been affirmed as the ruling principle of Irish policy for the future; and no one but a disunionist (which it is of course childish to expect British citizens to be) can reasonably object to the language held or the ground taken up by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and the other leaders of the Liberal party. It seems that in the late struggle the Liberals of Ireland have acted cordially with those of England. Had they been able to bring their minds to do this long ago, instead of sacrificing the interests of their own country to those of the Neapolitan Bourbons and the ecclesiastical rulers of Rome, their national grievances would not have waited for redress till now. The dawn, however, has come at last upon that long night of injustice and calamity; and no one, in whose heart hatred of England does not prevail over the love of humanity, will wish that it should be overcast again.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

## Art. IX. — A Look Before and After.

Even during our civil war, there were those who, while they had no doubt of the final triumph of the nation in its physical struggle, looked forward with well-founded foreboding to the more serious conflict of opinion and prejudice, of exultations and resentments, that was sure to follow. If the victories of peace are not less renowned than those of war, it is because they are more difficult, because they are decided by forces less palpable and harder to combine or to control. Physical force may be bought in the market; a certain average of courage may be reckoned on; good generalship is not rarer than effective faculty in the higher kinds of other business; and even the winning of a decisive battle may be due in great part to other things than the personal qualities of the commander. But to gather the fruits of successful war demands powers of greater range and more various training. During a conflict like ours, the moral instincts of the people are kindled to a fervor which adds immensely to their fighting weight, but which cannot be kept at that white heat, and would be dangerous, if it could. Enthusiasm is the most radiant of human qualities; there are moments when it is the highest wisdom; but the very source of its strength — that it can see but one thing, and is ready to sacrifice all for it — unfits it for the slower processes and the necessary compromises of successful statesmanship. Its motto is, "All or nothing"; that of the statesman, "The best that can be got under the circumstances." An artificial enthusiasm, kept alive by the artifices of party, has nothing in common with the real virtue, except its contempt of experience, and its leaving consequences to take care of themselves, — things sometimes of incalculable value in great crises, but dangerous, if reduced to a principle of conduct and a method of action in ordinary affairs. For the efficient and economical housekeeping of a nation, prudence and moderation will be found safest in the long run.

A great victory, unless it lead to something greater beyond, unless it definitely settle something which could not otherwise be solved, is the most futile and costly of human achievements.

It is as meaningless as a tussle of dogs in the street. It is after the victory that the Sphinx of politics propounds her riddle, that seems so easy, and *is* so easy, if rightly looked at, and yet is apt to go so long a-begging for its Œdipus. The consequences of defeat are bitter enough, but they are comparatively simple, and have only to be accepted with the best patience at command; those of victory are complex and difficult, entailing tremendous responsibilities, and demanding political wisdom — as rare as political shiftiness is common — to direct, secure, and consolidate them. "What are you going to do about it?" is always an uncomfortable question, perhaps the hardest to answer off-hand of all that Destiny puts to men, and yet one that she is sure to put, sooner or later. Is it on the whole wise even to try to answer it off-hand at all? It is a question which, in the days of legend, demanded a hero for its solution: can a people find a satisfactory reply to it in the age of newspapers and universal suffrage, where every man has his share of influence or power, and no man his share of responsibility and retribution? That is the problem which the war has left upon our hands. To point, as our election orators are wont to do, at our vast sacrifices of men and money, as if they proved anything but our willingness to grapple heroically with a great danger, may satisfy our pride, but otherwise leaves us precisely where we were. The main point is not what we have spent, but what we have got or are to get for it. That the war quickened and concentrated our national consciousness, made us feel that we were a commonwealth with a single vitality, with vast destinies and severe duties before it, and not a heterogeneous something, half business-partnership, half debating-club, is already a great gain, if we can keep it. That we have got rid of slavery, the single barbarous and alien element in our constitution, and got rid of it in the only possible way, is another great gain. Greatest of all, perhaps, as a stimulant of self-respect and of that public sense of propriety which is the conscience of nations, our diplomatic complications from 1861 to 1865 have shown us, as nothing else could have done, how intimate was our relation to the great civilized communities of the Old World; and while the war has made us less sensitive to foreign criticism in trifles, it has also convinced us as never

before that we are amenable to it in those more substantial matters by which the world makes up its judgment of national character. The public opinion of the world is gradually supplanting that of the village, the county, or the nation. It is a new and powerful principle in civilization, destined to supply that tribunal the want of which has made international law inoperative, or susceptible of whatever interpretation the strongest could wrest from it. Steam and the telegraph have forced upon us the wholesome restraint and corrective of a publicity as wide as the area of the printing-press. We shall be likely to have less and less of that backwoods and frontier element in our politics and legislation, of that lawless ignorance which conceived Americanism to consist in despising the precedents and principles whose gradual accumulation is but another name for the moral sense of mankind. What we do is no longer done in a corner, and our members of Congress will become at length conscious, that, when they show their want of culture or conscience or decency, they do it in the eyes of Europe, thereby lessening the influence of their country in the councils of the world. Constituencies will become shier of smart men and more solicitous of solid ones, will begin to see that character is the highest of all possible talents, and the only one that has a steady weight in those scales by which nations are tried.

But the war has left us some perilous as well as profitable legacies. The public debt and its consequent taxation we reckon only as temporary external discomforts, in face of the fact that all our people belong to the laboring class, and that even our ditchers and delvers live in more comfort than ever before, better, indeed, than the skilled artisans of other countries. But may not the experience of our war have left us with too much faith in luck, with too scornful a disregard for adverse opinion and criticism? Did not its necessities accustom our minds to swift expedients, justifiable only by immediate danger, never justifiable in peaceful legislation, and out of place now that there is time for forecast and deliberation, now that we are acting, not for the moment, but for the future? The happy self-confidence, snatching advantage and ignoring remote consequences, that was a necessity during the war,

may become not only of no value, but positively mischievous, in the humdrum work of settlement. We do not fear any ill effects upon the character of our soldiers from the training of those four years. To them it was a severe and sobering school, steadying the character rather than relaxing it, as all hard work for a great and definite object is sure to do. No safe step can be taken in war that does not give a lesson of forecast as well as decision, that does not involve tedious preparation no less than readiness to act at the right moment. But it may well be feared that the war may have been less happy in its effect upon the temper of our active politicians. The necessity it imposed of clearing obstacles out of the way at any cost, and especially of turning victories to instant account in politics, naturally engendered in them a habit of impatience for immediate results, one might almost say a taste for legislative daring, very far from desirable in the conduct of government. A body so large as Congress is always more or less subject to those gregarious impulses that make a mob. In times of great excitement, such a body is liable to be carried away in these sentimental rushes without well-considered direction, and with no result that has not to be paid for sooner or later in damages. The Republican majority in Congress, dangerously out of proportion to its relative preponderance in the country, acquired a taste for omnipotence that would have required omniscience to restrain and guide it, — and unhappily omniscience in this world is the attribute only of the inexperienced and half educated. Unhappily also, omnipotence is irresponsible, and it is not on responsibility to the people merely, but to right reason and the well tried results of human experience, that popular government rests.

If a taste for theatrical effects has been quickened by the alternate elations and depressions of the war, the frequency of our Congressional and State elections, and the vicious theory of rotation in office, are to be taken into account as a constantly active cause working in the same direction. All these tend to produce a state of things as disastrous to wholesome legislation as the fashion of serial publication in fiction has been fatal to sound literature. As in the modern novel there must be a culmination of interest in every number, so

in every session of Congress some measure must be hurried through that will gratify the feverish expectation of party, or revive the flagging interest of the country. Nay, as almost every member is scarcely warm in his seat ere he finds it necessary to devote all his energies to keeping himself there, the natural endeavor of each is to render himself conspicuous rather than useful, and to cater to the momentary prejudices or narrow local interests of his district rather than to devote himself to the wants of the country and to a policy that looks beyond the next election. Thus, Congress is ready, in defiance of common sense, and with utter contempt for international law, to encourage a distinctively foreign organization within our own which may at any time involve the country in war, and, in the face of every established principle of political economy, nay, of simple arithmetic, to resolve that eight hours are equal to ten. If ever a sufficient number of Southern emigrants should establish themselves in Canada to frame a skeleton confederacy, ready at the first opportunity to fill up its ranks and do us a mischief, and always fomenting dissatisfaction in the lately rebellious States, our legislators would be foreclosed from remonstrance. And it does not seem to us the proper office of legislation, in a country where there is more work to do than hands to do it with, to encourage idleness, or try to put muscular on a level with intelligent labor, when we must compete with nations that still call ten ten, and know that brains are greater sources of production than hands. Hitherto one of the great claims of popular government upon the interest, if not the respect, of mankind, has been its cheapness in money. But in the long run wisdom is the only true measure of cheapness, because it saves the cost of continually doing things over again; and we have yet to see whether our system of polity, as at present worked, strong as it has proved itself in war, be able to produce trained statesmen, in whom sound judgment has become something like instinct, as well as clever and unscrupulous soldiers of fortune, with no character to lose and nothing higher than office to gain. Experience would have bred in us a rooted distrust of improvised statesmanship, even if we did not believe politics to be a science, which, if it cannot always command men of special apti-

tude and great powers, at least demands the long and steady application of the best powers of such men as it can command to master even its first principles. It is curious, that, in a country which boasts of its intelligence, the theory should be so generally held that the most complicated of human contrivances, and one which every day becomes more complicated, can be worked at sight by any man able to talk for an hour or two without stopping to think.

Mr. Lincoln is sometimes claimed as an example of a ready-made ruler. But no case could well be less in point; for, besides that he was a man of such fair-mindedness as is always the raw material of wisdom, he had in his profession a training precisely the opposite of that to which a partisan is subjected. His experience as a lawyer compelled him not only to see that there is a principle underlying every phenomenon in human affairs, but that there are always two sides to every question, both of which must be fully understood in order to understand either, and that it is of greater advantage to an advocate to appreciate the strength than the weakness of his antagonist's position. Nothing is more remarkable than the unerring tact with which, in his debate with Mr. Douglas, he went straight to the reason of the question; nor have we ever had a more striking lesson in political tactics than the fact, that, opposed to a man exceptionally adroit in using popular prejudice and bigotry to his purpose, exceptionally unscrupulous in appealing to those baser motives that turn a meeting of citizens into a mob of barbarians, he should yet have won his case before a jury of the people. Mr. Lincoln was as far as possible from an impromptu politician. His wisdom was made up of a knowledge of things as well as of men; his sagacity resulted from a clear perception and honest acknowledgment of difficulties, which enabled him to see that the only durable triumph of political opinion is based, not on any abstract right, but upon so much of justice, the highest attainable at any given moment in human affairs, as may be had in the balance of mutual concession. Doubtless he had an ideal, but it was the ideal of a practical statesman, — to aim at the best, and to take the next best, if he is lucky enough to get even that. His slow, but singularly masculine, intelligence taught him that precedent is only another name

for embodied experience, and that it counts for even more in the guidance of communities of men than in that of the individual life. He was not a man who held it good public economy to pull down on the mere chance of rebuilding better. Mr. Lincoln's faith in God was qualified by a very well-founded distrust of the wisdom of man. Perhaps it was his want of self-confidence that more than anything else won him the unlimited confidence of the people, for they felt that there would be no need of retreat from any position he had deliberately taken. The cautious, but steady, advance of his policy during the war was like that of a Roman army. He left behind him a firm road on which public confidence could follow; he took America with him where he went; what he gained he occupied, and his advanced posts became colonies. The very homeliness of his genius was its distinction. His kingship was conspicuous by its workday homespun. Never was ruler so absolute as he, nor so little conscious of it; for he was the incarnate common sense of the people. With all that tenderness of nature whose sweet sadness touched whoever saw him with something of its own pathos, there was no trace of sentimentalism in his speech or action. He seems to have had but one rule of conduct, always that of practical and successful politics, to let himself be guided by events, when they were sure to bring him out where he wished to go, though by what seemed to unpractical minds, which let go the possible to grasp at the desirable, a longer road.

Undoubtedly the highest function of statesmanship is by degrees to accommodate the conduct of communities to ethical laws, and to subordinate the conflicting selfishnesses of the day to higher and more permanent interests. But it is on the understanding, and not on the sentiment, of a nation that all safe legislation must be based. Voltaire's saying, that "a consideration of petty circumstances is the tomb of great things," may be true of individual men, but it certainly is not true of governments. It is by a multitude of such considerations, each in itself trifling, but all together weighty, that the framers of policy can alone divine what is practicable and therefore wise. It seems to us that there has been lately a growing disposition to confound the private con-

science with the public policy. There is a class of people who would think the Sermon on the Mount safer, if it were reaffirmed by a resolution of Congress, and that a two-thirds vote would give the Decalogue a sort of temporary superiority over even so great a man as President Johnson. Forgetful of the warning, that "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light," ethics have been called on to perform the function of jurisprudence and political economy, and to make arithmetic know her place as the servant of conscience. An easy profession of faith in certain abstract principles is getting to be the highest qualification of a legislator, and to affirm himself morally right in respect to a single article of the party creed is considered a set-off for being practically wrong in all that makes the private character of a representative of any advantage to the country. Conscience and character are, of course, prime qualities in a representative, but they are not in themselves enough. There should be added to them the special kind of training and the peculiar cast of mind that would induce us to put our private affairs into his hands for management. We select men for the highest and most momentous kind of business which mortals are called to deal with on less consideration than we should think prudent in choosing an attorney. We should deem it less foolish to trust ourselves to a heaven-born engine-driver than to a statesman who depended on immediate inspiration, or, still worse, on a divination of that great popular instinct which is often nothing more than the special unwisdom prevailing for the moment among the wirepullers of his particular district.

The course of events, rather than any great skill in statesmanship it had yet had a chance to show, gave to the Republican party a noble and commanding position. It was, for a time of necessity, the party of the country. Under its leadership, such as it was, and in Mr. Lincoln's hands it bid fair to be sagacious and far-seeing, our very existence as a nation had been asserted and secured. The people of the Free States had risen from their first confusion of angry surprise, through doubt, alarm, and revulsion from defeated over-confidence, to such a height of steady resolve and intelligent purpose as men can be forced up to only by the enthusiasm of a

supreme crisis. A common peril enforced a common duty, which left no room for nice metaphysical distinctions, which had not nor could have any charity for that free play of opinion within its habitual sockets and grooves for which in ordinary times a necessary allowance is made. Men were led to the polls, as into action, by a despotic motive that trampled on every-day considerations of policy or interest. This condition of public sentiment put almost unlimited power into the hands of the party to which it gave control of the government. During the war it had been necessary to force things through by mere weight of numbers, with a single object in view so absorbing as to make all adverse opinions, all criticism, all suggestion of doubt seem unreasonable or even dangerous. Loyalty was very properly made the single measure of fitness for office. This was plainly a state of things that could not last; and yet there was danger that the party left in power by the triumph of the nation should continue to employ the tactics it had learned during four exceptional years, after a total change of circumstances had rendered them inapplicable and therefore mischievous. Disguise it from ourselves as we might, it was a revolution we were going through; and in such times extreme measures, if not the wisest, are the most easily apprehended, and for that reason the most acceptable to the mass of men. To minds at a white heat the normal relations of things are dislocated. Moderation loses its value and becomes lukewarmness, violence steals the merit of zeal, and the loudest tongue gains credit for the deepest conviction.

During the war, the Republican party was the country, and loyalty to it was loyalty to the country. But within the last three years this test has been growing more and more fallacious. The result of the war, whether willingly or not, has been accepted by all parties as final, and a wholly new class of questions has come up for settlement. Men may very well assent to the necessity which compels an absorption of all the powers of government by the legislative branch of it, who yet look upon the precedent as dangerous, and believe that such abnormal powers should be used with the most scrupulous parsimony. Men may have thought the impeachment proceedings unwise, and the conduct of them humiliatingly disreputable, without esteem-

ing Mr. Johnson a judicious magistrate, or indeed anything better than a warning how dangerous it is to make a single merit the test of official fitness, without regard to general character. Some may have believed the interregnum of a President in search of a following not altogether a calamity, if it gave the two great parties which divided public opinion time to settle down upon the new issues presented by peace. It does not seem to us criminal to have thought that the country would gain nothing by exchanging the impotent violence of Mr. Johnson for the violence of Mr. Wade with an excited majority of Congress to back it, six months of which would have given us Mr. Seymour for President. And yet, with the lesson of the Democratic party before their eyes, whose unscrupulous subordination of statesmanship to the interests of party had brought on the war, and reduced a triumphant political organization to an incoherent faction, the Republican managers seemed at one time bent on making the same immoral policy a leading article in the party creed. The real power of a party is not in its majorities, but in its ideas, — not in the subservience, but in the *morale*, of its members. The long possession of power had given the Democratic leaders a cynical contempt for this truth, and the Republicans, whose whole strength was derived from their superior ethical position, showed symptoms of the same corrupting influence. They forgot that the steady set of opinion is not indicated, far less controlled, by an assent to whatever measures may be forced from a precarious majority by the machinery of party, but is to be divined from that average and compromise of conflicting judgments in the moderate men of all parties upon which the general mind is sure sooner or later to fall back. In the first heat of disappointment at the failure of impeachment, it was proposed to purge the party of some of the ablest men in its ranks, men who had stood every test to which public life is exposed, whose unblemished character should have shielded them from base imputations, and whose conscientiousness was of more value to the very men with whom they refused to act than any momentary triumph could have been. It was at one time doubtful whether the taste which a two-thirds majority in Congress had acquired for short-cuts in legislation would not restore to their adversaries the position they had lost.

The Republicans carried the country upon an issue in which ethics were more directly and visibly mingled with politics than usual. Their leaders were trained to a method of oratory which relied for its effect rather on the moral sense than the understanding. Their arguments were drawn, not so much from experience as from general principles of right and wrong. When the war came, their system continued to be applicable and effective, for here again the reason of the people was to be reached and kindled through their sentiments. It was one of those periods of excitement, gathering, contagious, universal, which, while they last, exalt and clarify the minds of men, giving to the mere words *country*, *human rights*, *democracy*, a meaning and a force beyond that of sober and logical argument. They were convictions, maintained and defended by the supreme logic of passion. That penetrating fire ran in and roused those primary instincts that make their lair in the dens and caverns of the mind. What is called the great popular heart was awakened, that indefinable something which may be, according to circumstances, the highest reason or the most brutish unreason. But enthusiasm, once cold, can never be warmed over into anything better than cant, — and phrases, when once the inspiration that filled them with beneficent power has ebbed away, retain only that semblance of meaning which enables them to supplant reason in hasty minds. Among the lessons taught by the French Revolution there is none sadder or more striking than this, that you may make everything else out of the passions of men except a political system that will work, and that there is nothing so pitilessly and unconsciously cruel as sincerity formulated into dogma. It is always demoralizing to extend the domain of sentiment over questions where it has no legitimate jurisdiction; and if ever the capacity of men for self-government might be doubted, it was when a party whose claim to public confidence rested upon its superior political purity insisted on the conviction of Mr. Johnson, not according to the law and the evidence, but because it was called for by the moral sentiment of the people. In Indiana the moral sentiment of the people, on precisely similar grounds, has just broken open a jail, shot the sheriff who was faithful to his

duty, and hanged four men not yet convicted of any crime. Political, like all other morality, does not consist in any abstract principles, but in the application of those principles, according to our best judgment, to every case that arises, as nearly as circumstances will allow.

The Republican party, so long accustomed to deal with problems into which morals entered largely and directly, is now to be tried solely by its competency for other duties. The questions with which it finds itself face to face are practical ones, upon which morals have only that general bearing which connects them with the scope of all human action. The watch-words of party will no longer serve to conjure with, and, the final death-blow having been given to reaction by the late election, it will be possible to give cooler consideration to many subjects of the first importance than was possible during the heat and hurry of the canvass. The present Congress may smooth the way for its successor, and for General Grant's administration, by taking the initiative in several essential reforms. First of all in importance is Mr. Jenckes's Civil Service Bill. Our present system of appointments to office is not only scandalously wasteful, but is doing more to lower the tone of public morals than all other causes together. It involves every member of Congress in a network of corrupt bargains, from which there is no escape, and which is none the less gross, while it is more fatal to the soundness of our institutions, because the bribe for unscrupulous service is paid in office instead of money. As competence is the last qualification regarded, the very government itself keeps before the eyes of the people a standing incentive to dishonesty by paying high wages for poor work, and encourages the mischievous notion, already too common, that, because in this country any man may aspire to any place, any man is therefore fit for any place. It debases political opinion by offering it the reward of office, and, in our frequent changes of power from one party to another, tempts every present incumbent to suit his principles, by whatever casuistry he may, to those of the incoming administration. In a country where, more than in any other, the public welfare is dependent on the private character of the citizen, it positively offers a premium to venality. It has be-

gotten among us a horde of speculators, not in the public securities, but in the Public Security, who get up a corner in politics with as little regard to consequences as in the stock-market. The stock they gamble in is the honor and integrity of the country. It is idle to talk of election frauds, so long as this state of things continues and grows worse; for such frauds are the natural and inevitable consequence of making the public service a scramble of personal profit, instead of being the legitimate reward of merit, fitness, and character. The evil thus wrought spreads far beyond the circle of politics; for national morality, like national credit, is unitary, and the disease of one member infects all the rest. The change in the names by which we call things shows that our moral standard is lower. A swindle is called an operation, a rogue a financier, the unscrupulousness in politics which would once have received the brand of knavery is admired as smartness, and the sense of shame is lost in the multitude of those who share it. Congress itself is fast becoming a brokers' board for operators on the Treasury. Corporate interests are beginning to be represented there quite as much as the political opinions of constituencies; and so universal is the want of faith in honest motive, that not a measure can pass, involving the payment of public money, without charges of corruption. We do not say that they are true, but the general readiness to believe them proves that general confidence in uprightness, one of the main props of national conscience, is shaken. The sixty years' integrity of a man like Mr. Fessenden cannot shield him from imputations which in a truly honest community would be the ruin of those who made them. Such charges are so common that they have produced an indifference on the part of the public, which protects the criminal while it wrongs the innocent beyond repair. No distinction is made between the man who has rolled himself in the gutter and those whom he can contrive to bespatter. *Aliquid hæret.* The principle of Mr. Jenckes's bill, if introduced into one branch of the public service, could not long be without effect upon all. The spectacle of honesty and competence recognized as the only sterling standard, the resumption of a specie basis in morals, would give back to character the proper pre-

eminence which it is fast losing, if it have not already lost. The new system would give to trained intelligence the leadership which legitimately belongs to it, and which in time of peril it always asserts. It would secure respect for the government, by giving steadiness, coherence, and moral purpose to its operations. It would assure to the nation the intelligent loyalty of a large body of picked men in all parts of the country, whose allegiance would be transferred from State and party to the central and permanent power, thus reducing State Rights within legitimate boundaries by a process constant in its operation and silent in its processes. It would be gradually found out that more was to be got by living *for* the country than by trying to live *on* it. We should get rid in great measure of those selfish interests which give an almost revolutionary passion to our quadrennial elections. It is to Jefferson that we owe our present system, if we may call by so respectable a name what is really an infallible recipe for chaos. He was a true *doctrinaire*, who had learned in France to confound the office of poet with that of statesman, and accordingly believed the problem of the politician to be "to conform the shows of things to the desires of the mind." Unhappily, it is the realities of things that must be brought into that desirable conformity, an operation much more tedious, because it deals with imperfect men, and not with ideas. His notion rightly was, that the servants of the state should be in sympathy with the administration, but he made the mistake of putting the temporary administrator in place of the permanent executive. Jefferson contented himself with introducing the principle, a semi-barbarian like Jackson found no difficulty in pushing it to its practical conclusion, that "to the victors belong the spoils." Since then, at every change of administration, the subordinate offices of the government, on which all the efficacy of the superior ones depends, have been literally sacked by the triumphant majority, like a city taken by storm. The very sanctuary of order was invaded, and sober-minded men saw with horror the sacred vessels hawked about for sale and desecrated in ruffian orgies. A despotism may be maintained by the genius of him who wields it, a constitutional monarchy may live for some time on the credit of its past, but

a democracy cannot survive the wide-spread corruption of its citizens, or, if it survive, it is only to sink lower and lower toward barbarism.

Another scarcely less important subject demanding the attention of Congress is the business of finance and taxation. It is not only wars, but nations, that "go upon their bellies." Material prosperity is the first element in social amelioration and political enlightenment. It is here particularly that want of training and special culture has been disastrously conspicuous in our legislation. Though the experience of other nations has demonstrated certain principles of political economy in relation to public debts, to paper currency, and the conditions under which specie payments may be resumed, there seems to be hardly a member of Congress who is aware of it, and we have as many conflicting projects as there are men profoundly ignorant that the measures they are called upon to debate belong to science, and not to speculation. Every petty local interest thrusts itself into the discussion; and, as almost every one of them has its special representative on the floor of Congress, it seems to be overlooked that it is only on general principles, applicable to the whole country and looking to a long future, that a settlement can be reached best for each because good for all. Above all, there is something pitiable in the spectacle of a great nation's representatives contriving how they may evade the plain meaning of our obligations, and manage without being too explicit to say enough to reassure the honest without disaffecting the unprincipled. On such a question there can be no compromise. Any plan to save the mercantile credit of the country, which involves even a suspicion of its honor, is to sacrifice the substance to the shadow. A nation cannot take advantage of a quibble, like an attorney. The very life of its credit is in its punctilious integrity. It is this finer instinct, this nicer sensibility to shame, this possibility of a national conscience, that distinguishes a nation from a horde. And the office of Congress is in this respect a noble one. It is to see that this higher life of the Republic receives no detriment, to take care that this ideal commonwealth be not swamped in the actual. The country might perhaps go through the whitewashing of bankruptcy, but it would be literally the whitening of a sepulchre in which all

that makes it the hope of a higher civilization would be buried forever.

We hear much of the reconstruction of the South, but we should also bear in mind how much the whole country stands in need of the same beneficent process. As one of the first steps toward the restoration of confidence, and of the prosperity which draws life from it, our whole system of taxation and revenue needs scientific revision at the earliest moment. As at present organized, it is cumbrous, complicated, and expensive to a degree worthy of the Middle Ages. It is a nursery of fraud and corruption, oppressive to the honest and propitious only to knaves. Here again Congress has acted in entire contempt or ignorance of history and experience. It has multiplied enormously the number of offices that tempt men from legitimate and productive industry. It is making the public debt not only a burden, but a vexation, to every tax-payer in the country. We spend more in collecting a dollar than it would cost us on true principles of taxation to collect two. We seem to have considered complication, instead of simplicity, as the test of scientific method. Here at least is an opportunity for the exercise of that radicalism of which we have heard so much.

At the South also a great deal remains to be done, — something, perhaps, to be undone. It will be very easy, by ill-considered and vindictive legislation, to make an Ireland of that part of the country, to fix upon it an undying tradition of resentment and discontent. And the men whose voices are heard from one end of the land to the other should remember that it is not merely what we do, but what we say, that leaves ineffaceable traces behind it. There are people still left who apparently think that resentment can make part of sound policy, that we should in some way contrive it so that reconstruction should serve the purpose of punishment as well as prevention. But no such motives can ever enter into the method of a great statesman. The crimes of communities never fail of their just retribution; but it is the course of events, and not man, that deals it out. Whatever the relation of the rebellious States to the Union, the people of those States became our countrymen again the moment the war was over. We think it was wise, because necessary, to give

the freedman the protection of the ballot. We think it would be the height of unwisdom to tempt him to the use of it as an aggressive weapon. It was given him on grounds of policy, and not of natural right; and it is from this point of view that he should be taught to regard the use of it. To talk of universal suffrage as something to which man is entitled in mere virtue of his manhood carries us back to the days of social contracts, when men reconstructed society out of the depths of their inward consciousness, with a noble oblivion of history and experience, and cut down the living tree of freedom, the slow and orderly growth of ages, that they might set it up again, trimmed of all its branches, as a liberty-pole, beautiful for precision of outline, perhaps, but unhappily without roots. Universal suffrage is merely one of many political contrivances, and, like others that have gone before it, is to be tested by time. It is too early to speak of it as an established principle. Before the new relations of the late master and slave have had time to shape themselves into that natural order which we may disturb, but cannot prevent, it is clearly bad policy to urge the inferior into positions which make it hateful to the superior race, and for which it is necessarily unfit. We sometimes hear, to be sure, the conclusive argument, that it serves the rebels right; but we are inclined to prefer a method of treatment that will serve the country right. Under no circumstances can it be good policy to give ignorance an advantage over intelligence, or to train men to regard a majority in numbers as decisive in a question of moral expediency. What is bad among ignorant foreigners in New York will not be good among ignorant natives in South Carolina; for stupidity is of one nature, wherever it may be born. You cannot content a conquered rebel by disfranchising him, but you can by that simple process keep irritatingly active and aggressive in him whatever made him dangerous. A too easy inference is sometimes drawn from the fact that slavery was a barbarous anachronism, to the barbarism of the whole Southern community in all other respects. One of the natural results of the slave system was sparse settlement, and this, by rendering popular education impossible, and by lessening the restraints imposed by publicity and opinion, made crimes of violence

common. But a high state of refinement, culture, and especially political intelligence, may perfectly well coexist with such a state of things. We have been in the habit of regarding the South, and, we think, justly regarding it, as living under the influence of fundamental ideas at least a century and a half behind the rest of the civilized world. But we should remember that Lord Mohun, who was twice tried for murder, was the contemporary of Somers, Locke, Newton, and Addison. Whatever experiments we may try, we shall be forced at last to fall back on Southern intelligence as the chief factor in Southern regeneration. The war proved the people of the South to be endowed with some of the highest qualities that mark great races, — courage, persistency, discipline, and, above all, devotion to an idea, though a false one. We must not be impatient and forget that the roots of their overthrown organization reach as far back as those of our own, and will send up suckers long after the trunk has been cut down. A generation will be a short time in which to hope for even a sure advance toward settlement, and in order to any secure one we must win the ruling power of the South to our side. In the mean while it is the duty of government to make life safe and law regularly operative in all parts of the country alike. If the semi-independent autonomy of the States, so useful as a nursery of political experience, in any respect stand in the way of this, some means must be found of overcoming their resistance or quickening their inertia. Respect for law can never be bred but by the constant example of its equity and its inevitability. But the South must be made prosperous before it can be made orderly, and orderly before it can be prosperous; in other words, the two must go hand in hand, as necessary coefficients of the desired result. *Compelle eos intrare* must be interpreted metaphysically, if we would have it perdurably operative; for their territorial unity would be valueless without their intellectual sympathy. Geographically the South is subdued, and every year the growth of the North and West lessens the chances of its restoration to political supremacy. The natural gravitation of mutual interest is as sure to give us Canada, one of these days, as it is to incorporate the Rhenish provinces of Prussia with France. We need

have no fears for our preponderance. But we should be careful lest we render our ideas distasteful by forcing them upon communities wholly unripe to understand or receive them. We should rid ourselves of the stupid superstition that test oaths can ever do anything but give the unscrupulous an advantage over the honest. We are at this moment insisting on a qualification for office in Virginia which will exclude the very class of men whose co-operation is what we should seek by every honorable means to gain. The Southern protest against "carpet-baggers" was in some sort the natural protest of that self-respect and independence which we hope never to see extinguished in any American commonwealth. Let us have enough centralization to save us from the French anarchy of local parliaments, but never so much of it as to force upon any State, whether rebel or loyal, the intellectual stagnation and moral despair of the French Empire.

We look forward with well-grounded confidence to the administration of General Grant. Elected, it may be truly said, in spite of both parties, but in sympathy with the more judicious of the party of progress, he will be independent of the extremists, whether of blind advance or blinder reaction. Knowing by the most thorough experience the men he has conquered and the men he has led, he will know how to deal firmly with the one side and to moderate the other. As a soldier, he has been schooled to look forward to remote results rather than to be over-confident in immediate successes. He has shown an indomitable persistency in plans well considered and justified by good-fortune. He has chosen his lieutenants with instinctive felicity, and done justice to their merit with almost unexampled magnanimity. He possesses beyond most men that virtue of moderation which so many American politicians eschew as unpopular. Above all, he has an almost heroic gift of silence, which prevents him from allowing himself to be dragged from his moorings by the strong current of eloquence, and afterwards feeling bound to sacrifice his sense of what is prudent to the tyranny of his own consistency. We think that his administration will disappoint those only who believe that words are more potent than things in the conduct of states and in lasting influence on the conduct of men.

## Art. X. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Writings of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage.* Translated by Rev. Robert Ernest Wallis, Ph. D., Senior Priest Vicar of Wells Cathedral, and Incumbent of Christ Church, Coxley, Somerset. Vol. I. Containing the Epistles and some of the Treatises. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1868. 8vo. pp. xxxi., 468.

Some thirty years ago, in the height of the Tractarian controversy, the experiment was tried of translating afresh the Fathers of the Christian Church. It was supposed that the revival of ecclesiasticism would be justified by the testimony of these leaders of ancient thought and practice, and that the Oxford divines would find their prototypes in the Clements and Basils and Gregories and Cyrils of the Greek and Roman Churches. The translations were well done, and numerous volumes were issued, handsome, of convenient size, with ample margins for annotation, and with abundant notes of explanation. But the experiment was pecuniarily a failure. The volumes would not sell. The words of the living men, Newman, Pusey, Manning, and the rest, were more interesting than the words of the mighty dead; and the Oxford "Library of the Fathers" was quietly consigned to a resting-place on the back shelves of booksellers' shops and clergymen's libraries.

The experiment is now again tried in another place and under "other auspices." The Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, the eminent purveyors of the evangelical theology of Germany, have ventured to follow up their editions of Stier and Tholuck and Hengstenberg and Dorner by a series of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. The failure of the Anglo-Catholic enterprise only encourages the Calvinist publishers to try the experiment again. Their volumes are heavier, and a cheerful blue has given place to a sober brown, with red-edged leaves; but the translations are as well done, and there is a certain grave sincerity and respect in the style of the homely pages. We seem to be in a Scotch conventicle, as we follow these italicized "arguments," with their orderly sections.

The writings of Cyprian, just issued, constitute the eighth volume in the general series. Of all the Fathers, Cyprian is the least Presbyterian. His significance in history is as the defender and expounder of Episcopacy and the rights of bishops. The sin of schism, in his view, is as bad as the sin of heresy, and indeed is the natural and inevitable cause of heresy. His quarrel all along was with the irregular men, who would do eccentric things, who would forget their ordination vows, who

would go in by-paths and forbidden ways, who would consort with heretics, and recognize Christians outside of the ecclesiastical pale. He was vexed continually by the zealots and the pietists, who were so careless of canons, and believed that they had a right to preach God's word in their own way. With a slight change of names and phrases, we seem to be reading in these letters of the Bishop of Carthage late "pastoral addresses" of English and American bishops. In the twenty-seventh epistle Cyprian "praises his clergy for having rejected from communion Gaius of Didda, a presbyter, and his deacon, who rashly communicated with the lapsed; and exhorts them to do the same with certain others." Gaius of Didda was one of those blind fanatics who would consort with dissenters, and "offer their oblations," and "be taken in their wicked errors," in spite of the frequent and affectionate warnings of his spiritual head. How strangely like an editorial in some of our Church papers sounds this paragraph from Cyprian's fortieth epistle! "And lest their raging boldness should ever cease, they are striving here also to distract the members of Christ into schismatical parties, and to cut and tear the one body of the Catholic Church, so that, running about from door to door through the houses of many, or from city to city through certain districts, they seek for companions in their obstinacy and error to join to themselves in their schism. To whom we have once given this reply, nor shall we cease to command them to lay aside their pernicious discussions and disputes, and to be aware that it is an impiety to forsake their Mother." Do we not know who are "the dispersed and wandering sheep which the wilful faction and heretical temptation of some is separating from their Mother?" It is pleasant, too, to have the authority of this bishop of the third century for the divorce of religion from politics. The example of the tribe of Levi seems to show him that "clerics ought not to mix themselves up in secular cares." They ought to attend to their own business as priests at the altar, and keep themselves unspotted from the world. In fact, there is hardly a question in dispute to-day about the position and rights and duties of priests and bishops, that is not anticipated in the writings of the African priest and prelate, Tertullian and Cyprian. We may fear, nevertheless, that their authority will not settle the questions now any more than it did in their own day. The ecclesiastical controversies of our time gain no dignity, when we find that they only repeat the wranglings of an ignorant people on the African shore, — that we have only Gaius and Novatian and the Montanists and the Donatists over again.

Hardly less than by the plague of schism and heresy was the pious soul of Cyprian exercised by the immodest raiment of the virgins of his

time, the sisters of the Church. Such ornaments as they persisted in wearing were a scandal to the Gospel. He is vexed by the same spectacle of many-colored robes and costly jewels which are brought to the altars by the virgins of to-day. In what fashionable church could his treatise on the Dress of Virgins now be read without amazing the hearers by its assurance? Cyprian is especially severe on the practice of coloring the hair, — "what is true changed into a lie by the deceitful dyes of medicaments." His argument is edifying: "Your Lord says, 'Thou canst not make one hair white or black'; and you, in order to overcome the word of your Lord, will be more mighty than He, and stain your hair with a daring endeavor and profane contempt; with evil presage of the future, make a beginning to yourself already of flame-colored hair; and sin (oh, wickedness!) with your head, that is, with the nobler part of your body. And although it is written of the Lord, 'His head and his hair were like wool or snow,' you curse that whiteness and hate that hoariness which is like to the Lord's head." It is a skilful touch, that the golden dye is a premonition of hell-fire.

Cyprian's style of argument and his use of Scripture are puerile in the extreme. If no other good could come from the republication of these works of the ancient Christian ages, this exhibition of weak logic would comfort those who imagine that the Church has degenerated. The absurdities and trivialities of Pastoral Letters and Charges now are fairly matched by what the "Fathers" sent forth as Law and Gospel for the Church of their time. The Primate of Canterbury cannot make a more inconsequent or pitiful plea, more full of empty threatening and strange perversion of the Scriptures, in his protest against Colenso, than the Primate of Carthage in his protest against Novatian. The candid study of the Fathers will not show that the intellect of the Church was finer in the early ages than in our own time.

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2. — *Essays on the Progress of Nations in Civilization, Productive Industry, Wealth, and Population.* Illustrated by Statistics of Mining, Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Banking, Internal Improvements, Emigration, and Population. By Ezra C. Seaman. Second Series. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868. 12mo. pp. 659.

The title of this work accurately describes it, and understates, rather than overstates, its extraordinary fulness of detail and information. We must admire the rare patience and industry which were employed in gathering, sorting, and adjusting this mass of facts about nations, an-

cient and modern, large and small, civilized and savage, Christian and heathen, Caucasian and Mongolian, in continents and islands, in every clime from the tropics to the poles. What handling of cyclopædias, what overhauling of "annual reports," what searching in the wearisome wilderness of magazines and reviews, what dust-brushing from the stored piles of "public documents," what sifting of works on political economy, of local histories, and narratives of travel, are suggested by these six hundred and fifty-nine pages of carefully arranged facts! And yet the volume is only a sequel to a previous volume, and the forerunner of a volume to come. "The original programme which I marked out for the work," says Mr. Seaman, "would occupy so much more space than was anticipated, that I have not been able to carry it out; but must leave so much of it as regards the resources and condition, the productive industry, the commerce, the institutions, and the distinctive character of the peoples of the several countries of Europe, to be presented in a third volume, at some future period."

In his modest Preface the author disclaims any praise for wide research, and would have us believe that his work has been compiled from very common authorities and a very few sources, and that he has had no access to original documents published by any foreign government. We are bound to take his word; but his achievement is more wonderful, in that he has made so much out of a few almanacs and geographies. How could all these facts and figures be brought out from Malte-Brun, and McCulloch, and the Gotha Almanac, and Appleton's Cyclopædia, and a few more books of that kind? A lively imagination might work out that result; but Mr. Seaman allows imagination no place in his accurate and conscientious statement of facts. He does not assert that he is always accurate; it is human to err; but he will be a bold critic who shall venture to question the nearly universal accuracy of this careful investigator.

Mr. Seaman has, nevertheless, a higher end than merely to catalogue facts. While he is no theorist, he has the spirit of a philosopher, and means to show the causes of the national rise and decline which he chronicles in so many ways. He holds tenaciously to certain general ideas, and is no believer in the doctrine that history is only a succession of events and is summed up in mere "annals." In some particulars he agrees with Dr. Draper and Mr. Buckle, especially in the influence of climate, which is with him the most important factor in the product of national prosperity and national character. No civilization of any high order shall come in the torrid or the frigid zone. In other particulars he differs from these philosophers, as, for instance, in advocating a protective tariff.

Mr. Seaman's *six natural* causes of progress are quickness of intellect, the structure of the hand, the capacity of the voice, fertility of soil and its mineral resources, navigable rivers and neighboring seas and harbors, and, lastly, a good climate. These are natural causes. If these fail, artificial causes cannot do much to supply the lack. A stupid people, a clumsy people, a people who have no flexibility of utterance, a people who live in a barren land without coal or iron, a people who live on inland steppes or under a burning sun, can never be fairly civilized. All the great nations have had good minds, skilful fingers, copious diction, rich earth with metals beneath it, streams and bays, and a temperate air. The exceptions to this rule, according to Mr. Seaman, are so few as only to prove it. In a country which fulfils these conditions the useful arts are sure to spring up. — Of the *artificial* elements of progress, he enumerates *sixty-one*, beginning with "domestic animals," and ending with a "wise public policy." By his admirable power of condensation he is able to set forth the merits of all these elements in less than eighty pages. Fault may be found with his arrangement of topics: that "the principles of geometry" are inserted between the "medical" and the "moral" sciences; that "public schools" come between "canals" and "chimneys"; and that "express companies" break the sequence of commercial colleges and the arts of music. The order, however, is of small importance, if nothing is omitted. If the number of these artificial elements could have been brought to a hundred, it would have given the appearance of roundness and completeness to the roll. We miss "anæsthetics" from a list that includes the "electric telegraph" and the "daguerreotype"; and if "saw-mills" have a separate section, why should not "grist-mills" be as honorably distinguished?

After mentioning these elements of progress, Mr. Seaman goes on, in the second chapter, of thirty pages, to mention *thirty-one* obstacles and impediments to progress, some of them physical, some of them moral, some of them political, and several of them religious. Of course the most important of these obstacles are the negations of the previously mentioned elements, — the *want* of wood, of water, and water-courses, of good harbors, good soil, and good climate, the want of room, and the want of mind. The Moslem religion, the monastic orders, ecclesiastical monopolies, religious delusions, intolerance, and sectarian spirit are very properly urged as reasons why states fail to flourish. "Chattel slavery" also appears in the list; though Mr. Seaman is by no means one of those philanthropists who advocate negro equality without consideration of the characteristics of race. A redundant paper currency, too, is, in the opinion of this careful observer, a serious obstacle to na-

tional growth; it is evident that he has no sympathy for any mode of paying our national debt which involves this, even if he does include banks and bills of exchange among the elements of progress.

We have no space even to mention the interesting topics of the succeeding chapters in Mr. Seaman's work: law, education, creeds, and their influence; difference of races, for which climate is largely responsible; the Mongolian countries; the Hindoos and Australians; the Africans; the Sea-Islanders; the West-Indians; the South-American people; the Americans of the North in the United States and Canada; and, finally, the nations of Europe, summed up in a short chapter of twenty-five pages. The range and abundance of the statistics in these chapters make the work a gazetteer. Ethnological questions of the highest importance are frequently started: Where did the tribes of Oceanica originate? How came the Indians in North America? Mr. Seaman does not commit himself to the theories of Darwin and similar thinkers, yet he is not a blind believer in the Biblical cosmology. The Mormon question he leaves untouched. It is a side issue, and an abnormal exception in the civilization of a Christian land. On some questions of practical ethics, as, for instance, the cause of "Temperance," he bravely confesses that he has changed "his views" since the publication of his former volume. He now sees in prohibitory and sumptuary laws only a mistaken fanaticism, leading to cheats, evasions, and all kinds of illicit traffic. Time has shown that the pleas of the radical temperance advocates were extravagant and unfounded. The friends of a license law and of the moderate use of stimulants will be glad of the testimony of the emphatic paragraph on page 596.

On the question of "Reconstruction" Mr. Seaman's views are in harmony with those of the moderate party. He approves substantially of the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution. He does not think that the South ought to have votes for the negroes whom they disfranchise; yet, as he believes that education and intelligence should be conditions of citizenship, he would not give votes to ignorant negroes. He has, in fact, a poor opinion of the negro race, greatly preferring the Mongolian, and commends the importation of coolies to supply any lack of labor which emancipation may cause in the region that has been tilled by slave labor.

We should be glad to notice more of Mr. Seaman's mature opinions on a variety of topics, but must refer our readers to his well-filled volume. We may say only, in passing, that he thinks the salvation of the country and the interest on the debt are burden enough for this generation, and that not a dollar of the principal should be paid for at least *fifteen years*.

3. — *The Human Intellect: with an Introduction upon Psychology and the Soul.* By NOAH PORTER, D. D., Clark Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics in Yale College. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868. 8vo. pp. 673.

THIS copious, well-digested treatise will challenge the attention of students of philosophy on both sides of the ocean. It is designed primarily to serve as a text-book for colleges. We once heard an experienced and successful instructor observe, that the best text-books are works not designed for this use, but written to advance the science of which they treat. A book like Locke's "Essay" or Butler's "Analogy" may be a very incomplete presentation of the subject, but, being the production of a master, what it lacks in the power to instruct is more than made up in its power to inspire; and a text-book, like a living teacher, should not only inform, but should likewise stir and quicken the mind of the pupil. The remark is not without force. Yet, generally speaking, it is found impracticable to use manuals in the class-room which were not composed with an eye to such a use, — their want of proportion and completeness, to say nothing of faults of style and other graver defects, outweighing whatever kindling power may be thought to reside in them. The Germans, the best educators in the world, use in all their schools text-books prepared expressly for the purpose. But, in truth, there is no incompatibility between the qualities attributed respectively to the two classes of manuals. A teacher who cultivates his science, not in the spirit of a drudge, but of an enthusiast, will not fail to impart life to the book which contains the results of his thought and acquisition. It may have symmetry of form, at the same time that it has the flavor which distinguishes the native product from the manufactured article.

Professor Porter has exemplified this possibility. His work has the clearness, good arrangement, and completeness which are required in a text-book, while it is throughout a warm and stimulating discussion. The peculiarity of his plan consists in throwing into smaller type a great quantity of illustrative matter, critical, polemical, and historical. Thus the portion which is specially designed for recitation by the student is distinguished from the rest, and, notwithstanding the dimensions of the volume, is by no means formidable in amount. But he is constantly enticed to embark in more abstruse and extended inquiries. The combination of the two sorts of matter is in the main skilfully effected. Not unfrequently the elucidations expand into elaborate essays, as in the remarks on the "Relations of the Soul to Life and Living Beings" (pp. 29 – 40), on the history of the "Theories

of Sense-Perception" (pp. 221 – 247), and on the "Theories of Intuitive Knowledge" (pp. 517 – 526). The wide reading of the author, especially in the modern literature of the Continental, not less than of the English and Scottish schools, is apparent. In one respect, he has an advantage often missed in metaphysical writers. He does not superciliously ignore the recent investigations in physiology, but recognizes their direct and important bearing on psychology. As long as man is composed of body and soul, the one side of his being cannot be understood without a knowledge of the other. The chapters on Sense-Perception give evidence of a close attention to the leading writers on physiological science. But the laws and operations of the mind are not only set forth in the writings of professed philosophers, they are revealed in the higher forms of literature, especially in poetry and the drama. It is a pleasant feature of this volume that aid is unobtrusively drawn from this source, and that Tennyson, Shelley, Wordsworth, Goethe, are found sitting in the philosopher's chair.

Professor Porter writes in an independent spirit, and his system can be identified with that of no one of the leading names in metaphysical science. It is plain that he has given as attentive a hearing to the French and German philosophers as to Reid and his successors. But his treatise, both in its spirit and method, is more nearly allied to the philosophy of Sir William Hamilton, perhaps the ablest and certainly the most learned representative of the Scottish school, than to any other system. Still his divergences from Hamilton are neither few nor unimportant. We have noted a few of them, some being of more and some of less moment. He convicts Hamilton of inconsistency (p. 65) in conceding in various places that objects are known in sense and perception to exist in certain relations to other objects, while elsewhere the Elaborative Faculty is defined as the Faculty of Relations. Adopting the doctrine of Natural Realism, Professor Porter still finds not a little to criticise in the Scottish Professor's exposition of the subject. He dissents from Hamilton (p. 236, *seq.*) in holding that sensation involves in some degree knowledge as well as feeling; he thinks that Hamilton fails to define sharply the distinction between an act of perception and an act of thought, — the real difference being, that the former apprehends and judges individual objects, the latter, objects which are general; he thinks Hamilton wrong in founding the perception of extra-corporeal things primarily on the resistance to our locomotive power in the form of muscular exertion, and would himself derive it from the presence and absence of certain muscular and tactual sense-perceptions (p. 183); he regards Hamilton as incorrect and inconsistent in teaching that qualities are apprehended *as such* in sense-

perception, — another example of his failure to discriminate exactly between perception and thought; that he errs occasionally in confounding the conditions of perception with perception itself, — as, for example, in applying the doctrine of latent modifications of the mind to the phenomena of vision and hearing; that he attaches too great importance to the idiopathic affections of the nervous system, which are excited by electrical action, indigestion, or a blow; that, being wrong in his metaphysical assumption that we know directly only phenomena, he is wrong in the inferred doctrine, that phenomena, as such, are the direct objects, and the only direct objects, in sense-perception, — the truth being, that only objects, percepts, or beings are perceived, and the distinction of substance and attribute is the result of an after-thought or reflex process. These and other strictures show that Professor Porter has not blindly followed the Scottish philosopher in this branch of the subject, but has submitted his tenets to a searching examination.

The divergence of Professor Porter from the doctrines of Hamilton is radical, when we come to metaphysics proper. Hamilton, as is well known, accounted for our native cognitions of *substance* and *phenomena* and of *cause* and *effect* by referring them to an imbecility of the mind, an inability to think otherwise. This is one application of his philosophy of the conditioned. Of two contradictories the mind can think neither, but, by the law of excluded middle, is compelled to accept one. In certain cases the mind is determined in its choice between the opposites by moral grounds, by the principle of faith. Professor Porter strikes at the root of this theory by denying the relativity of our knowledge in the Kantian sense. The forms of thought are the laws of things. The antinomies, he holds, are fallaciously propounded and are resolvable. Thus the only support of the "law of the conditioned" falls away. Causation is a positive, intuitive principle, psychologically suggested by the operation of our own mental energies, yet not inferred by analogy, but immediately evident to our intelligence. In place of Hamilton's "Regulative Faculty," Professor Porter places "Intuition and Intuitive Knowledge" as the fourth department of the mind's action. His closing chapter takes up the problem of the Infinite and Absolute. In opposition to Hamilton and Mansel, he contends that these terms do not denote merely negative conceptions, nor are they the objects or products of negative thinking. The Absolute is not, and need not be, the unrelated; enough that the relation is not one of dependence. Nor are we required to consider the Absolute the sum-total of being. Unconditioned and Infinite cannot pertain to the relations of quantity. Space and Time, for example, are not quantities, but the conditions of quantity. Nor is the Ab-

solute a concept or entity which is divested of all *interior* relations. The Absolute is knowable by a finite mind. Not only can a mind know *that it is*, but it can know *what it is*. To be sure, it cannot be produced or reproduced by the imagination. Neither is it a notion that is the product of reasoning, or one that can be defined in a system of logical classification. But it can be known as the correlate which is necessarily assumed to account for the finite universe. The apprehension of the Absolute is, properly speaking, *knowledge*, although it be not adequate and exhaustive knowledge. An act of faith or belief cannot be conceived of as not involving the element of knowledge. In conceding our belief in the Absolute, Hamilton and Mansel must allow that the Absolute is *in some sense* known, though not in the technical and restricted meaning which they attach to the term *knowledge*.

If Professor Porter is thus critical respecting certain leading features of the recent Scottish philosophy, he is more widely at variance with the Associational Psychology and Metaphysics, of which Mr. Mill is one of the ablest advocates. "The fundamental defect of the associational school consists in this, that it does not distinguish between those activities of the soul by which, so to speak, objects are prepared for and presented to the soul for its varied activities, pre-eminently that of knowledge, and the activity which the soul performs with respect to them when so prepared and presented." "The constant conjunction of two ideas, as a consequent of which one will always suggest the other, does not explain the relation under which the mind connects them in an act of judgment, — least of all the relation by which it joins them in those beliefs which are necessary and intuitive, as are those which concern the relations of space, time, causation, and design." (p. 57.) "J. S. Mill supplements the functions of the associational power, in his theory of reasoning and induction, by resorting to 'an expectation concerning the uniformity of Nature,' which neither association nor induction can account for. Bain resorts to the emotional nature to explain belief; and Herbert Spencer must fall back upon the growth of two nerve-cells into one, propagated indefinitely through successive generations, to account for *a priori* and necessary beliefs." (p. 58.) Turning over to the chapter on Causation (P. IV., c. v.), we find the controversy resumed, on the question whether original intuitions and necessary truths are capable of being resolved into inductions and inseparable associations. Against the theory of Mill and others, it is contended that "time-relations attend, but do not constitute, the causal." The human mind clearly distinguishes the relations of time from the relations of *causality* and of *production*. The advocates of the associational theory overlook the real question, which is to account for our belief

that *every event* has a cause. No *mere* experience of actual events can establish anything beyond the range of this actual experience. When Mill observes, in reference to events to which we cannot assign definite causes, that "*it is more rational to suppose*" that this inability arises solely from our ignorance, and that the law of causation is applicable, not only within the range of our means of observation, but also "*with a reasonable extension to adjacent cases*," he yields a real, though reluctant, homage to the principle that every event must have a cause. (p. 580.) Induction assumes this belief, for it is involved in the axiom that the "course of Nature is uniform."

On the subject of Final Causes, Professor Porter takes issue with the empirical school in all its branches. He maintains the strict *a priori* character of the notion of design, placing it thus on the same footing with the principle of Efficient Causation. "The point which we assert and defend," he says, "is, that this relation is believed *a priori to pervade all existence, and must be assumed as the ground of the scientific explanation of the facts and phenomena of the universe.*" It is "a first principle or axiom of thought." "The relation of means and end is assumed *a priori* to be true of every event and being in the universe; and the mind directs its inquiries by, and rests its knowledge upon, this as an intuitive principle." (p. 594.) In support of his doctrine, the author presents a series of arguments. The mind is impelled to seek for the Final Cause, and is satisfied when it finds that any objects or events are related as means to ends. This relation stands higher, objectively regarded, than that of Efficient Causation, which is only "a stepping-stone and preparation with respect to it." The principle has been of essential use in scientific discovery, as is proved by the examples of Harvey and Cuvier. The whole Inductive Philosophy rests upon it, since the fundamental axioms of Induction presuppose and imply it. It is needed to explain phenomena of organic existence which the relations of efficient causes are incompetent to explain or even to define. The mechanical and chemical properties of the members of an organism do not explain their structure and functions when united in a living whole. The relations of adaptation are alone adequate to this end. It is claimed, that, "the higher we rise in the order of beings, the less we know of the relations of *efficient causes*, but those of *final cause* are more and more various and conspicuous." It is also urged that one of these relations does not displace the other. The principal objections to the belief that design is intuitive are distinctly examined. Such are the mistakes of men in assigning ends; the assertion that we have no means of testing our inductions in respect to ends; that adaptation is a fictitious transference of what we find

within ourselves to external things. This last is no more true here than in the case of efficient causation. To the proposition that so-called adaptations are only the necessary conditions of existence Professor Porter replies, that this class of objections apply only to the doctrine that the belief in final causes is derived from experience; and further, that, beyond the conditions of existence, we find provisions for well-being, for an artificial and elevated existence and enjoyment. The authority of Lord Bacon is shown to be incorrectly adduced against the reality of final causes. Professor Porter brings a familiar passage from the "Essays" to prove that he beheld design everywhere in the universe. He might well have quoted the explicit statement in the third book of the "De Augmentis": "And I say this, not because those final causes are not true and worthy to be inquired in metaphysical speculations, but because their excursions and irruptions into the limits of physical causes have bred a waste and solitude in that track. For otherwise, if they be but kept within their proper bounds, men are extremely deceived, if they think there is any enmity or repugnancy at all between the two." We have not the space even to sketch the train of reasoning by which Professor Porter seeks to make good his thesis. The chapter on Induction, as well as that on Design, really forms a part of the exposition of his views on this topic. The important bearings of his theory on theology are at once discerned. If it be sustained, it places the doctrine of theism on an unassailable foundation.

It is the doctrine of not a few o ' the ablest philosophers and theologians that belief in God is an immediate act of the soul, appearing as one of the elements of our personal consciousness, — a faith, however, in which feeling, as it is the root, is likewise the predominant element. Thus, as self, and the outward world, so God, is directly manifest to consciousness, being implied in the earliest operations of intelligence and conscience. This doctrine is capable of a psychological development, which, to say the least, gives it the character of plausibility. Something has been done in this direction by Ulrici in his *Gott und die Natur*, and by several other German psychologists. A more attentive consideration of this hypothesis would have been apposite to Professor Porter's discussion.

The drift of this work is strongly adverse to the materialistic tendency of a number of the recent writers on psychology. But the questions at issue between the opposing schools are, as far as we have observed, fairly and temperately stated, and the arguments on both sides candidly exhibited. The aim is to confute, not to stigmatize, opposing doctrines.

We cannot undertake in this place to discuss the opinions advocated

in this extended treatise. Enough has been said to indicate its claims upon the attention of students of philosophy. It is pleasant to see that in the land of Jonathan Edwards the excitement of politics and the attractions of physical science have not extinguished the taste for metaphysical studies. Whatever dissent special portions of this work may awaken, discerning readers will appreciate the acute and vigorous tone of the discussions, the familiarity with the course of philosophical speculation that is everywhere manifest, and the obvious anxiety of the author to meet in a fair and manly spirit the theories and arguments which he seeks to controvert. As a preparatory discipline for the student of theology, law, or physical science, a treatise like the present is invaluable. A full prefatory analysis and a good index facilitate its use.

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4. — *La Philosophie Contemporaire en Italie. Essai de Philosophie Hégélienne.* Par RAPHAEL MARIANO. Paris. 1868. 16mo. pp. 162.

A FRENCHMAN, Lévêque, in an essay on the philosophy of Nature, remarks that the Hegelian school, almost extinct in Germany, where it was cradled, is warming into new life under the sultry rays of a Neapolitan sun. This is a high compliment to pay to Augusto Vera, who, after having taught in France, England, and Switzerland, has come back to his native soil to graft on the stock of ancient scholasticism the air-plant of the subtlest of German speculations. If Vera does not succeed, it will not be from lack of learning or zeal or dialectic accomplishment. He has a zealous pupil and champion in Raphael Mariano, who has undertaken to show the shortcomings and weak points of the writers in the last half-century who have attempted to continue the philosophic labors of Vico and Giordano Bruno. Galuppi, Rosmini, Gioberti, and Franchi successively come under his criticism, and he finds them fatally wanting in the substance of sound philosophic thought. Franchi, the latest, is the best; but Franchi is too hostile to religion and the religious element to be a trustworthy guide or a satisfactory thinker. Rosmini and Gioberti, on the other hand, retain too much of their priestly habit, and are in the bonds of their scholastic training, while they pretend to be free, and praise liberty.

It seems improbable that sensuous Italy, with its enervating climate, its wealth of natural scenery, and its omnipresent ruins and traditions, can be brought to accept a philosophy so abstract and transcendental as that of Hegel,— or that a race, living, like the Italians, in external sights and sounds, can come to enjoy such discussions of pure ideas as those

of the Berlin students in their dingy chambers over their pipes. Nevertheless, Mariano sees no hope, either for the faith or the science of Italy, except in the hearty, thorough, and instant acceptance of the Hegelian key to universal wisdom. This will open philosophy to the nation which has looked for it so long in vain, and will save religion from the contempt which priestcraft has brought upon it. He is charmed to recognize its success in Italy elsewhere than under the hot sky of Naples. Is not Floriano del Zio, sometime professor of philosophy at Cagliari and Ferrara, and now member of the Italian parliament, a warm adherent of the Hegelian philosophy? Has it not an advocate in Eugenio Camerini, secretary of the Milan Academy, a keen intellect, a ready writer, an elegant and learned scholar? Is it not taught by Mariano Vitto, one of the solid thinkers of the young men of Italy, to his classes in the Lyceum of Faenza? And can it not also claim Stanislas Gatti, a master in linguistic science, and author of numerous literary and philosophical works? The future of Hegelianism seems to Mariano very hopeful, certainly if the life of Professor Vera is spared. "The doctrine of Christ," says he, "needed disciples and apostles to carry it to the world and give it to the souls of men. Vera is the greatest apostle, the *Apostolus gentium*, of Hegelianism. For not only does he expound and interpret Hegel, but he develops and completes the Hegelian system, in relieving it of its national and limited form, and giving it one more universal, in which it may be made accessible to the thought of other nations. Whatever may be the future of philosophy in Italy, whether, taking up the traditions of Vico, and still more those of Bruno, it boldly goes on in the Hegelian way, or whether it holds to the vague, uncertain, negative idealism which culminates in Papal infallibility, still Vera's work will remain, if not for Italy, at least for science and philosophy."

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5. — *The Amazon.* By Franz Dingelstedt. Translated from the German by J. M. Hart. New York: G. P. Putnam and Son. 1868. 16mo. pp. 315.

German novels, according to the common idea, are ponderous, tedious, and obscure, full of metaphysical disquisition, prolix in their descriptions, and painfully heavy in their humor, without freshness or fancy, or any of those qualities which most commend the novel to the English mind. There are abundant specimens of German novel-writing which justify this estimate; yet it would be an error to make from these a sweeping generalization, and condemn in mass the whole

romantic literature of a people so industrious and prolific in literary production. There are novelists in Germany as bright, as witty, as crisp in style and sharp in description, both of scenes and characters, as those of France or England or America. Freytag and Auerbach write for English readers as truly as About and Dickens and Mrs. Stowe for German readers.

Mr. Putnam has undertaken to give American readers a better knowledge of German skill in this kind of work. He has promised a series of translations from novelists hitherto unknown in this country. The first of the series has appeared in "The Amazon" of Franz Dingelstedt. This book, which has not been overpraised in the "notices of the press" which are prefixed, has all the qualities of a good novel, — clearly drawn characters, variety of scene, variety of circumstance, a plot reasonably complicated, and a pleasant ending. There are descriptions of an artist's studio, of a merchant's warehouse, counting-room, and home, of the palace of an ambassador, of the interior of a theatre, of peasant life in the Tyrol, and of noble life in the Scotch Highlands. The scene is shifted with great dexterity, and we are never tired by the details. The translator, in his fear lest some of the descriptions might be wearisome, has omitted some eighteen pages, — a mistake, we think, as it mars the unity of the narrative.

The translation, on the whole, is good, yet it is open to several criticisms. To substitute the Irish brogue for the patois of the lower class in a German city is absurd. Then such phrases as "nature-curer" (p. 8), "have drunk brothership" (p. 58), "sniffing in me a light of the Church" (p. 70), are inexact renderings, as well as distasteful in themselves. The translations of the five songs in the last chapter of the volume are spirited enough, but fail to give the force of the original. "The leafy welkin" is a poor equivalent of "die Blätterkronen," and "suffused rays" does not express the meaning of "thränenfeucht." "Grimmen Waffentanze" is a stronger phrase than "the combat fearful." So in Antiope's song (p. 280), the spirit of the original is lost in the translation : —

> "Mein Herz, das nie empfunden,
> Bekennt sich überwunden ;
> O Sieger, nimm es hin!"

Mr. Hart translates : —

> "My heart, that ere this hour
> Hath never felt love's power,
> O victor, it is thine!"

It is a little amusing to read in the story of the artist Roland, that the name "Meyer," the "Jones" of Germany, is one not fit for an art-

ist to bear, when we remember what prices the small pictures signed "Meyer von Bremen" bring in the market, and how many artists are proud of this plebeian name. One smiles, too, to find the genius of American *impresarios* recognized, and that the indefatigable Ullmann, "that worthy pupil of Barnum," is getting together an international opera to make a trip round the world, lasting five years, to carry in a ship called the Dolphin not only a complete troupe of singers and orchestra, but an iron theatre, with all the fittings, which can be put up and taken down at will. That the novel is German appears in the fact that the heroine *smokes*, and loses by that habit none of her charms to her artist-lover. As she puffs the chibouque, she is only all the more an Oriental queen.

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6. — *A Practical Introduction to Latin Composition, for Schools and Colleges.* By Albert Harkness, Ph. D., Professor in Brown University. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 306.

We called attention to Professor Harkness's Latin Grammar at the time of its first appearance a few years ago, and the prediction we then made has been already fulfilled in its general adoption as a text-book in the schools and colleges of the country. We have now before us a book by the same author, intended to aid the classical student in gaining a knowledge, theoretical and practical, of Latin composition. It consists of three parts, — the first two intended for use in the school studies preparatory for college, and the third for the earlier portion of a college course of classical study. The first part contains a progressive series of lessons and exercises on the etymology, and the second a similar series on the syntax; and these two, rightly studied, will make the pupil familiar, by various and continuous practice, with the forms and the constructions of the Latin language. The third part brings the student to a higher plane, and opens the way to an acquaintance with the elements of Latin style. The exercises are, throughout, translations from Cicero; and as Cicero's expressions are furnished to the pupil in the vocabularies, these exercises will, when properly done, be translations into Ciceronian Latin. If we miss anything in this excellent book, it is a series of exercises for the more advanced stage of study, which would form, when written, a continuous discussion of one theme, instead of isolated sentences on different topics. We consider it no good objection to such lessons, that an inquisitive and ambitious student might find the original passages in Cicero. Such finding, indeed, by the requisite diligence of search and study, would result in a

solid good far greater than any evil that might come from it; and besides, no lesson would be likely to be a literal translation of the Ciceronian passage. But we are inclined to think, after all, that the author has done wisely in leaving such studies as these to the sole charge of the college professor, who will prefer to have a course and method of his own for his more advanced pupils.

This work, so admirably planned and executed, seems to us to be just the text-book that is needed in classical education. We think it will do better service than the English work of Arnold, which has been for many years used in our schools; it is smaller and more compact, better systematized, accomplishes more, and of a better quality, within a narrower space, and is besides better suited to our American uses. We hope it may have the same success as the author's Grammar, and be used side by side with that excellent manual in our academies and colleges.

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7. — *Chapters on Man. With the Outlines of a Science of Comparative Psychology.* By C. Staniland Wake, Fellow of the Anthropological Society of London. London: Trübner & Co. 1868. 12mo. pp. viii., 343.

To be able to write himself a fellow of the Anthropological Society of London is no unequivocal recommendation for any man; on the contrary, such a title rather raises the presumption that its bearer is a pestilent sciolist, with unbounded confidence in his own learning and immense contempt for those who differ from him in opinion, with much unreasoning prejudice and little true science. Mr. Wake, we are happy to say, shows himself a fellow of quite another sort. There is nothing to object to in the style and aims of his little book; it furnishes no reason for regarding him as otherwise than an earnest and fair-minded inquirer. If we are to find fault with the work, it must be especially upon the score of a lack of originality and point, of that power which keeps well up the interest of the reader, and leaves him at the end with the impression of new information stored away or new views gained. We cannot congratulate the author upon having made an important contribution to anthropology. His discussions are carried on upon a low plane, and worked out, in great part, with the aid of questionable assumptions or questionable facts. An example of his use of the former auxiliaries is his argument constructed to prove that none of the lower animals can form general ideas; he defines a general idea quite arbitrarily, in a way to make it attainable by the mental action of men only, and his thesis is demonstrated with small trouble.

For the other, we may instance his protracted discussion of the antiquity of man, occupying nearly half the book, with its uncritical and wholesale identification of dialects and national traits of character, its assumptions of submerged continents and other like wonders of Nature, its confidence in such unsound authorities respecting language as Eichthal, Crawfurd, Logan, and Latham. We are able to admit his claim of an immense period for the existence of man on the earth, without approving many of the considerations by which he supports it. There is inaccuracy of thought, or of expression, in the title of one of his chapters, "Source of Man's Special Intelligence." What can possibly be that "source" except his special gifts, — or the Giver of them, if one chooses to turn the inquiry in a theological direction? As an anthropological investigation, it should deal rather with the special characteristics of human intelligence, the modes of mental action in which this consists. The chapter on the "Origin of Language" founds itself solely upon Müller's lucubrations, a most narrow and insufficient basis: it arrives, to be sure, at an independent conclusion, namely, that interjections are to be regarded as the truest germs of speech; but this conclusion we cannot but deem no less unsatisfactory than the argument by which it is reached is weak and superficial. Of the comparative psychology which the title promises us we are able to discern not even the dim outlines.

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8. — 1. *The Origin of the Chinese: an Attempt to trace the Connection of the Chinese with Western Nations in their Religion, Superstitions, Arts, Language, and Traditions.* By John Chalmers, A.M. Hongkong. 1866. 12mo. pp. 79.

2. *Mémoires sur l'Antiquité de l'Histoire et de la Civilization Chinoises, d'après les Écrivains et les Monuments Indigènes.* Par M. G. Pauthier. In Journal Asiatique, Nos. 38, 42. Paris. 1867 – 68. 8vo.

Whence come the people of China? When were planted the germs of their peculiar civilization? How far can we trust their own accounts of its origin and early development? These are questions which, always of interest to the student of the beginnings of human history, are especially pressing for answer at present, when the ancient records of so many nations are undergoing critical examination, and are made to receive light from one another and from outside sources not long ago unthought of. Hitherto opinions have been greatly divided: some have denied the trustworthiness of all the sources of Chinese history

beyond Confucius, while others have given implicit credence to native accounts of imperial dynasties, of elaborate constitution and ceremonial, of advanced science and art, far back in the third thousand years before Christ. Such stories from any other quarter of the world would be summarily dismissed as idle tales; but the soberness, the dry matter-of-fact nature of the Celestials, their tendency to observe and record, have always been so marked, that the probabilities of the case presented in their literature require a more detailed and delicate treatment. Is this era of doubt ever to come to an end, and are we to know just what to believe, when we read of Fó-hi as inventing letters nearly three thousand years before our era, of the classes and titles of public servants in the twenty-sixth century, of Yu's success in controlling the devastations of the Yellow River in the twenty-third, of the execution of justice in the twenty-second upon Hi and Ho, chief astronomers, for neglecting their duty and failing to foretell a solar eclipse, — and much more of the like?

Historical criticism has as yet but half grappled with these subjects, — mainly, we presume, because it has not yet got a firm enough hold upon the Chinese literature and institutions, and does not thoroughly comprehend the people and its works. Special investigations upon particular points have first to be multiplied, and original authorities laid open to more minds for comparison and judgment. In the latter direction not a little will probably be accomplished by the great work of Dr. Legge, his fully illustrated edition of the classical and canonical books: we trust that nothing will occur to interrupt the series of his splendid and costly volumes, or of the cheaper publication of their English contents. In the Preface to his third volume, the Shu-King, Dr. Legge enters somewhat into the discussion of the critical questions to which we have referred, and takes very decided ground against the antiquity claimed for the Chinese Empire, and the authenticity of the information handed down to us respecting its earliest period. One of his collaborators, the Rev. Mr. Chalmers, has treated the subject anew in the little work whose title we have given above. And now the well-known French Sinologist, M. Pauthier, has begun a series of articles upon the same theme in that old and highly esteemed vehicle of scientific labors, the "Journal Asiatique."

We regret to have to inform our readers that the discussion is not notably advanced by these recent contributions. They represent pretty faithfully the two old parties of the unenlightened sceptics and the unreasoning faithful. As for Mr. Chalmers's book, a more total failure is not often met with. He is, of course, a practical Chinese scholar; he has also studied Müller's lectures on language; he has even read, in

translation, the Rig-Veda and the Zend-Avesta, and can cite chapter and verse from those most venerable of original sources; he can talk about "natural selection," and use the other cant terms of Darwinism: but all this only serves to show how little tools are worth to him who knows not how to handle them. Mr. Chalmers has neither natural nor acquired aptitude for the study of antiquity. His introductory chapter is crowded with crudities or absurdities, the exposure and refutation of which would cost much more time and space than they are worth. We will quote but a single specimen.

"Following the reasoning of Darwin, we might suppose, that, among a number of children inheriting from their parents the power of pronouncing only such primitive sounds as *fu* (Latin, *fugio*, Greek, *pheugo*, to flee, and Latin, *volo*, to fly, Chinese, *fi*) and *lu* (Greek, *luo*, *ruo*, and *reo*, Chinese, *liu*, to flow), one might appear with some variation in his organs of utterance, which caused him to say *flu* instead of *fu-lu*, to express the idea of 'flee away.' This might be considered an accomplishment by his companions, as being shorter than *fu-lu*, and more expressive than either of the primitive syllables alone. Some might be able with an effort to imitate this new style of speaking, and others not; but those who could would be selected as wives and husbands, and the others left or exterminated. The next generation would thus contain more children able to say *flu*, and the next more again, till the inability to say it would form the exception, and not the rule."

Such scientific hypotheses as this, mixed up with the monosyllabic roots, Noah's flood, (why not the Tower of Babel?) and assumptions that men not descended from our own particular Adam would "therefore have but a distant and uncertain title to our sympathy, or to the common hope of Christians," form the staple of the first chapter, which may be pronounced a caricature of the true methods of critical investigation. The second chapter undertakes a comparison of the various institutions of the Chinese with those of Western nations; but, with an outside varnish of learning, it is wholly unsound and worthless. Next, in the third chapter, we have an equally worthless comparison of three hundred Chinese words with words more or less resembling them from Western tongues, of every age and kindred, from Sanskrit and Greek down to English. Even had Mr. Chalmers never read any other author on language than Müller, he should have learned better than this, and saved himself the labor of piling together such a heap of rubbish. It is strange that at this period of the science of language men can be found to do such childish work. We have the right, if we choose, to keep it before our minds as a possibility that at some future time the comparison of roots in the different families of languages may be undertaken with the prospect of making it throw light

upon the question whether all men are of one race; but it must at any rate be conceded that the time is still far off, and that its fruits cannot be gathered by unprepared and hasty anticipators. The linguist who encourages with soft words such collectors and comparers as our author is treating unfairly both them and his science. If Mr. Chalmers knows enough of the relations of Chinese dialects and the intricacies of Chinese writing to carry back by their aid the history of the general Chinese tongue to an earlier stage than that in which it now appears, let him do so, and we will be grateful to him for the service; but let him not imagine that a man who has had special opportunities for learning Chinese is, *eo ipso*, a trained linguist, capable of fruitfully comparing tongues hitherto deemed unrelated.

The chapter on the Chinese writing is not to be commended either for soundness or for clearness. It confuses together the history of the language itself and that of its written form, and gives way to that dangerous mode of etymologizing, the fanciful analysis of the characters, — a work in which wild theorizing is so easy, and moderation so hard to practise.

If, then, as may well enough be the case, any of the views of Chinese antiquity advocated by Mr. Chalmers shall finally prove true, they will not owe their establishment in any measure to his researches as recorded in this book. We should hardly have thought so trifling a production worthy of notice, but that the interest of its theme, and the flattering words carelessly bestowed upon it by some of the lesser English reviews, seemed likely to attract to it a more favorable attention than it deserves.

The Memoirs of M. Pauthier are of a very different character. The two already published fill nearly three hundred pages of the Journal, and are, in their way, thoroughly scholarly productions, crowded with extracts from native Chinese authorities, and bringing to light, or more completely establishing and illustrating, many valuable items of information. The general argument, too, of the first memoir appears sound and cogent. It relates chiefly to the famous edict issued by the tyrant Chihwang-ti, about 213 B. C., for the destruction of all the ancient literature, — a capital event in its bearing upon the question now under consideration, since it rudely breaks the regular course of Chinese tradition, and furnishes apparent ground for casting doubt upon the authenticity of records claiming to have preceded it, — and treats of the consequences of that edict, the means resorted to later for the restoration of the proscribed works, and the detailed reports made by the Chinese themselves as to the literature in existence during the first century before our era. M. Pauthier claims with much reason that the

"burning of the books" cannot well have had that portentous consequence which some attribute to it. Considering the warm attachment of the people to their ancient institutions and records, and the devoted courage of the learned class, of whom near five hundred in one city suffered themselves to be buried alive rather than renounce their principles at the emperor's command, and considering that only five years after the edict a considerable part of the empire had already broken out in an insurrection which presently ended in the destruction of the obnoxious ruler and the setting up of a new dynasty, it seems incredible that any considerable part of the literature before existing should have been put out of the reach of those by whom its restoration was soon and zealously attempted.

The second memoir deals with the origin and development of the Chinese writing, discusses the authenticity of its oldest monuments, and gives the history of the materials and processes used in making record, from the early tables of wood and bamboo down to the modern methods of printing. While, however, we are grateful for the store of valuable knowledge it lays before us, we feel very sensibly its lack of critical acuteness. M. Pauthier inclines to over-credulity quite as strongly as Mr. Chalmers to unexplained disbelief. At the very outset, he well-nigh overthrows all our disposition to put confidence in him by the expression of his astonishment that the world is not satisfied with the works of the old Jesuit missionaries on the science, chronology, and history of China, and wants to discuss every question over again, as if those unimpeachable authorities had not already settled it. It is plain that a man who could betray such a state of mind has no idea of what historical criticism is, as practised in our times. Why unsettle anything which great and good men in former times have agreed in believing? Why, indeed, but that we are taught to "prove all things," that we may "hold fast that which is good"? A like astonishment seizes M. Pauthier now and then in view of the disrespect shown to the Chinese scholars by those who presume to question their statements. The tone of injured feeling in which he repels the assaults of Messrs. Legge and Chalmers, and their like, upon the native fabric of Chinese antiquity, is more entertaining than edifying, more edifying than convincing. The doubters are not to be put down by lifting hands of holy horror upon them; they cannot be scared off the ground they try to occupy; it can only be won from them by good hard fighting, and with their own weapons.

It is because M. Pauthier is so wholly out of sympathy with the spirit of modern inquiry that we have to account his contributions of only secondary value. He comes before us as reporter, not as critic;

he supplies us with information, not with views or arguments. The more important matters at issue are not brought by him sensibly nearer to a settlement.

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9. — *C. A. Sainte-Beuve. Nouveaux Lundis.* Tome Dixième. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères. 1868.

In one of his essays the "Spectator" grudges the writers of books their privilege, indeed their duty, to be occasionally dull; and he laments that those who, like himself, publish their thoughts in distinct sheets, and, as it were, piecemeal, have no such advantage. "We," he goes on to say, "must immediately fall into our subject, and treat every part of it in a lively manner; our matter must lie close together, and either be wholly new in itself or in the turn it receives from our expressions. . . . . Every sheet should be a kind of treatise, and make out in thought what it wants in bulk; a point of humor should be worked up in all its parts, a subject touched upon in its most essential articles, without the repetitions, tautologies, and enlargements that are indulged to longer labors." Under such severe, but wholesome, conditions Sainte-Beuve habitually writes: a man of unique genius and copious knowledge, of natural taste and practised judgment, of culture such as only French civilization can give, of discreet sympathies and governed enthusiasm; acute, witty, tender, courteous, honest; native to the best living language for prose, and a perfect master of style. The result is a series of works on letters, art, biography, without exact precedent in kind, full of decisive judgments, sound opinions, ingenious theories, and of the highest literary excellence.

The tenth and latest volume of the *Nouveaux Lundis* bears on the cover a table of contents as varied and attractive as any one of its predecessors. Napoleon, Saint Simon, Maria Theresa and Maria Antoinette, La Bruyère, Homer, Fontenelle, Louis XV., Racine, Tocqueville, etc., are discussed, some now for the first time by him; and to others he now recurs. The paper on "The Last Five Months of the Life of Racine" is a model of the historical monograph. It is founded upon a mass of unprinted correspondence placed in the hands of Sainte-Beuve as the historian of Port Royal. The most important of these letters are those of a humble friend and intimate of the poet, — M. Vuillart. One of them was written from the very death-chamber of Racine before the funeral. The friendship of Racine and Boileau, their competition in 1683 for the vacant seat in the Academy, the subsequent approbation on the same day by the king of the election of both, — these coincidences

have several times been made the pretext of literary comparison, and have served to point a sentiment or turn a paragraph. Since M. Vuillart has occasion to give some details also concerning Boileau, Sainte-Beuve is interested to note afresh the agreement in religious feeling of the two poets, and the strong contrast of their characters. The essay contains this instructive passage : —

" Formerly, during the period called classic, when literature was governed by recognized rules, he was considered the best poet who had composed the most perfect work, the most beautiful poem, the most intelligible, the most agreeable to read, the most complete in every respect, — the Æneid, the Gerusalemme, a fine tragedy. To-day something else is wanted. For us the greatest poet is he who in his works most stimulates the reader's imagination and reflection, who excites him the most himself to poetize. The greatest poet is not he who has done the best, it is he who suggests the most, — he, not all of whose meaning is at first obvious, and who leaves you much to desire, to explain, to study, much to complete in your turn."

Long ago, in his *Étude sur Virgile*, Sainte-Beuve had incidentally spoken judiciously of Homer. The pages about Homer in the present volume concern the Wolfian theory of the authorship of the Iliad and Odyssey, and are inserted in a notice of Grote's History of Greece. Mr. Grote's treatment of Greek mythology and of the legendary period of Greek history, and his disposition of the Homeric question, meet with Sainte-Beuve's full approbation. The opinion of the historian seems to be substantially that towards which the critic has long been tending ; and the frankness with which Sainte-Beuve admits that the coincidence confers more honor on himself than on Mr. Grote points a fine example of literary civility.

The remarks on Louis XV. and on Napoleon are in the author's best manner. Those on Napoleon are found in the article entitled " M. Armand Lefebvre." From the same essay we take two sentences, in each of which admiration, a discriminating judgment, a compliment, and a touch of satire are thrown by a characteristic effort of the imagination into a single splendid figure. Speaking of Thiers's " History of the Consulate and of the Empire," he says : Elle " vint, en quelque sorte, déboucher, défiler comme une grande armée, à dater de 1845, et pendant près de vingt ans occuper le devant de la scène, envahir et posséder l'attention publique." Again, he describes the correspondence of Napoleon now publishing as " Cette grande source directe, qui continue et continuera longtemps de se dérouler, claire, nette, rigide, incorruptible, vrai fleuve du Styx pour la plume de bronze, qui viendra s'y tremper, pour l'historien concentré et philosophe, le Mommsen du futur."

M. d'Arneth, director of the archives of Vienna, recently published a second and enlarged edition of the "Letters of the Empress Maria Theresa and her Daughter Maria Antoinette." It is not without a chivalrous half-regret that Sainte-Beuve, who is so tender and charitable in his treatment of the characters of women, acknowledges that Maria Antoinette suffers in proportion as her story is correctly told. Then, as if to compensate her in a sort of transcendental way for the wrong the truth has done her, as if the fault were his, not history's, he points out how fatal to the exercise of the creative and the imaginative faculties is too exact a knowledge; and he ends his essay with a striking passage, in which he supposes Maria Antoinette placed in the heroic age of Greece, and fancies how her story would have been treated by the poets and artists of antiquity.

"A touching figure, an epic, a tragic figure, if ever there was one, image and victim of the greatest calamity that ever stirred the passions of mankind. In antiquity, poetry would have laid hold upon her at once, — would have chanted her, would have idealized her, would have fixed her under definite features in an unchangeable type. Granted the catastrophe, a sovereign unity of color and tone would have been thrown upon the precedents of such a destiny; satire or apotheosis would have prevailed; there would have been an original Antoinette, all divine and worshipful, or all odious and hateful, all the one or the other, according to the prevalent current of opinion; there would have been no mean. Authorities would have been dispensed with; the imagination would have supplied all. After poetry, rhetoric in its turn would have busied itself with the story. After the age of song, if writings had been called for, they would certainly have been furnished; some skilful rhetorician would have composed letters of the queen, such as exist of so many other illustrious personages. These would have been held to prove only talent and wit, not an historic peccadillo. Most would have believed without suspicion, without inquiry."

Thus the critic leaves the queen in a transfiguring atmosphere, like that of Ionia, Palmyra, or the Nile.

There is some truth in the opening sentence of Sainte-Beuve's paper on Grote's History, that "great works written in a foreign language are really read only when they are translated." But it is also true in another sense, that great works written in a foreign language are really read only in the original. The literary artist loses most by translation; and none loses more than Sainte-Beuve, who, beyond any other prose writer of the time, is a magician of words. It is curious to trace some of the best qualities of his style to the stereoscopic quality of his mental vision, and others to his infinite capacity of knowledge and equal faculty of assimilation. He never invites the reader to

partake of a single dish, however agreeable. His table is always bountifully spread, all the courses in due order and just proportion, served leisurely in shining vessels with wine and song.

Οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἐΐσης.

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10. — *The Free Press and Duelling in Italy.* A Lecture delivered before the Tribunal of Honor. By Paolo Fambri, Questor of the Chamber of Deputies of the Kingdom of Italy. Venice. 1868.

Signor Eugenio Brunetta, of Venice, to whom we are indebted for the English version of this very curious lecture, reminds us of the distinguished service the author has done his country in arms and letters, and describes the society before which it was delivered as composed of "the most eminent men of the pen and sword." The association was formed in view of the vastly increased number of duels, resulting from the union of the different provinces, and the contact of such diverse local opinions and prejudices. Its object is for the present to regulate the duel by certain inflexible laws, tending finally to its extinction. We understand that Signor Fambri is the author of the society no less than of the lecture; and that both have attracted attention in Italy, especially among gentlemen who are so unhappy as to be at once writers and fighters, and subject to a public opinion demanding the expiation or the vindication of articles at the point of the rapier. While we can justly exult in our own advance beyond this exigency, we cannot restrain our sympathies from going out to brother *littérateurs* who have still the most embarrassing problem of journalism to solve, and we have looked over Signor Fambri's lecture with a good deal of interest. This gentleman, who was one of the first deputies sent to the national parliament from Venice after her union with Italy, has had the happiness to invent a phrase which expresses the mind of the conservative party in Italy: "The red shirt must be hung up in the Bargello"; in other words, there is now no longer need of Garibaldi since the revolution is accomplished, and his costume should be kept only as a relic and curiosity. We may suppose that his lecture is in great part the sense of the army and the politicians, whom it most concerns. He takes us quite back to the origin of the duel, which is indefinite, and finds that in our day, although many of the former causes of duelling have disappeared, the custom was never so rife in Europe before, owing to the admission of the vast middle classes to the tribunals of honor; and he believes that the number of duels will not decrease

till "public opinion shall condemn literary or political dishonesty in the same manner as it does a breach of commercial faith, — when it shall regard an arrogant man as an indelicate and mean person, and an insinuation as a moral swindle. These are the only conditions which can bring the institution to its last period; and the abolitionists of duelling are without forethought, when they propose to abolish it suddenly."

A duel, Signor Fambri thinks, might be properly denounced, when it would be unfair to blame duelling; he holds, with Châteaubriand, that "it is neither the sword nor the bullet that kills duellists, but the seconds"; and he proposes to begin with these in the reform of the duello. To prevent a duel is not to prevent crime; a given encounter "was the least of all the evils that the quarrel could have originated, because it was a quarrel between two men firmly determined to kill each other; and these two men would not have been quiet, if the duel was abolished, and would doubtless have recourse to other means much more dangerous and fatal." Moreover, our author declares that the immediate abolition of duelling is proved an impossibility by the history of all those princes and powers who have attempted to suppress it; "even Louis IX. of France, who was a saint," as he wittily expresses it, could not do away with it, and, "being a practical man," though a saint, contented himself with regulating it. Were it at once abolished, the duellist's sword "would break into many pieces, every one of which would turn into a poniard, to be gathered up and concealed till the opportunity offered for using it." Upon this Signor Fambri enters into some consideration of the code of honor as it would affect a free press, which is interesting as intimating the condition of the press in Italy, and Italian ideas concerning it.

"It is said that the institution of duelling brings the public writer into conflict with three great duties, namely: 1st, That of speaking the truth, which he must do for honesty's sake and in behalf of his own country; 2d, That of defending and protecting the decorum of the press against every outward influence, and at the same time of not seeking quarrels in a personal spirit of bravado, but, on the contrary, obliging his colleagues to be moderate and wise, and thus multiplying the responsibilities of the journalist, and limiting, in fact, that liberty which it is his mission to protect; 3d, That of a private man, which consists in not adventuring his life, unless urged by a supreme necessity, — a life which is not simply his own, but belongs also to those who gave it him, as well as to his wife and children.

"It is true that individual limitation of the press brings the writer into a conflict, from which either the truth, or the dignity of the press, or else the family, must suffer. Here, indeed, arises the most intricate question in regard to the effective liberty of the press; because the honest man says: Have I fought and voted for liberty, in order that my name and the names

of my friends and relations, together with all my affections, interests, and honor, should be in the hands of base writers, who make scandal a speculation, and every day serve the public with corruption and calumny?

"How far is the press at liberty to go? Has it the right of gathering all the gossip and inventions of the most debased and vile of society, and array citizen against citizen, and so invert the order of social life, even by denouncing as corrupt every sentence of a tribunal, or every vote of a commission or council? Has it the privilege of entering the domestic walls to slander, exaggerate, and even invent facts? May it, through some very transparent anagram, malign an elegant and hospitable lady? Is the press so free as to be permitted to misstate facts and falsify documents? In a word, is it allowed to print all that one would be ashamed to speak?

"Many legislators say, Yes. This is an opinion which may be maintained; but what do we prove by maintaining it? We prove that the law cannot and ought not to interfere in that affair; and it is precisely for this reason that honor must be defended in a private way. But how?"

It is clear to Signor Fambri that there is but one means, the duello, founded on an educated public opinion, which shall not permit duels upon insufficient grounds, nor hold that the duel should supersede legal redress, which shall not insist upon the choice of weapons being always given to the challenged, nor require any man to fight with a person of bad character. He continues:—

"Formerly, he, who, not being a nobleman, challenged a nobleman, was answered in any other manner than with the sword. Now we want another kind of nobility, namely, that of morality and respectability. We care no more for the golden spurs, but we must strictly require a golden conscience and a good reputation, before we admit a man to fight.

"The application of this principle alone is sufficient to reduce the present number of duels to half; for there are many *chevaliers d'industrie* who seek quarrels, and consequently duels, for the sole purpose of making themselves in some way known. These men have a great art, they know how to use a sword very well; but I remember that *summus in arte non debet mori;* so I hold that they must not be killed, or at least, it is not for honest men to kill them.

"The conclusion of my discourse is this: I would form an association of most respectable men of the pen and of the sword. My present word is the precursor of a serious work, *the compilation of a Code of Honor*, which shall have, I hope, the approbation of all the honest men, while the *chevaliers d'industrie* in six months will have little in which to rejoice. At the same time, the right of gentlemen to use the sword, in those circumstances where a reconciliation is impossible, shall be left untouched."

All this reads very curiously in a country where we find it quite possible to suppress the duello by public opinion and by statute, and where it does not exist except in the semi-barbaric South, which has neither

liberty nor law. One longs to have Signor Fambri reach his logical conclusion, and declare, that, since none but a rogue will calumniate, and none but a ruffian insult a gentleman, there can be no possible occasion for a tribunal of honor in the presence of a reformed public opinion. In view of the more serious work which he intends to publish, might we ask his attention to Great Britain and the United States, as free countries in which private reputation is quite safe without the protection of even a tribunal of honor? He has done a good thing, however, in exposing the absurdity of the present duello, and we must own, that, apart from his delusion that some sort of duelling is necessary, his lecture gives some very instructive glimpses of the structure of Italian society and public sentiment.

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11. — 1. *Madame Thérèse; or, the Volunteers of* '92. By MM. Erckmann-Chatrian. Translated from the Thirteenth Edition. With Ten Full-Page Illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869.
2. *Littell's Living Age*, Nos. 1275 – 1278. November, 1868. Madame Thérèse. Parts I., II., III., IV. Translated for the Living Age, from the French of MM. Erckmann-Chatrian.

It would be advisable to drop the hyphen between the two names Erckmann-Chatrian, if "MM." is to be prefixed. It is exceedingly common for Frenchmen to bear or to assume a double surname; and such surnames are almost always printed with a hyphen, as Ledru-Rollin, Henriquel-Dupont, and the like. When printed in that way, the name Erckmann-Chatrian is a mere *nom de plume* and a complete disguise, as we find it at the head of an old copy of the book before us, which has for title "Madame Thérèse. Par Erckmann-Chatrian." But the "MM.," for Messieurs, requires it to be separated into two surnames of two painstaking and hard-working *littérateurs*, who have worked much together.

Mr. Higginson, in his Preface to the Scribner translation of *Madame Thérèse*, has given a short account of these writers. He seems to think that their success has been long deferred, but it can hardly be so considered. In 1859, as Mr. Higginson has said, with truth, their first decided "hit" was made in the publication of *L'Illustre Docteur Mathéus;* but in 1859 Erckmann was only thirty-seven years old, and his friend

but thirty-three. This was tolerably early won success; any literary man in France, who before the age of forty can be called *un homme arrivé*, has done well.

It is, moreover, wholly improbable that the works which now stand under the name of our authors will ever obtain a popularity either as wide-spread or as solidly based upon the judgments of the critical as that of the great masters of modern fiction. That simplicity of description and of literary style upon which Mr. Higginson has dwelt is admirable only when it covers something beyond simplicity. In the case of MM. Erckmann and Chatrian, this *something beyond* is limited to a very pleasant sketching of cottage interiors, the domestic life of villagers, and the exterior, so to speak, of men and women and children who are more or less mixed up with the wars of the French Revolution and Empire. In the book before us, the character is well preserved of reminiscences of early youth related in age. The man who tells the story does not appear by the name or in the character of his manhood; but his recollections of the good old times when he was little Fritzel, in the village of Anstatt, are told with considerable success in preserving the right tone, and seem to be really the dim-seen mental pictures they pretend to be. The difficulty with dim-seen mental pictures is, however, an obvious one. The lines and hues which have not yet entirely faded are those which portray the outside, even the extreme outside of things. What Fritzel remembers of the scenes of his boyhood is what every one can remember. Uncle Jacob's looks and words, his dress, the old rooms, the porcelain stove, the kitchen fireplace, the smoky rafters, and, outside the old home, only those disconnected incidents which go to make up a child's incomplete impressions of the world, and which, remembered in age, are pleasant to the reminiscent, and likely to seduce him into day-dreams, but are of minor importance to those who are compelled to hear him relate them. This deficiency, one cannot help feeling, exists in the story before us. Stories of old wars are good, and simple sketches of humble interiors are good; but in a short life, somewhat shortened by the necessity of making choice among importunate claims upon its passing moments, one longs for the books which have much to offer, and for the romances, in particular, which treat of incidents as happening to active, sensitive, living men and women.

If, however, *Madame Thérèse* cannot be called a novel of that high class, it is none the less a pleasant and wholesome little book, and one which will have a great number of readers. It becomes of importance, therefore, to examine into the sufficiency of the translations through which it appeals to most American readers. The translation made

by Miss Forten, and published by Charles Scribner & Co., is the one which will be most read hereafter, but the anonymous translation published in Littell has been read hitherto by the larger audience; and both demand the more thorough scrutiny, when it is found that each of them is exceedingly close to the original, that each has been made loyally and according to principles of translation generally sound. It requires a careful comparison of each with the other and with the original, to enable one to judge which translation is on the whole the better; and after this comparison has been made, there is still room for two opinions. At starting, the Scribner translation seems to err the more frequently. "To pass the lane to slip into the orchard" is not a correct rendering of *traverser l'allée pour me glisser dans le fruitier:* Littell's translation has the phrase in its corresponding English, "to pass through the entry to slip into the fruit-room." Moreover, the same sentence affords an example of another point of superiority in the Littell translation, its freedom from long words, — rendering, for instance, *bonnes odeurs* by "good smell," instead of "delicious fragrance," which we find in the other version. On the whole, the Littell version has the better English style. But to return to inaccuracies of translation. On page 122 of Scribner's edition "snow-covered" is wrongly put for *couvertes de givre;* and on the next page, "mischievous" is a wholly erroneous expression for *malin;* — Littell has both these better: "frost-covered" hedges, that is, covered with frozen fog, the moisture in the air crystallized around each twig and bough, as one sees it more often in Europe than in America; and "the sharpest of us all," for *le plus malin de nous tous.* These mistakes occur sometimes when the context might show at once the true meaning. Even to an indifferent French scholar *ce n'est pas trop bête* does not mean "that may be"; the idea is, that the doctor's excuse is n't a bad one, the commandant means to congratulate him ironically, and the sense is, "come, that 's not as bad as it might be." Littell's translator renders the whole passage very well. These are average instances of a class of mistakes of which there are many in the Scribner translation. They denote haste, in all probability, rather than ignorance; and another fault often occurring in the course of the work seems to confirm this opinion, namely, the total omission of some phrase in which a difficult idiom occurs.

It is, of course, a task of difficulty and delicacy to render exactly a French idiomatic expression by an English one equally idiomatic; the search is a laborious matter, and the decision a delicate one. Thus, in the description of the fight, in Chapter III., the French commandant *se mit à chanter une chanson qui vous donnait la chair de poule,* the

exact sense of which is, of course, "began to sing a song which gave you goose-flesh," a perfectly well-understood popular expression. Ought the translator to use it, or is it not yet admitted into good society, as the French equivalent is? Different opinions will be held upon all such points; but it is clear that "made one's flesh creep," and "made one thrill all over," are neither of them good translations, because each of them renders a picturesque phrase by a stiff one, which, from foolish use, has lost all vigor. The fat boy in "Pickwick" used the former phrase for the last time in literature.

Two or three lines above this last-named phrase, Scribner's translator has achieved a remarkable success. "At each stroke of the lance the parry of the bayonet came like a flash of light" is really excellent rendering in a difficult case. Littell's translator misses it entirely. In general, Miss Forten has rendered the military expressions into the proper English terms. The translation in Littell has not been so successful in this particular; and probably as many mistakes occur in the latter as in Miss Forten's version. The phrase *tu n'a donc pas encore sommeil* means "are you not sleepy yet?" and not, "are you not asleep?" A dog's tail held *en trompette* is not a tail "like a trumpet," but curled up.

It is hard to balance aright the many successes and the few failures of these two translations. There are advantages in each, and it would cost very little labor to make of either an excellent and highly finished version.

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12. — 1. *The Ermine in the Ring.* Supplement to Putnam's Monthly. 1868.

2. *The Erie Railroad Row, considered as an Episode in Court.* By Charles F. Adams, Jr. From the American Law Review. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1868.

"The Ermine in the Ring" is not a fairy tale, as might be supposed from its title and its publication at the present season. Nor is there anything of the allegory in it, except in the name. It purports to be, and appears to be, a strictly historical narrative, illustrative of the present condition of the judiciary of New York, and its connection with, and dependence upon, the individuals who control the politics of that city.

It seems that in 1862 the city of New York hired of Fernando Wood certain offices in Nassau Street, which turned out to be un-

suited to the purpose for which they had been taken, and were only partially occupied. In 1865, the lease being about to expire, Mr. Wood procured the passage of an order of the City Council to renew it, at something more than double the old rent. The Mayor (Gunther) signed the order, but the next day repented, and erased his signature. The lease therefore was not signed, but the city continued to use as much of the building as they had previously occupied, and Mr. Wood continued, as (apparently) before, to let the rest to other tenants. Wood was at that time at feud with the Tammany ring, which held the principal municipal offices, and among others that of Corporation Counsel, in the person of Mr. Richard O'Gorman. Mr. O'Gorman, having called to his aid Mr. Williams, of the New York bar, brought a suit in behalf of the city against Mr. Wood, having for its object a decree setting aside the order for a lease, on the ground that it was obtained through bribery, and a trial of the question of fraud before a jury. In support of the allegation of corruption, Mr. Williams had received from two persons, who had been in Mr. Wood's confidence at the time, but had since broken with him, details of the purchase for $21,000 of enough votes in the City Council to pass the order for the lease. One of his informants was Judge Barnard of the Supreme Court. Now began a war of motions, petitions, injunctions, and counter-injunctions, — the object being, on the one hand, to bring the question of fraud to a jury trial, on the other to get the whole case into the hands of a judge upon whom Mr. Wood could rely. The latter seems, however, to have had the advantage of seeing his opponents' game, while he kept his own safely concealed; otherwise, he would hardly have succeeded, as he did, in getting the case into the hands of Judge Cardozo. Once there, it seems to have been substantially lost; for that magistrate, with the aid of his associate, Judge Barnard, who had made his peace with Wood, succeeded in thwarting all attempts to try it on its merits or to remove it to another tribunal. Mr. Williams, however, did not despair, and perhaps might have succeeded at last, had not Mr. O'Gorman, the time for whose re-election was approaching, and who could not afford to incur the opposition of Wood, now again a chief in Tammany, set his associate aside, and insisted upon managing the case entirely himself, and exactly in the manner desired by his adversaries. The result was a decree by Judge Cardozo in Wood's favor, from which no appeal has been taken, so far as we know.

We have given a very brief statement of the substance of a pamphlet of thirty-two pages. The writer carefully explains every detail of the proceedings from beginning to end, so that whoever reads his book will see precisely how the machinery of justice was made to work iniquity.

There are passages of a dramatic interest, — as the dialogue between Mr. Williams and Judge Cardozo, which results in the lawyer's becoming satisfied that the Judge has been served with a false copy of the pleadings. Nor is there any lack of humorous situations, — as when Judge Barnard, upon the witness-stand, denies, with great superfluity of negation, that he ever told Mr. Williams anything about Wood's purchase of the councilmen's votes.

Although the pamphlet under review is anonymous, yet it is evident that Mr. Williams, whether he wrote it or not, is its responsible author; for many of its statements obviously could only have been derived from him. If this fact seems to throw doubt upon its accuracy or fairness, it should be remembered that its tone throughout is calm and moderate, and that its author could hardly have ventured to publish a narrative which, if not strictly true, was a manifest and gross libel upon persons of judicial station and great influence, unless he felt that he had the means of proving what he stated.

If the proceedings chronicled in "The Ermine in the Ring" tend to show the dangers arising from the political associations of an elective judiciary, "The Erie Railroad Row" exposes its susceptibility to pecuniary influences. But while the former narrative exhibits the bench as the dangerous instrument of extortion and injustice, in the latter the court appears to have changed its ermine for motley. The total absence of merit on both sides of the quarrel prevents our feeling of indignation from rising high enough to interfere with an enjoyment of the ludicrous aspects of the struggle. To be sure, it is a serious matter that judges and judicial proceedings should be brought into universal contempt in any community; but it must also be matter for thankfulness, when a magistrate like Judge Barnard can do no greater mischief than to make himself ridiculous. This he did most effectually, in the proceedings described in the pamphlet under review.

It is well known that Mr. Vanderbilt and Mr. Drew have long been large operators in the stock of the Erie Railroad. Last spring, Mr. Vanderbilt was trying to get control of that railroad by securing more than half of its stock. Mr. Drew, however, by virtue of certain arrangements made in consequence of previous loans of money to the railroad, and also of his influence in the direction, had it in his power to throw an enormous mass of stock upon the market, and thus entirely thwarted Mr. Vanderbilt's plans. The latter, therefore, had recourse to Judge Barnard, and the struggle opened with an injunction locking up all Drew's reserves of stock, and enabling Vanderbilt to prosecute his plans safely. Drew replied with an injunction from another judge, and Vanderbilt with yet another from a third judge, and so the fusillade

was kept up until six injunctions had issued on the one side and the other, resulting apparently in a position of affairs favorable to Mr. Vanderbilt. He went on, therefore, bravely buying Erie stock right and left. Not less boldly, however, did Mr. Drew go on selling "short," in spite of the apparent certainty that the injunction first issued by Judge Barnard would make it impossible for him to fulfil his contracts without great loss.

The litigation had now, in the space of a few days, become as complicated as the famous case of "Poor Peter Peebles *v.* Plainstanes, *et per contra*," when the plaintiff's eighth agent, Mr. Wildgoose, "recommended a Multiplepoinding, to bring all parties into the field." Mr. Drew's "Multiplepoinding" was a process more rapid and effectual than Scotch or any other jurisprudence had ever furnished before. It was a seventh bill in equity, alleging that various parties, among whom was Judge Barnard, were concerned in stock speculations; that in aid of those speculations, and in pursuance of a conspiracy, the said Barnard had issued an injunction, etc. This bill was supported by affidavits and by eminent counsel, and an injunction was issued *ex parte*, commanding everything which Judge Barnard had enjoined, and enjoining everything which he had commanded. As Mr. Drew and the Erie directors would now equally violate an injunction, whether they issued or withheld their reserves of stock, and as by issuing them they could secure enormous profits to themselves, besides defeating their adversary, it may well be supposed that they lost no time in obeying the latest mandate of the law, and flooding the market with the new shares. Of course the stock fell rapidly; Mr. Drew covered his short contracts at a great profit, and Mr. Vanderbilt found himself in a "terrible embarrassment."

The game was now lost and won, and the various suits had become purposeless; but they still served as a sort of stronghold from which the party defeated in the field could check and hamper the successful operations of his antagonist. Mr. Drew and the Erie directors had been guilty of contempt of Judge Barnard's court. To evade his process, they were obliged to flee to Jersey City. The Vanderbilt party also claimed that a receiver should be appointed. Endless motions, hearings, orders, and appeals grew out of the "Erie contempt cases," as they began to be called; and it was from these collateral and incidental proceedings that the scandalous scenes narrated by Mr. Adams in the latter part of his pamphlet arose. Under cover of all this ludicrous skirmishing in the courts, the real parties had settled the real quarrel, had bought up two legislatures, and legalized all their irregularities, and, uniting again in fresh schemes, left the fires and back-fires

of litigation which they had kindled so freely to go out in the midst of universal contempt and disgust. So disreputable had the whole proceedings become, that Judge Cardozo, though both parties requested it, refused to hear a motion in the case, and, when an attempt was made to obtain an order from the somewhat notorious Judge McCunn of the Superior Court, that incorruptible magistrate preferred to risk a fine of a thousand dollars rather than "have his court have anything to do with the scandal."

We have not space to follow Mr. Adams into the details of the hearings upon the contempt cases and the receivership, which constitute the "Episode in Court." We content ourselves with a single specimen, not because it is specially characteristic, but because it may be interesting to those of our readers who remember the article on "The Judiciary of New York City," published in the "North American Review" for July, 1867.

"Mr. Field said the question would open new evidence that had been ruled out.

"*Judge Barnard.* It was ruled out because I intend to have this 'North American Review'" (holding up the book) "put in evidence, which contains an article about me, written by a clerk in your office. I intend to have this whole matter ferreted out."

The matter which the Judge intended to have "ferreted out" was the allegation that he had a corrupt interest in the suit originally started by the Vanderbilt party. One of the questions put by him to a witness indicates what the Judge supposed to be the prevalent impression as to the proper method of informing his judicial mind. The Mr. Crane referred to is a person understood to have much influence with him.

"*Judge Barnard.* Do you know whether James Fiske, Jr., and William H. Marston, went in a carriage to John J. Crane's house, and offered him $ 50,000 to vacate this injunction?" . . . .

"*A.* . . . . I think I heard something of the kind." . . . .

In conclusion, we have only to say that the public are under great obligations to the authors of these two pamphlets for their clear and able analysis of the very voluminous and confused proceedings, from which, without their aid, the general reader would have neither the time, the patience, nor the ability to extract the material portions for himself. Every one gets from the newspapers a confused idea that there is something very rotten in the administration of justice in New York City. To know exactly what is wrong, one needs just such carefully arranged and verified statements as these.

13. — *A Manual of Mythology, in the Form of Question and Answer.* By the Rev. George W. Cox, M. A. First American, from the Second London Edition. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1868. 12mo. pp. 300.

The modern science of comparative mythology, which until lately could be studied only in ponderous treatises, like that of Grimm, or in learned monographs, like those of Bréal, is at last beginning to get expounded in a more popular form and in school-books. The works of Mr. Baring-Gould, however imperfectly put together, are nevertheless so very readable, that they must serve to diffuse far and wide many fragmentary, but important, notions of the new science. And now Mr. G. W. Cox — a most estimable writer, always scholarlike in his enthusiasm, and usually scholarlike in his conceptions — has prepared for us an elementary treatise, a sort of mythological primer, which admirably fills a place not before occupied by any respectable book whatever. With some qualifications, presently to be noted, it is comprehensive and accurate enough to satisfy the scholar who needs a compendium, while, on the other hand, it is sufficiently entertaining and intelligible to be used with profit by the young student who is for the first time approaching the subject.

Since the promulgation of philosophic and rational theories of ancient mythology, all the old-fashioned treatises on the subject, however erudite, seem as crude, and often as puerile, as the speculations of sixteenth-century physicians on the nature and causes of disease. The kind of ingenuity displayed in such works as those of Creuzer and Gladstone becomes after a while merely provoking. And even a straightforward account, like that in the first volume of Grote's "History of Greece," is excessively tedious, from the total absence of any general hypothesis which might serve to co-ordinate the bewildering details, and link them together in the memory. As for the old text-books, they have become worse than useless. They consist usually of an uncritical mixture of Euhemerism, symbolism, and the doctrine of a primitive revelation. Or even if they keep clear of reckless theorizing, they do not succeed in investing the myths of classic antiquity with the average grace and dignity of a modern fairy-tale, or in making the student understand how so sensible a people as the ancient Greeks could have found any mental nutriment in what to us seems so stale and insipid.

Indeed, to describe ancient mythology well, upon any theory, requires a combination of somewhat rare gifts. An old myth, to interest

us who no longer regard it with awe and wonder, must be well told. A story which no longer illustrates any portion of our theory of things must rest more or less upon its merits as a mere story. Therefore the writer who attempts to popularize the science of mythology must have fair power of narration, as well as some poetic insight. He must have a keen sense of the beauty and humor of these old legends, that he may impart something of such a sense to his readers. And he must also have acquired enough of the true scientific spirit to know how to generalize boldly and exhaustively, whenever generalization will throw steady light upon the subject, and how to abstain from that too eager theorizing which is sure to invest any novel treatise with a suspicious and untrustworthy air.

It is because its author possesses to a certain extent these qualifications, but particularly the first mentioned, that Mr. Cox's "Manual of Mythology" is, on the whole, such a satisfactory text-book. The theory upon which it proceeds is, of course, the theory, more or less thoroughly conceived by Müller and Bréal, that a myth is the offspring of a primitive explanation of some conspicuous natural phenomenon. "Not an allegory," as we have elsewhere observed, "not an esoteric symbol, but an explanation. Where we propound a scientific theory, primitive men constructed a myth. For a thing is said to be explained, when it is classified with other things with which we are already acquainted. That is the only kind of explanation of which science is capable. We explain the origin, progress, and ending of a thunder-storm, when we have classified the phenomena presented by it along with other more familiar phenomena of vaporization and condensation. But the primitive man explained, to his own satisfaction, the same thing, when he had classified it along with the well-known phenomena of human volition, by constructing a theory of a great black dragon pierced by the unerring arrows of a heavenly archer." This was the most obvious and most satisfactory explanation which he could give. A myth, then, is a fragment of fetichistic philosophy, or of fetichistic poetry, — it matters not which we call it, for in the myth-making age poetry and philosophy were one. Max Müller's well-known theory, therefore, though mainly correct in its details, seems to us wholly fallacious in its general expression. The existence of mythology is not due to any "disease," abnormity, or hypertrophy of metaphor, in language. It was not so much the character of the expression which originated the thought, as it was the thought which gave character to the expression. The early Aryan language abounded in metaphor, because the early Aryans were myth-makers. And they were myth-makers because they had nothing but

the phenomena of human will and effort with which to compare objective phenomena. Therefore it was that they spoke of the sun as an archer, and classified inanimate no less than animate objects as masculine and feminine. Max Müller's statement of his own theory is but one illustration among many of the curious way in which he combines a marvellous penetration into the significance of details with a singular looseness of general conceptions.

There is no evidence in the volume before us that Mr. Cox has gone any deeper than his master into the philosophy of this subject. Indeed, as is perhaps well enough in such an elementary treatise, he philosophizes but little. He does not strive to explain ultimately why the Greeks called the dawn a forsaken maiden: it is enough for his present purpose to know that they did so call it. Let us, as a specimen of Mr. Cox's mode of treatment, expound after his fashion the story of Œdipus.

Œdipus was the great national hero of the Thebans. His father, Laios, had been warned by the Delphic oracle that he was in danger of death from his own son. The newly born Œdipus was therefore exposed on the hillside; but, like Romulus and Remus, and all infants similarly situated in legend, was duly rescued. He was taken to Corinth, where he grew up. Journeying once to Thebes, he got into a quarrel with an old man whom he met on the road, and slew him, who was none other than his father, Laios. Reaching Thebes, he found the city harassed by the Sphinx, who afflicted the land with drought until she should receive an answer to her riddles. Œdipus destroyed the monster by solving her dark sayings, and as a reward received in marriage his own mother, Iocaste. Then the Erinyes hastened the discovery of these dark deeds; Iocaste died in her bridal chamber; and Œdipus, having blinded himself, fled to the grove of the Eumenides, near Athens, where, amid flashing lightning and peals of thunder, he died.

Œdipus is the Sun. Like Herakles, Perseus, Theseus, Bellerophon, Sigurd, William Tell, he performs his marvellous deeds at the behest of others. In the evening he is united to the Dawn, the mother from whom he had sprung in the morning; and here the original story doubtless ended. In the Vedic hymns we find Indra, the Sun, born of Dahana (Daphne), the Dawn, whom he afterwards, in the evening twilight, marries. To the Indian mind the story was here complete. But the Greeks had outgrown and forgotten the primitive significance of the myth. To them Œdipus and Iocaste were human, or at least anthropomorphic beings; and a marriage between them was a fearful crime, which called for bitter expiation. Thus the latter part of the story

arose in the effort to satisfy a moral feeling. Like Iole and Iamos, the word "Iocaste" signifies the delicate violet tints of the morning clouds. Laios (Skr. Dasyu) denotes the dark night, which begets the sun and is slain by it. Œdipus was exposed, like Paris upon Ida (a Vedic word, meaning "the earth"), because the sunlight in the morning lies upon the hillside. He is borne on to the destruction of his father and the incestuous marriage with his mother by an irresistible Moira or Fate. The sun cannot but slay the darkness and hasten to the couch of the violet twilight. The Sphinx is the storm-spirit who imprisons the rain, and utters dark mutterings and rumblings which none but the all-knowing sun may understand. Her name denotes "one who binds" (from *sphingo*), and she answers to Echidna or Ahi, the throttling snake of darkness. The idea was not derived from Egypt, but the Greeks, on finding Egyptian figures resembling their conception of the Sphinx, called them by the same name. Œdipus destroys her, as Indra slays Vritra, and brings down rain upon the parched earth. Of the same family with the Sphinx are the monsters Python, Typhon, Polyphemus, and Fafnir. Œdipus dies in the sacred grove of the Erinyes, a word which did not originally mean *Fury*, and cannot be explained in Greek. It is identical with the Sanskrit Saranyu, the name for morning. As the light of morning reveals the evil deeds done under the cover of night, the lovely Dawn, or Erinys, came to be regarded under one aspect as the terrible detector and avenger of iniquity. So the grove of the Erinyes, like the garden of the Hyperboreans, represents "the fairy network of clouds, which are the first to receive and the last to lose the light of the sun in the morning and in the evening. Hence, although Œdipus dies in a thunder-storm, yet the Eumenides are kind to him, and his last hour is one of deep peace and tranquillity." To the last remains with him his daughter Antigone, "she who is born opposite," the pale light which springs up opposite to the setting sun.

To many persons it no doubt seems incredible that so many and such varied stories, so full of human interest, should have arisen merely from anthropomorphic explanations of physical phenomena. And when we recollect that not only Greek mythology, but the myths, fairy tales, and folk-lore of all nations under heaven, ancient or modern, are to be explained on the same general theory, the demand upon our powers of belief may appear excessive. The difficulty is only apparent, however, and in face of the evidence, amounting to an overwhelming demonstration, which is to be derived from a close analysis of the Vedic terminology, it disappears entirely. In fact, the types upon which stories are constructed are wonderfully few. Some clever playwright — we believe it was Scribe — has said that there are only seven possible dra-

matic situations: that is, all the plays in the world may be classed with some one of seven archetypal dramas. If this be true, the astonishing complexity of mythology taken in the concrete, as compared with its extreme simplicity when analyzed, need no longer surprise us. Nothing better than mythology illustrates the aphorism that there is nothing new under the sun. Hans Andersen writes a lovely story of "The Ice Maiden," which turns out to be an Old-World myth of the seasons. The wild and thrilling romance, "La Maison Forestière," by Erckmann-Chatrian, is the story of the Wild Huntsman, the Erlking, the Piper of Hamelin, Orpheus, Gunadhyas, and Odin, — an original storm-myth, colored with reminiscences of the Berserker madness. Take almost any household tale or local superstition whatever, and in the attempt to trace exhaustively its kinship, you are almost inevitably carried over the entire habitable surface of our planet. We find Reynard the Fox playing his pranks in South Africa, and Jack planting his beanstalk among the wigwams of the American Indians. Odysseus and Kalypso reappear in Arabia as Ahmed and Paribanou, and in Germany as Tannhäuser and Ursula; while the same myth supplied Tasso with the conception of the gardens of Armida. Let us consider a single physical experience, — that of the quiescence of Nature during the winter months. To say nothing of the legends of Demeter and Persephone, Adonis, Eurydike, Balder, and Siegfried, we have the stories of the Sleeping Beauty, Endymion, the three Tells of Rütli, Thomas of Erceldoune, Olger Dansk, Charlemagne, Frederic Barbarossa, Olaf Redbeard, Don Sebastian, St. John, Merlin, Epimenides, Rip Van Winkle, and the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, — all suggested ultimately by this single physical phenomenon. And the list might be extended to a much greater length. The above is enough to show that a story-radical may be as prolific of heterogeneous offspring as a word-radical. Just as we find the root *spac*, "to look," begetting words so various as *sceptic*, *bishop*, *speculate*, *conspicuous*, *species*, *spice*, etc., we may also expect to find a simple representation of the diurnal course of the sun, like those lyrically given in the Veda, branching off into stories as diversified as those of Œdipus, Herakles, Odysseus, Odin, and Sigurd. In his interesting appendix to Henderson's "Folklore of the Northern Counties of England," Mr. Baring-Gould has made a most ingenious and praiseworthy attempt to reduce the entire existing mass of household legends to about fifty story-roots; and his list, though both redundant and defective, is nevertheless, as an empirical classification, very instructive.

It would have been well, if Mr. Cox had occasionally contented himself with this humbler task of grouping and affiliating ancient myths

according to their general characteristics, instead of invariably striving to explain, sometimes by doubtful etymologies, the minute features of each tale that he has taken up. Such myths as he cannot treat in this conclusive way he is apt to pass by, as if they were of small account. His treatment of Dionysos, for example, is inexcusably meagre. In the study of mythology, half a loaf is better than no bread. It is very instructive to compare analogous conceptions, even where, as in the Gellert-myth, we cannot decipher the mode of their origination.

Perhaps it is hardly fair to complain of Mr. Cox for not understanding the general philosophical bearings of the science of mythology better than Max Müller himself understands them. It is certain that both the one and the other sin against the canons of a sound inductive philosophy, when they interpret Zeus or Jupiter as originally the supreme Aryan God, and implicitly regard Greek polytheism as one of the degraded remnants of a primeval monotheism. Philology itself teaches us that this could not have been so. Father Dyaus was originally the bright sky, and nothing more. Although his name became generalized, in the classic languages, into *deus*, θεός, a god, it is quite certain that in early days, before the Aryan separation, it had acquired no such exalted significance. It was only in Greece and Rome — or, we may say, among the still united Italo-Hellenic tribes — that Jupiter-Zeus attained a pre-eminence over all other deities. The people of Iran quite rejected him, the Teutons preferred Thor and Odin, and even in India there is no evidence that Dyaus took permanent precedence of Indra. It is in fact quite useless to look for a supreme Aryan divinity. There was no sense, active or dormant, of monotheism in the primitive Aryan intelligence. All mythology goes to show that the earliest religion was pure fetichism, and upon any other supposition the current interpretations of myths become quite futile.

As for Mr. Cox's general method of interpretation, we doubt if it can be considered wholly adequate to account for the heroic myths, and especially for the late and complicated legend of the Trojan War. That Zeus, Apollo, and Herakles were solar deities, and nothing more, can hardly be questioned. But that Achilleus and Agamemnon were solar deities, and nothing more, is by no means so probable. The Greeks themselves had a decided, though not very clear, sense of the distinction between the two orders of beings. We do not ignore the fact that the essential features of the Iliad-myth are to be found in the Veda, where Paris is represented, in name and in conception, by the dark robber Panis, Helen by the dawn-goddess Sarama, and so on, — and that the myth must therefore have been current long before the Greeks inhab-

ited Greece, long before there was any Ilium to be conquered. But all this does not forbid the supposition, that the legend, as we have it, may have been formed by the crystallization of mythical conceptions about a nucleus of genuine tradition. In maintaining this we are not opening the door to Euhemerism. It is very true that no trustworthy history can be obtained from the Iliad merely by sifting out the mythical element in it. But to admit this is one thing: to hold that the poem contains no reminiscence whatever of an actual event, that it is all myth and not at all tradition, is to take another and far less tenable position. In this view we are upheld by a most sagacious and accurate scholar, Mr. E. A. Freeman, who finds in Carlovingian romance an excellent illustration of the problem before us.

The Charlemagne of romance is a mythical personage. He is supposed to have been a Frenchman, at a time when neither the French nation nor the French language can properly be said to have existed; and he is represented as a doughty Crusader, although crusading was not thought of until long after the Carlovingian era. The legendary deeds of Charlemagne are not conformed to the ordinary rules of geography and chronology. He is a myth, and, what is more, he is a solar myth, — an *avatar*, or at least a representative, of Odin. If in his case legend were not controlled and rectified by history, he would be as unreal as Agamemnon.

History, however, tells us that there was an Emperor Karl, German in race, name, and language, who was one of the two or three greatest men of action that the world has ever seen, and who in the ninth century ruled over all Western Europe. To the historic Karl corresponds in many particulars the mythical Charlemagne. The legend has preserved the fact, which without the information supplied by history we might perhaps set down as a fiction, that there was a time when Germany, Gaul, Italy, and part of Spain formed a single empire. And, as Mr. Freeman has well observed, the mythical crusades of Charlemagne are good evidence that there were crusades, although the real Karl liked Saracens well enough — at a distance.

Now the case of Agamemnon may be much like that of Charlemagne, except that we no longer have history to help us in rectifying the legend. The Iliad preserves the tradition of a time when a large portion of the islands and mainland of Greece were at least partially subject to a common suzerain; and, as Mr. Freeman has again shrewdly suggested, the assignment of a place like Mykenæ, instead of Athens or Sparta, as the seat of the suzerainty, is strong evidence of the trustworthiness of the tradition. It appears to show that the legend was constrained by some remembered fact, instead of being guided by

general probability. Charlemagne's seat of government has been transferred in romance from Aachen to Paris: had it really been at Paris, says Mr. Freeman, no one would have thought of transferring it to Aachen. Moreover, the story of Agamemnon, though uncontrolled by historic records, is, here at least, supported by archæology, which shows Mykenæ to have been at some time or other a place of great consequence.

Then, as to the Trojan War, we know that the Greeks several times crossed the Ægean, and colonized a large part of the sea-coast of Asia Minor. In order to do this it was necessary to oust from their homes many warlike communities of Lydians and Bithynians, and we may be sure that this was not done without prolonged fighting. There must have been now and then a levy *en masse* in prehistoric Greece, as there was in mediæval Europe; and whether the great suzerain at Mykenæ ever attended one or not, legend would be sure to send him on such an expedition, as it afterwards sent Charlemagne on a crusade.

We are therefore far from believing that the tale of the Trojan War is pure mythology. Though there is nothing in it which can by any cunning be construed into history, there is certainly much in it which is not due to any explanation of physical phenomena. While it cannot be denied that Paris and Hełen are nothing but Night and Morning, it is, on the other hand, quite probable that Agamemnon and Achilleus represent dimly remembered heroes, or sovereigns, with their characters and actions distorted to suit the exigencies of a narrative founded upon a solar myth. The character of the Nibelungenlied here well illustrates that of the Iliad. Siegfried and Brunhild, Hagen and Günther, are mere personifications of physical phenomena; but Etzel and Dietrich are none other than Attila and Theodoric surrounded with mythical attributes; and even the conception of Brunhild is supposed by some critics to contain elements derived from the traditional recollection of the historical Brunehaut. When, therefore, Achilleus is said, like a true sun-god, to have died by a wound from a sharp instrument in the only vulnerable part of his body, we reply, that the legendary Charlemagne conducts himself in many respects like a solar deity. If Odysseus detained by Kalypso represents the sun ensnared and held captive by the pale goddess of night, the legend of Frederic Barbarossa asleep in a Thuringian mountain embodies a portion of a kindred conception. We know that Charlemagne and Frederic have been substituted for Odin; we may suspect that Achilleus and Odysseus have been substituted for Herakles, or some other more ancient impersonation of the god of day.

We should therefore hesitate to put all myths on a level with each

other. We should stop and reflect, before trying to analyze them all into the same elements. We should remember that in early times the solar myth was a sort of type after which all wonderful stories would be likely to be patterned, and that to such a type tradition also would be made to conform. These are considerations which Mr. Cox has not kept with sufficient constancy in his mind. If he had kept them in mind, his excellent little book would have been almost above criticism.

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14.— *The Book of Were-Wolves: being an Account of a Terrible Superstition.* By SABINE BARING-GOULD, M. A. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1865. Crown 8vo. pp. 266.

WITHOUT entering upon the difficult question, whether it is ever too late to discharge one's duty to a good book by writing a notice of it, we would call attention to this little volume by Mr. Baring-Gould as one eminently worthy, from every point of view, of being reprinted in this country.

"The Book of Were-Wolves" is a good book in the sense in which all Mr. Baring-Gould's productions are "good": that is, it is entertaining, it is accurate as far as it goes, and it contains an account of things which are worth knowing, though they are in reality but little known and little written about. More than this we can hardly say of any of these books. They are not scholarly in the high sense of the word; they are neither thorough, systematic, nor always philosophical. In reading the "Curious Myths" one is shocked at the outset by the ridiculous surmise that the notion of the Wandering Jew may after all have a foundation in literal fact, because of Christ's prophecy that some who were then on earth should stay to see his second coming! Farther on in the same volume one's scholarly sense is outraged by the author's explicit approval of a clever, but silly, squib of a French abbé, in which Napoleon is identified with Apollo, and minutely delineated as a solar hero. The prelate of course intends to ridicule the great school of mythology of which his countryman Bréal is one of the founders. His brochure is similar in spirit to the "Historic Doubts" of the late Dr. Whately, and in point of ingenious puerility is about on a par with it. The perverse etymology which derives the name Napoleon from *vaí* + Apoleo (a very Apollo!!) is worthy of Ménage; and that Mr. Baring-Gould could even be very deeply amused by it shows that he has never acquired a firm grasp of his subject. He boldly explains Thornrose and Melusina, nay, even Schamir, as physical myths; but when he comes to William Tell, he is dimly afraid of

"going too far," and so quotes his abbé by way of caution. This is characteristic, not of a scholar, but of a dilettante with scholarly tastes. And then as to philosophy, what shall we say to the grave suggestion, on page 259 of the present volume, that the case of M. Bertrand, the "human hyena," was one, not of ghoulish insanity, but of true diabolical possession? It is rather late for such hypotheses to find favor.

Although the subject of were-wolves is not treated very systematically, it is nevertheless possible to cull from the book a tolerably complete theory of the origin and growth of this frightful superstition. A were-wolf, or *loup-garou*, was a person who had the power of transforming himself into a wolf, being endowed, while in the lupine state, with the intelligence of a man, the ferocity of a wolf, and the irresistible strength of a demon. Antiquity believed in the existence of such persons; in the Middle Ages such a metamorphosis was supposed to be a phenomenon of daily occurrence; and even at the present day, in secluded portions of Europe, the peasants still cherish the superstition. The belief, moreover, is supported by a vast amount of evidence, which can neither be argued nor pooh-poohed into insignificance. The business of the comparative mythologist is to trace the pedigree of the ideas from which such a conception may have sprung. The business of the critical historian is to ascertain and classify the actual facts which this particular conception was used to interpret.

In the first place, Mr. Baring-Gould shows that we have a true were-wolf myth, — that in early Aryan physics the black storm-cloud, or Râkshasas, was explained as a great bristle-haired wolf, just as the lightning was explained as a darting serpent, and the fleecy clouds as gently gliding swan-maidens, apsaras, Valkyries, or Houris. The conception of the were-wolf had, therefore, the same kind of origin as the conception of the mermaid, Melusina, or Undine; and, in view of this, perhaps, we hardly need to call to our aid the doctrine of metempsychosis, except as an additional illustration of the community of nature which in antiquity was supposed to hold between men and brutes.

In the second place, we find that a were-wolf was commonly called a "skin-changer" (*versipellis*). The mediæval theory was, that, while the were-wolf kept his human form, his hair grew inwards; when he wished to become a wolf, he simply turned himself inside out. In many trials on record, the prisoners were closely interrogated as to how this inversion might be accomplished; but we are not aware that any one of them ever gave a satisfactory answer. At the moment of change their memories seem to have become temporarily befogged. An older theory was, that the possessed person had merely to put on a

wolf's skin, in order to assume instantly the lupine form and character. It is impossible to avoid seeing in this a reminiscence of the fact that the old Berserkers were in the habit of haunting the woods by night, clothed in the hides of wolves or bears.

Such being the genesis of the idea, we may next point out the facts which gave to it concrete reality, and made it one of the most horrible of superstitions. The first of these facts is the Berserker insanity characteristic of Scandinavia, but by no means unknown in other countries. In the times when killing one's enemies often formed a part of the necessary business of life, persons were frequently found who killed for the mere love of the thing,—with whom slaughter was an end desirable in itself, not merely a means to a desirable end. What the miser is in an age which worships Mammon, such was the Beserker in an age when the current idea of heaven was of a place where people could hack each other to pieces through all eternity, and when the man who refused a challenge was punished with confiscation of his estates. With these Northmen, in the ninth century, the chief business and amusement in life was to set sail for some pleasant country, like Spain or France, and make all the coasts and navigable rivers hideous with rapine and massacre. When at home, in the intervals between their freebooting expeditions, they were liable to become possessed by a strange homicidal madness, during which they would array themselves in wolf-skins and sally forth by night to snap the backbones, smash the skulls, and sometimes to drink, with fiendish glee, the blood of unwary travellers or loiterers. These fits of madness were usually followed by great exhaustion and nervous depression.

Such was the celebrated "Berserker rage," not peculiar to Norseland, although there most conspicuously manifested. Taking now a step in advance, we find that there have been many cases, in comparatively civilized countries, of monstrous homicidal insanity. The two most celebrated cases are those of the Maréchal de Retz, in 1440, and of Elizabeth, a Hungarian countess, in the seventeenth century. The Countess Elizabeth enticed young girls into her palace on divers pretexts, and then coolly murdered them, for the purpose of bathing in their blood. The spectacle of human suffering became at last such a delight to her that she would apply with her own hands the most excruciating tortures, relishing the shrieks of her victims as the epicure relishes each sip of his old *Château Margaux*. In this way she is said to have murdered six hundred and fifty persons before her evil career was brought to an end. But the case of the Maréchal de Retz is still more frightful. A marshal of France, a scholarly man, a patriot, and a man of holy life, he became suddenly possessed by an uncontrollable

desire to murder children. During seven years he continued to inveigle little boys and girls into his castle, at the rate of about two each week, and then put them to death in various ways, that he might witness their agony and bathe in their blood, — experiencing after each occasion the most dreadful remorse, but led on by an irresistible craving to repeat the crime. When this unparalleled iniquity was finally brought to light, the castle was found to contain bins full of children's bones. The horrible details of the trial are to be found in this "Book of Were-Wolves," and in the works of Michelet and Martin.

Going a step farther, we find cases in which the propensity to murder has been accompanied by cannibalism. On the 14th of December, 1598, a tailor of Châlons was sentenced by the Parliament of Paris to be burned alive for lycanthropy.

"This wretched man had decoyed children into his shop, or attacked them in the gloaming, when they strayed in the woods, had torn them with his teeth, and killed them, after which he seems calmly to have dressed their flesh as ordinary meat, and to have eaten it with great relish. The number of little innocents whom he destroyed is unknown. A whole cask full of bones was discovered in his house."— p. 81.

About 1850 a beggar in the village of Polomyia, in Galicia, was proved to have killed and eaten fourteen children. And there are many other instances.

Finally, there have been a great many cases in which the homicidal and cannibal craving has been accompanied by genuine hallucination, in which the miserable wretches have actually supposed themselves to be wolves or other wild animals. The details collected in Mr. Baring-Gould's book leave no doubt on this point; and here, at last, the lycanthropy is complete. With all these data at our command, the belief in were-wolves is quite adequately accounted for; and we see how curiously myth and reality have co-operated in originating and keeping alive the superstition.

Many persons would undoubtedly find this "Book of Were-Wolves" too horrible to read. But, horrible as it is, its value and interest as a study of some of the obscurer phenomena of human life are not to be denied; and we are, on the whole, too grateful to Mr. Baring-Gould for having treated the subject at all, to be very much disposed to complain of him for not having treated it more systematically.

15. — *France under Richelieu and Colbert.* By J. H. Bridges, M. B. Edinburgh, 1866. 8vo. pp. 201.

We call attention to this little book as one in all respects worthy to be republished in this country. It is not only an exceptionally profound and scientific essay, but it is written in a style at once noble and attractive, and the philosophy contained in it is one which the American people for some time to come cannot study too attentively.

The period of history here treated of has been already ably discussed, at some length, by Mr. Buckle. Nothing, certainly, can be more effective in its way than that portion of the "History of Civilization" which is devoted to Richelieu and Descartes. But all Mr. Buckle's conclusions were far too much influenced by the course of English politics during the last forty years. His work is too much the product of an emancipating school of thought; and it constantly attaches more value to the destructive than to the constructive functions of science and statesmanship. But when it has been elaborately shown how Richelieu, carrying out a line of policy initiated by the great and ill-understood Louis XI., broke the power of the nobles and humbled the clergy, and how Descartes, by his bold dissent from the scholastic philosophy, stimulated the sceptical spirit all over Europe,— when all this has been shown, we have still but half the story about either of these great men. We wish to know, not only what they undid, but what they did. It is to the constructive portion of their labors that Dr. Bridges has more especially devoted himself; and his work is certainly far more philosophical and satisfactory than the portion of Mr. Buckle's work which we have referred to by way of comparison. The policy of that much abused statesman, Richelieu, he exhibits in its true grandeur. He shows conclusively that the system inaugurated by Henry IV., and carried on by Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert, was a system requiring stable peace abroad and an industrial development at home, — and that the careers of Louis XIV., after he gave himself up to the dominion of Louvois and the Jesuits, and of Napoleon I., after he attained supreme power, were flagitious and eminently disastrous departures from this wise policy. But we have not space at present to discuss either the merits or the defects of the book, which throws new light upon a vast number of incidental topics, but still leaves one with the feeling that the subject is not even yet quite exhausted. As we observed above, it ought speedily to be reproduced in this country.

16. — *Passages from the American Note-Books of* NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1868. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 222, 228.

A REMARKABLE man has the privilege of being remarkable from all points of view, and what he was becomes at last even more interesting to us than what he did. Can we surprise his secret? But the genius, the very thing that so exasperates our curiosity, baffles it at every turn. Has he not forgotten to plug the keyhole of his laboratory? We peep, breathless with expectation. Yes, we shall catch him now! We shall find out what that last ingredient is which he puts into his crucible at the moment of projection, that *materia prima*, the *mother* that shall turn all these bits of lead and old nails he has been gathering so long into gold. Alas! at the critical moment it always turns out that his *back* is towards us, and his whole opaque personality thrust between us and what he is doing. How many eyes have strained themselves into a present impossibility of seeing at some loophole of Shakespeare's closet! He seems entirely unconscious, he is forever just going to betray himself, and he never does.

These volumes are a sort of inventory of the stores of baser metal which Hawthorne had collected, and which he alone could have transmuted in that slow and never-dying fire of his. They are very interesting, in the same way that Montaigne's Essays are, — not more for their intrinsic value than for the glimpses of temperament they give us, of the medium through which the genius had to work its way into sight, and from which it took its peculiar color in passing. Hawthorne, with all his limitations, — and they spring into one's eyes, as the French say, — was the most profoundly artistic genius of these latter days. Through a generation wallowing with complacent self-satisfaction in realism, he bore unstained his loyalty to the orthodox creed of the ideal in art. Add a little to him, and he would have been the greatest poet since Shakespeare; take away a little, and he would have been a writer of emblems. Fortunately, his moral sense was too deeply interfused with his whole being to be pacified with mere moralities; and while it seems always on the point of wholly absorbing him, and did make him one-sided, it is qualified and distracted by an eye for the picturesque in man and Nature as sensitive and retinent of impressions as the prepared leaf of the photographer. No imagination since Donne's has so loved to work downward among the dark roots of things; and he would have been lost in metaphysics, but for this necessity he was under of refreshing himself with sunshine and the society of men. The continual presence of imagination, turning everything to symbol,

is one of the most striking revelations of this book. Sombre this mind surely is, but not morbid. Everything that enters it suffers a change into something strange, if not rich. It refracts the rays from outward objects at a different angle from the common one. Hawthorne stands more oddly apart from the world as mere spectator than almost any other man of creative genius with whose work we are familiar. This was in one sense a defect. His characters are apt to be types; his imagination does not enter into them and make them live through sympathy, as those of Shakespeare and Cervantes and Sterne do, (for it is only with the great masters that he is to be compared,) and the consequence is a certain lack of warmth and color. But, on the other hand, this coolness of observation, which in a nature less largely endowed would have become cynicism, gave him a perfectly unimpassioned insight into the less obvious springs of human action. No eye ever plunged deeper into the shadowy recesses of man's conscience than his who conceived that midnight penance of Dimmesdale.

As we trace him through these volumes, he seems to have passed through life like a gondola through a Venetian carnival. Dark and refusing itself to all curiosity, the eye within can take note of all that passes. A very sad note-book, in some respects, this surely is; but who ever found the study of life a cheerful one? What thoughtful mind was ever other than saddened by self-contemplation, a habit to which Hawthorne was, it may be, over-addicted? To us there is something mournfully suggestive in this entry, early in the first volume. He is studying the people about him at the "Maverick House," where he chances to be. "One, very fashionable in appearance, with a handsome cane, happened to stop by me and lift up his foot, *and I noticed that the sole of his boot* (*which was exquisitely polished*) *was all worn out.*" Or take this, a few pages farther on: "*The world is so sad and solemn, that things meant in jest are liable, by an overpowering influence, to become dreadful earnest, — gayly dressed fantasies turning to ghostly and black-clad images of themselves.*" Hawthorne always saw that worn-out boot-sole that was not meant to be seen. His humor is that of the melancholy Jaques, ever on the watch and never entering into the fun. It is the humor of analysis, and not of sympathy. Whenever he attempted a humorous character, he failed, and failed disastrously, as he was himself perfectly conscious. His imagination did not so much accompany as haunt him. We remember his saying once, that he hated to live in an old house, his fancy was so disturbed by the wraiths of its former occupants. But this is no place for an analysis of so complex and subtile a character as his. Specially interesting to us is the proof these volumes give, that, in spite of that remoteness from ordinary

life which is so noticeable in his works, he was, like all great artists, a close and faithful student of Nature. And yet the abiding impression they leave upon the mind is a sad one. He, more than most,

> "Saw all things
> Beneath him, and had learned this book of man
> Full of the notes of frailty, and compared
> The best of glory with her sufferings:
> Knowing the heart of man is set to be
> The centre of this world, about the which
> These revolutions of disturbances
> Still roll, where all the aspects of misery
> Predominate, whose strong effects are such
> *As he must bear, being powerless to redress.*"

This now "sacred and happy spirit" was cruelly misunderstood among men. There were those who would have taken him away from his proper and peculiar sphere, in which he has done more for the true fame of his country than any other man, and made him a politician and reformer. Even the faithfulness of his friendships was turned into a reproach. Him in whom New England was embodied as never before, making a part of every fibre of his soul, we heard charged with want of patriotism. There were certain things and certain men with whom his essentially aristocratic nature could not sympathize, but he was American to the core. Just after Bull Run he wrote to a friend: "If the event of this day have left the people of the North in the same grim and bloody mood in which it has left me, it will be a costly victory to the South." But it is unworthy of this noble man to defend him from imputations which never touched him. As the years go by, his countrymen will grow more and more proud of him, more and more satisfied that it is, after all, something considerable to be *only* a genius.

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17. — *No Love Lost. A Romance of Travel.* By W. D. Howells, Author of "Venetian Life," etc. New York: G. P. Putnam & Son. 1869. Small 4to. pp. 58.

We have more than once had occasion to say how highly we valued the qualities of Mr. Howells as a writer of prose. Of all our writers, he and Mr. Curtis most have that pleasant gift of being easy without being inelegant which is the immortal charm of Goldsmith. That we should all be born with the right to be natural, and all part with it so early for one mess of pottage or other! There are but two beatitudes in literature, — the having something to say, and knowing how it should be said.

That knowing old master, whose distillation of the flower of Greek culture has given color and flavor to all modern criticism, tells us

> "Non satis pulchra esse poëmata; dulcia sunto,
> Et quocunque volent animum auditoris agunto."

It is odd that he should not only have alliterated, but rhymed his couplet, as if to make the sound answer to the sense; though we confess that to our barbarian ear the meaning is better than the music. The awful question hovers on our lips, Would the Latins have rhymed, if they could? The ghosts of departed pedants shriek faintly (τεττίγεσσιν ἐοικότες) and tear their honored wings as we utter it. However it may have been, Mr. Howells has chosen to yield his privilege as a modern, and to write his poem in unrhymed hexameters. But he obeys the Horatian precept in being always entertaining. This secret, commonly one of the last an author attains to, Mr. Howells seems indeed to have learned without the usual apprenticeship, by one of those private arrangements which the Muse connives at in her favorites. And let no one think it such a simple affair either. It is a *segreto a voces*, to be sure, that is cried aloud at the corners of the streets by a certain lady, who gets no more heed than an oyster-wench. But for all that, only the elect find it out. No, it is easy to be wise, heavy, instructive, obscure, profound, moral, eloquent, and whatever one should not be in the literature of entertainment, but it is wonderfully hard to be light and agreeable. It is like the tone of good society. Without it, a man may have all the cardinal virtues, but they are nothing to the purpose. When we say, then, that Mr. Howells interests and amuses us, we mean to pay him a very high compliment indeed. The poem before us is one that refined people will like to read. It is graceful, fluent, gleaming with that pleasant humor natural to Mr. Howells, and rises once or twice to a fervor as near passion as is in keeping with the lower tone of narrative poetry. In short, it is all it pretends to be, which is as much as to say that it is artistic, — a great merit in these days.

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18. — *Lecture on the Uses of the Study of History.* Printed for the Class Committee. Cambridge. 1868. 8vo. pp. 32.

We feel almost as if we were committing an indiscretion in noticing at all a pamphlet printed as manuscript. But we have been so much struck both with the matter and the tone of this lecture as to be tempted into thus publicly saying how desirable we think it that a larger circle should share in the pleasure and instruction we have ourselves enjoyed.

While we are debating whether our oldest college is doing all it might to modernize its methods of teaching, it is gratifying to be thus convinced that one course of study, and one leading, perhaps, to as solid results as any, is under such competent guidance. The soundness of thought, the cautiousness of statement, and the breadth of view which characterize this academical discourse, are in themselves the most pithy demonstration of the uses of the special science it illustrates. If the atmosphere of the past does nothing more than produce the ripe suavity of mind and firmness of judgment which we find in these pages, it must indeed be healthful, and we can think of a good many patients who would be benefited by breathing it from time to time. Professor Torrey enforces with the clear succinctness of practised thought the advantage which men of this and the other calling may find in the study of history. But there is none of the easy generalization of the smatterer. He also defines clearly the limitations to which every well-considered statement of doctrine is subject. Indeed, his treatment of a topic where a little partiality would be pardonable is another proof, if any were wanting, that fairness of mind is not the least valuable result of thorough culture. To show the friendly and even helpful relation of one study to all the rest, as it is done here, is an excellent service to young men about to enter upon professions where they will run the risk of being narrowed into specialists. We are glad to hear that Mr. Torrey is to deliver a course of public lectures in Baltimore. We wish he could oftener overcome the modesty which has hitherto confined his great powers and attainments to the duties of his chair, and the appreciation of friends. We cannot leave the lecture without saying that the style is in keeping with the substance, clear, idiomatic, pointed, — in short, English.

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19. — *Life and Letters of* Wilder Dwight, *Lieut.-Col. Second Mass. Inf. Vols.* Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1868. 8vo. pp. 351.

If the value of a life were to be estimated by its events and not by its spirit, if its success were in what it had accomplished rather than in what it was, then the biography of a young man killed in battle at thirty, with only a single year's share in that larger existence which impinges upon history, would seem one of the most fruitless of human undertakings. And yet to die for one's country as this youth did, with a clear understanding of what it was he gave his life for, and to do it before one had otherwise made that mark on the world which he might fairly expect to make, "to cease and make no noise," may be fairly reckoned among the highest kinds of success; for it was nothing less

than that most splendid of human achievements, the sacrificing of the seen and calculable to the unseen and incalculable, the recognition of the ideal as infinitely more real than the actual. The lesson is of all the more value in this instance that we see in Wilder Dwight a singular practical efficiency, sure of making its way in any career upon which it might have entered.

Governor Andrew once said, that there was not a family that had been in Massachusetts two hundred years that did not hold a commission in her volunteers, and not one that had disgraced itself. Colonel Dwight was a good example of this. Of the best blood in New England, (and there is none better,) he showed the best qualities of the stock from which he sprang. Thoughtful, courageous, and with the high-minded devotion that comes of culture and reflection, he was a fitting example of the sacrifices which have left so many Northern households proudly desolate. It would be well, if this biography could be reprinted in some cheaper and more popular form; for it would do more in shaping the lives of our youth to magnanimous ends than a wilderness of tracts. His was a religion of the quiet kind, that makes no show, but *tells*.

The life is mainly told by extracts from young Dwight's journals and letters. This has been done with singular discretion by his mother. It would be an intrusion on the sacredness of her grief to say more than that she has had the firmness not to let her private sorrow intrude upon a narrative pathetic enough in its own grave simplicity.

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20.—1. *Kathrina; her Life and mine, in a Poem.* By J. G. Holland. Illustrations by W. J. Hennessy and C. C. Griswold. Engraved by W. J. Linton. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1869.

2. *Locksley Hall.* By Alfred Tennyson. Illustrations by W. J. Hennessy. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1868.

3. *A Christmas Carol.* By Charles Dickens. Illustrations by S. Eytinge. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1868.

4. *The Flower and the Star, and other Stories for Children.* Written and illustrated by W. J. Linton. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1868.

5. *Sketches Abroad, with Pen and Pencil.* By Felix O. C. Darley. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1868.

It might, perhaps, be a matter of question, whether the very name of "gift" books does not place them under protection of the proverb which guards gift horses. If bought by many people and given to many people, they might be said to have satisfied the ends for which they were

created. Born of the necessities of a market, and usually meant for rapid sale, they should not be criticised, perhaps, as severely as works independent of the season of the year for success, and which have the right of appeal from momentary to final judgment.

Still, it is evident that a reference to some higher standard is advisable in most cases, were it merely to recall the feeling which lies latent within the purpose of any gift, namely, that it should be worthy of acceptance. Hence it has always seemed eminently fitting that some fruit of the life of the artist, some expression of the patience of his hand, which has less a real than an imaginary or spiritual value, should be given as a symbol of the most beautiful of human sentiments, — good-will and love. Such an idea we can merely refer to; to insist upon it might lead us too far from an examination of the actual merits of the books before us.

A new edition of "Kathrina," by J. G. Holland, is the principal of our illustrated gift-books, in respect to the costliness of what is called "the getting up." It contains over sixty drawings, by Messrs. Hennessy and Griswold, engraved by Mr. W. J. Linton with his usual felicity. Notwithstanding the care given to the preparation of this book, there is but one, perhaps, on our list which exemplifies more completely the difficulty of serious criticism in such cases. Thirty or forty thousand copies have been sold, and it is useless to say anything of the text, except that it may have affected the inspiration of the artists. Binding, paper, and printing are satisfactory. With the illustrations begins the antagonism between commercial necessities and the predilections or talents of the illustrators. Three artists of graceful ability combine their several powers to produce an irreproachable gift-book, perhaps, but a nullity in art. The draughtsmen are not urged to do their best, but to keep as much as possible within the narrowest range of their capacities, and the engraver's talent has been asked to spread an equal veil over qualities and deficiencies. A dozen or more careful drawings, made with all Mr. Hennessy's refinement and all Mr. Griswold's care, might have been given us; instead of which, the stuff sufficient for a few has been spread over sixty. We make no separate criticism of defects, errors of form and of taste, bad drawing of the figures, deficiencies of perspective: all these might be constantly present, and yet the drawings have vitality; nay, drawings with such defects might yet belong to high types of art. We merely complain of the thinness of the stuff. Some pretty things, however, will be found in the book: head and tail pieces by Mr. Hennessy, fields of cloud, crests of waves, bats sailing through the night, figures crouched within the square of small wood-cuts, or, as on page 16, a delicate expression

of sorrow nicely rendered, and on page 144 a night effect drawn with much sentiment. Mr. Griswold, also, has some pleasant drawings. Were these all, how agreeable the book might be!

Of Tennyson's "Locksley Hall," with illustrations by Mr. Hennessy, published by Messrs. Fields and Osgood, we had better say nothing, unless that it is a cheaper book than "Kathrina."

More successful illustrations are those of the "Christmas Carol," by Mr. Eytinge. An admirably even printing sets off these drawings, in which the artist's usual humor and observation have been inwoven with much feeling and fancy.

It is a pleasure to refer to Mr. Linton's charming little story-book; but then he has had the inestimable advantage of making his own book, — text, drawings, and engravings.

Mr. Darley has been so undisturbed in his position, that there is danger of an undue depreciation of his qualities when the tide of popular favor turns. It will be well then to have borne witness to the intelligence and briskness of his drawing, and to the felicity with which his means have been suited to his ends. His best points can all be seen in his last drawings, engraved under the title of "Sketches Abroad"; nor should we, perhaps, ask for anything further. *Mecum omnia porto* might be the motto of the book. He has carried all his well-known types with him to Europe, sketched them there in different, but life-fitting clothes, brought them back, and we welcome again our old friends of the Northern and Southern States. Among the unforeseen characters, however, one has been delicately noted by his pencil, that of the Parisian *Sergent de Ville*, who watches the beginning of one of the chapters. The printing, by Messrs. Hurd and Houghton we suppose, is far superior to that of their darker wood-cuts, which they do not seem able to manage.

On looking back on our attempts at the illustration of books, their inferiority is manifest, when tried by even an ordinary standard of comparison. Any of the English illustrated periodicals offers a number of well-considered, well-drawn, and sometimes admirable designs. Nor are all these the work of men possessing extraordinary original talent. Many of the draughtsmen have slowly, but always with painstaking, attained their present healthy faculty. The fact is, that the increasing power of English artists, and the more general cultivation of the public mind, have obtained representation in these forms of art, and so thoroughly as to make the English designers rival, if not surpass, the English painters and sculptors. The blame which attaches to us is that a similar heightening of the level of art in America has made as yet little or no mark in our books.

21. — *Literary and Social Judgments.* By W. R. Greg. London: Trübner & Co. 1868. 8vo. pp. 499.

After a rather long silence, the able author of "The Creed of Christendom" again addresses the public in this volume of "Literary and Social Judgments," a collection of reviews which he has for several years been contributing to the periodical press. In this very entertaining and suggestive volume there is some Puritanism, — relieved by an occasional tendency to deal very irreverently with some of the Puritanical standards of morality, — some platitude, and some tediousness; but, withal, a great deal of good sense, good humor, and good reasoning. There is an essay upon Châteaubriand, which is probably the best analysis of the character of that arch-charlatan which has yet appeared in English: this, by the way, is not so high praise as it deserves. In a paper entitled "Truth *vs.* Edification," Mr. Matthew Arnold gets a well-deserved drubbing for his superficial treatment of Colenso. Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Kingsley are compared in an article which would be very satisfactory, were it not that by merely instituting such a comparison it insults Mr. Carlyle beyond all possibility of reparation. Modern French novelists are unsparingly, and for the most part effectively, denounced; although here may be seen a little of the pious horror of an Englishman at the doings of his pagan neighbors across the Manche. "The False Morality of Lady Novelists" is in some respects the best paper in the book, and is decidedly unpuritanical and anti-conventional in its tone. Madame de Staël's admirers — and we believe there are some of them left — will enjoy the sixty pages devoted to her talents and troubles. The comparison of Tocqueville, as a political writer, to Machiavelli, may be pardoned, since it appears to have been suggested by feelings of personal admiration. For the "redundancy of women" an ingenious legislative cure is elaborately suggested; and the genuine original Abolitionist may be edified, if not wholly pleased, by the essay on the "Doom of the Negro Race." But, on the whole, the best article in the book — the one which comes nearest to being profound — is the one which shows that we Americans and English have not yet found the true *summum bonum* in giving up our best energies to "getting on in life."

## LIST OF SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its Causes and its Results. By Edward A. Freeman, M. A. Vol. II. The Reign of Edward the Confessor. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1868. 8vo. pp. 651.

2. The Student's Scripture History. The New Testament History, with an Introduction connecting the History of the Old and New Testaments. Edited by William Smith, D. D. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 12mo. pp. 780.

3. A New Practical Hebrew Grammar, with Exercises, and a Hebrew Chrestomathy. By Solomon Deutsch, A. M., Ph. D. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1868. 8vo. pp. 268.

4. Familiar Quotations: being an Attempt to trace to their Source Passages and Phrases in Common Use. By John Bartlett. Fifth Edition. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1868. 12mo. pp. 778.

5. Essays, Philosophical and Theological. By James Martineau. Vol. II. Boston: William V. Spencer. 1868. 12mo. pp. 430.

6. Problems of the Age; with Studies in St. Augustine, on Kindred Topics. By the Rev. Augustus F. Hewit, of the Congregation of St. Paul. New York: The Catholic Publication House. 1868. 12mo. pp. 443.

7. Miscellaneous Prose Works. By Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 12mo. 2 Vols. pp. 425, 368.

8. History of the American Civil War. By John W. Draper, M. D., LL. D. In Three Volumes. Vol. II. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 8vo. pp. 614.

9. The Works of Charles Dickens. Complete in Six Volumes. With Illustrations by George Cruikshank, John Leech, and H. K. Browne. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868. 12mo.

10. The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns; with Explanatory and Glossarial Notes, and a Life of the Author by James Currie, M. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868. 12mo. pp. 612.

11. The Waverley Novels. By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. To be completed in 25 Vols. at 25 Cents each. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868. 12mo.

12. A Popular Treatise on the Art of House-Painting: Plain and Decorative. Showing the Nature, Composition, and Mode of Production of Paints and Painters' Colors, and their Proper and Harmonious Combination and Arrangement. By John W. Masury. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868. 12mo. pp. 216.

13. First Principles of Popular Education and Public Instruction. By S. S. Randall, Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of New York. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 12mo. pp. 256.

14. A Hand-Book of Politics for 1868. By Edward McPherson, LL. D., Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States. Washington: Philp and Solomons. 1868. 8vo. pp. 387.

15. The History of a Mouthful of Bread; and its Effect on the Organization of Men and Animals. By Jean Macé. Translated from the Eighth

French Edition by Mrs. Alfred Gatty. First American Edition, reprinted from the Above, carefully revised, and compared with the Tenth French Edition. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 12mo. pp. 395.

16. The Servants of the Stomach. By Jean Macé. Reprinted from the London Translation, revised and corrected. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 12mo. pp. 311.

17. History of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. By John Foster Kirk. Vol. III. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1868. 8vo. pp. 555.

18. Italy, Rome, and Naples. From the French of Henri Taine. By John Durand. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1868. 8vo. pp. 356.

19. The Modern Representations of the Life of Jesus. Four Discourses, delivered before the Evangelical Union at Hanover, Germany, by Dr. Gerhard Uhlhorn, First Preacher to the Court. Translated from the Third German Edition. By Charles E. Grinnell. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1868. 12mo. pp. 164.

20. The American Annual Cyclopædia, and Register of Important Events of the Year 1867. Embracing Political, Civil, Military, and Social Affairs; Public Documents; Biography, Statistics, Commerce, Finance, Literature, Science, Agriculture, and Mechanical Industry. Vol. VII. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868. 8vo. pp. 799.

21. An Introduction to the Constitutional Law of the United States. Especially designed for Students, General and Professional. By John Norton Pomeroy, LL. D., Dean of the Law School, and Griswold Professor of Political Science in the University of New York. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1868. 8vo. pp. 549.

22. The Spanish Conquest in America, and its Relation to the History of Slavery, and to the Government of Colonies. By Arthur Helps. Vol. IV. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 12mo. pp. 456.

23. Annual Report of the Director of the Bureau of Statistics on the Commerce and Navigation of the United States, for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1867. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1868. 8vo. pp. 714.

24. Chambers's Encyclopædia. A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People. On the Basis of the Latest Edition of the German Conversations-Lexicon. Illustrated by Wood Engravings, and Maps. Parts 130 and 131. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1868. 8vo. pp. 164 each.

25. The Calamities and Quarrels of Authors. By Isaac Disraeli. Edited by his Son, the Right Hon. B. Disraeli. New York: W. J. Widdleton. 1868. 2 Vols. 12mo. pp. 349, 411.

26. The Life of George Stephenson, and of his Son, Robert Stephenson; comprising also a History of the Invention and Introduction of the Railway Locomotive. By Samuel Smiles. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 8vo. pp. 501.

27. The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, based on Contemporary Documents preserved in the Rolls House, the Privy Council Office, the British Museum, and other Manuscript Repositories, British and Foreign. Together with his Letters; now first collected. By Edward Edwards. London: Macmillan & Co. 1868. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 723, 530.

28. Appleton's Juvenile Annual for 1869. With Numerous Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 382.

29. Wood-Side and Sea-Side illustrated by Pen and Pencil. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 4to. pp. 96.

30. The Literary Character: or the History of Men of Genius, drawn from their own Feelings and Confessions. By Isaac Disraeli. Edited by his Son, the Right Hon. B. Disraeli. New York: W. J. Widdleton. 1868. 12mo. pp. 592.

31. The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, from the Death of Bishop Seabury to the Present Time. By E. Edwards Beardsley, D. D., Rector of St. Thomas's Church, New Haven. Vol. II. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1868. 8vo. pp. 465.

32. Mental Science: A Compendium of Psychology, and the History of Philosophy. Designed as a Text-Book for High Schools and Colleges. By Alexander Bain, M. A., Professor of Logic and Mental Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868. 12mo. pp. 527.

33. The Economy of the Animal Kingdom, considered anatomically, physically, and philosophically. By Emanuel Swedenborg. Translated from the Latin by the Rev. Augustus Clissold, M. A. Boston: T. H. Carter and Sons. 1868. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 564, 432.

34. Resources of the Pacific Slope. A Statistical and Descriptive Summary of the Mines, Minerals, Climate, Topography, Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, and Miscellaneous Productions of the States and Territories west of the Rocky Mountains, with a Sketch of the Settlement and Exploration of Lower California. By J. Ross Browne, aided by a Corps of Assistants. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 8vo. pp. 878.

35. Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by the Rev. John M'Clintock, D. D., and James Strong, S. T. D. Vol II. C–D. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 8vo. pp. 933.

36. Proceedings of the Fourth Anniversary of the University Convocation of the State of New York, held August 6, 7, and 8, 1867. Albany: Charles Van Benthuysen and Sons, Printers. 1868. 8vo. pp. 143.

37. Mildred. A Novel. By Georgiana M. Craik. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 8vo. pp. 121.

38. The Instrument of Association: A Manual of Currency. By George A. Potter. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1868. 12mo. pp. 131.

39. The Invasion of the Crimea; its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By Alexander William Kinglake. Vol. II. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 12mo. pp. 632.

40. Religion and the Reign of Terror; or the Church during the French Revolution. Prepared from the French of M. Edward de Pressensé. By Rev. John D. Lacroix, A. M. New York: Carlton and Lanahan. 1869. 12mo. pp. 416.

41. The Gates Ajar. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 248.

42. The Tragedian; an Essay on the Histrionic Genius of Junius Brutus

Booth. By Thomas R. Gould. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1868. 12mo. pp. 190.

43. Dotty Dimple out West. By Sophie May, Author of Little Prudy Stories. Illustrated. Boston: Lee and Shepard. 1869. 16mo. pp. 171.

44. Speeches of Hon. W. Y. Gholson, on the Payment of the Principal of the Public Debt of the United States, and on the Reconstruction of the Southern States. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1868. 8vo. pp. 20.

45. Beginning German. Lessons introductory to the Study of the German Language, with a Vocabulary, Select Phrases for Conversation, and Reading Lessons. By Dr. Emil Otto. First American Edition. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1869. 12mo. pp. 213.

46. The Bramleighs of Bishop's Folly. A Novel. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 8vo. pp. 183.

47. Adventures in the Apache Country; a Tour through Arizona and Sonora, with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada. By J. Ross Browne. Illustrated by the Author. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1869. 12mo. pp. 535.

48. American Edition of Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible. Revised and edited by Prof. H. B. Hackett, D. D., with the Co-operation of Ezra Abbot, A. M., Assistant Librarian of Harvard University. Two Parts. Je – Jo, Jo – Ki. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1868. 8vo. pp. 112 each.

49. The Ideal in Art. By H. Taine. Translated by J. Durand. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1869. 12mo. pp. 186.

50. La Géographie du Talmud. Mémoire couronné par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Par Adolphe Neubauer. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères. 1868. 8vo. pp. 468.

51. A Memoir of Sir Edmund Andros, Knt. With a Portrait. By William Henry Whitmore, A. M. Boston: Printed by T. R. Marvin and Son. 1868. 4to. pp. 50.

52. Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1764. With Preface by Francis Parkman, and a Translation of Dumas's Biographical Sketch of General Bouquet. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1868. 8vo. pp. 162.

53. Hall's Alphabet of Geology: with Suggestions on the Relation of Rocks to Soil. By S. R. Hall, LL.D. With Illustrations. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1868. 12mo. pp. 196.

54. A Treatise on Physiology and Hygiene. For Schools, Families, and Colleges. By J. C. Dalton, M. D. With Illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 12mo. pp. 399.

55. The Seaboard Parish. A Sequel to "Annals of a Quiet Neighborhood." By George MacDonald, LL. D. New York: George Routledge and Sons. 1868. 12mo. pp. 624.

56. Marryat's Popular Novels. In Twelve Volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868. 12mo.

57. Hillsboro' Farms. By Sophia Dickinson Cobb. Boston: Lee and Shepard. 1869. 12mo. pp. 423.

58. New Guide to German Conversation, with a Synopsis of German Grammar. Arranged by L. Pylodet. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1868. 12mo. pp. 274.

59. The Child Wife: A Tale of the Two Worlds. By Captain Mayne Reid. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 402.

60. Isaiah: with Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Practical. By Rev. Henry Cowles, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 552.

61. Changing Base; or what Edward Rice learnt at School. By William Everett. Illustrated. Boston: Lee and Shepard. 1868. 12mo. pp. 282.

62. A Thousand Miles' Walk across South America. By Nathaniel H. Bishop. With an Introduction by Edward A. Samuels, Esq. Boston: Lee and Shepard. 1869. 12mo. pp. 310.

63. Seeds and Sheaves: or Words of Scripture; their History and Fruits. By A. C. Thompson, D. D. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1869. 12mo. pp. 323.

64. Home Stories. By Mrs. Alice B. Haven ("Cousin Alice"). New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 372.

65. If, Yes, and Perhaps. Four Possibilities and Six Exaggerations, with some Bits of Fact. By Edward E. Hale. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1868. 12mo. pp. 296.

66. The Uncommercial Traveller, and Additional Christmas Stories. By Charles Dickens. With Eight Illustrations. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 316.

67. Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions. By Edward Everett. Vol. IV. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1868. 8vo. pp. 788.

68. Sermons. By Henry Ward Beecher, Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. Selected from Published and Unpublished Discourses, and revised by their Author. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 484, 486.

69. Cameos from English History, from Rollo to Edward II. By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 475.

70. A Personal History of Ulysses S. Grant. Illustrated by Twenty-six Engravings and Six Maps. By Albert D. Richardson. Hartford: American Publishing Company. 1868. 8vo. pp. 560.

71. American Fish Culture, embracing all the Details of Artificial Breeding and Rearing of Trout, the Culture of Salmon, Shad, and other Fishes. By Thaddeus Norris. Illustrated. Philadelphia: Porter and Coates. 1868. 12mo. pp. 304.

72. The Civil Service. Report of Mr. Jenckes, of Rhode Island, from the Joint Select Committee on Retrenchment, made to the House of Representatives of the United States, May 14, 1868. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1868. 8vo. pp. 273.

73. British Sports and Pastimes. Edited by Anthony Trollope. London: Virtue & Co. New York: Virtue and Yorston. 1868. 12mo. pp. 322.

74. Madame de Beaupré. By Mrs. C. Jenkin. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1869. 12mo. pp. 278.

75. The Occupations of a Retired Life. By Edward Garrett. New York: George Routledge and Sons. 1868. 12mo. pp. 472.

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# NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCXXIII.

APRIL, 1869.

ART. I. — 1. *The Mather Papers. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* Vol. VIII. Fourth Series. Boston: Wiggin and Lunt. 1868. 8vo.

2. *Salem Witchcraft; with an Account of Salem Village, and a History of Opinions on Witchcraft and Kindred Subjects.* By CHARLES W. UPHAM. Boston: Wiggin and Lunt. 1867. 2 vols. 8vo.

3. *The New England Tragedies.* I. *John Endicott.* II. *Giles Corey of the Salem Farms.* By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1868. 12mo.

4. *The New England Tragedies in Prose.* I. *The Coming of the Quakers.* II. *The Witchcraft Delusion.* By ROWLAND H. ALLEN. Boston: Nichols and Noyes. 1869. 12mo.

5. *The Edinburgh Review*, July, 1868. No. CCLXI. Art. I. *Salem Witchcraft.*

NEARLY two centuries have passed away since the saddest tragedy of early New England history was enacted at Salem and Salem Village. Instead of fading out from the memory of men, the incidents of Salem Witchcraft are receiving more attention to-day than at any former period. The fact of its being the last great exhibition of a superstition which had cursed humanity for thousands of years, and that every incident connected with it has been preserved in the form of record, deposition, or narrative, imparts to it a peculiar interest, and one which will be permanent. It is not as a record of

horrors, but as a field of psychological study, that the subject will retain its hold on the minds of men. More victims than suffered at Salem were hurried to the gallows by witchcraft, year after year, in a single county of England, during the seventeenth century; but the details of English trials, then so common, were generally not thought worth preserving. Probably as much authentic and reliable information respecting the Salem proceedings is extant as of the trials of the thirty thousand victims who suffered from the same cause in England. How did the Salem delusion originate? Who was responsible for it? Was it wholly the result of fraud and deception, or were there psychological phenomena attending it which have never been explained? Is there any resemblance between the proceedings of the "afflicted children" of Salem Village and modern spiritual manifestations? Were the clergy of New England, or any other profession or class in the community, especially implicated in it? Any one of these questions affords a theme for discussion. We propose, however, to review the incidents of this fearful tragedy for the purpose of re-examining the historical evidence on which, in the popular estimation, so large a portion of the culpability for those executions has been laid upon one individual.

In 1831 Mr. Upham printed his "Lectures on Salem Witchcraft," in which he brought some very grave charges against Cotton Mather, as being the contriver, instigator, and promoter of the delusion, and the chief conspirator against the lives of the sufferers. These charges have been repeated by Mr. Quincy in his "History of Harvard University," by Mr. Peabody in his "Life of Cotton Mather," by Mr. Bancroft, and by nearly all historical writers since that date. Mr. Upham, after an interval of thirty-six years, has reiterated and emphasized his original accusations, in his elaborate "History of Salem Witchcraft," printed in 1867. They have obtained a lodgement in all the minor and school histories; and the present generation of youth is taught that nineteen innocent persons were hanged, and one was pressed to death, to gratify the vanity, ambition, and stolid credulity of Mr. Cotton Mather.

If any one imagines that we are stating the case too strongly,

let him try an experiment on the first bright boy he meets by asking, "Who got up Salem Witchcraft?" and, with a promptness that will startle him, he will receive the reply, "Cotton Mather." Let him try another boy with the quesion, "Who was Cotton Mather?" and the answer will come, "The man who was on horseback, and hung witches." An examination of the historical text-books used in our schools will show where these ideas originated. We have the latest editions of a dozen such manuals before us; but the following examples must suffice.

"Cotton Mather, an eccentric, but influential minister, took up the matter, and great excitement spread through the colony. Among those hanged was a minister named Burroughs, who had denounced the proceedings of Mather and his associates. At his execution Mather appeared among the crowd on horseback, and quieted the people with quotations from Scripture. Mather gloried in these judicial murders." — QUACKENBOS'S *School History of the United States*, 1868, pp. 138–140.

"Cotton Mather and other popular men wrote in its defence. Calef, a citizen of Boston, exposed Mather's credulity, and greatly irritated the minister. Mather called Calef a 'weaver turned minister,' a 'coal from hell,' and prosecuted him for slander." — LOSSING'S *Pictorial History of the United States*, 1868, p. 106.

"Most of those who participated as prosecutors in the unrighteous work confessed their error; still there were some, the most prominent of whom was Cotton Mather, who defended their course to the last." — ANDERSON'S *School History of the United States*, 1868, p. 57.

"The new authorities, under the influence of the clergy, of whom, in this particular, Cotton Mather was the leader, pursued a course which placed the accused in situations where they had need to be magicians not to be convicted of magic. Malice and revenge carried on the work which superstition began." — EMMA WILLARD'S *History of the United States*, 1868, p. 100.

We give two other extracts from more elaborate works.

"New England, at that time [1692], was unfortunate in having among her ministers a pedantic, painstaking, self-complacent, ill-balanced man called Cotton Mather; his great industry and verbal learning gave him undue currency, and his writings were much read. He was indefatigable in magnifying himself and his office. In an age

when light reading consisted of polemic pamphlets, it is easy to see that his stories of 'Margaret Rule's dire Afflictions' would find favor, and prepare the public mind for a stretch of credulity almost equal to his own."* — ELLIOTT'S *New England History*, 1867, Vol. II. p. 43.

"He incurred the responsibility of being its chief cause and promoter. In the progress of the superstitious fear, which amounted to frenzy, and could only be satisfied with blood, he neither blenched nor halted; but attended the courts, watched the progress of invisible agency in the prisons, and joined the multitude in witnessing the executions." — QUINCY'S *History of Harvard University*, Vol. I. p. 63.

Mr. Bancroft adopts substantially the views of Mr. Upham. Cotton Mather's "boundless vanity gloried in the assaults of evil angels upon the country."† "To cover his own confusion, he got up a case of witchcraft in his own parish. Was Cotton Mather honestly credulous? He is an example how far selfishness, under the form of vanity and ambition, can blind the higher faculties, stupefy the judgment, and dupe consciousness itself."‡ But we need not pause over Mr. Bancroft's second-hand and rhetorical statements.

Mr. Hildreth gave some attention to the original authorities, and saw that the wild assertions of Mr. Upham and Mr. Bancroft were untenable. It is to be regretted, that, with his candid and impartial methods of study, he did not go far enough to reach the whole truth. He says: § "The suggestion, that Cotton Mather, for purposes of his own, deliberately got up this witchcraft delusion, and forced it upon a doubtful and hesitating people, is utterly absurd. Mather's position, convictions, and temperament alike called him to serve, on this occasion, as the organ, exponent, and stimulator of the popular faith."

These views respecting Mr. Mather's connection with the Salem trials are to be found in no publication of a date prior to 1831, when Mr. Upham's "Lectures" were published.

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* Mr. Elliott's authority for Margaret Rule's dire afflictions, which occurred late in 1693, is Mather's "Memorable Providences," printed in 1689! How those afflictions should have prepared the public mind for the Salem delusion of 1692 the historian does not explain.

† Hist. U. States, Vol. III. p. 85.

‡ Ibid. p. 97.

§ Hist. U. States, Vol. II. pp. 151, 152.

The clergy of New England, indeed, soon after the delusion abated, and subsequently, had been blamed for fostering the excitement; and Increase Mather and Cotton Mather, father and son, being the most prominent clergymen in the colony, — both stanch believers in the reality of witchcraft, and writers on the subject, — were criticised more freely than any others. But these charges were very different from those we are to consider. Mr. Upham, in the Appendix to his second edition, printed in 1832, sets forth and maintains for his opinions the claim of originality, to which he is entitled. The accuracy of his statements respecting Mr. Mather's character had been questioned. Mr. Upham, in his reply, admits, that, previously to the investigation of the subject of his Lectures, "a shadow of a doubt had never been suggested respecting Mr. Mather's moral and Christian character." He adds: "It was with the greatest reluctance that such a doubt was permitted to enter my mind. It seemed incredible — nay, almost impossible — that a man who had been at the head of all the great religious operations of his day, who had been the instrument of so many apparent conversions, and who devoted so many hours and days and weeks of his life to fasting and prayer, could in reality be dishonest and corrupt. But when the evidence of the case required me to believe, that, in the transactions which I had undertaken to relate, his character did actually appear in this dark and disgraceful light, a regard for truth and justice compelled me to express my convictions." *

In this discussion we shall treat Mr. Upham's Lectures and History in the same connection, as the latter is an expansion and defence of the views presented in the former. In the History Cotton Mather appears more frequently and in a more unfavorable light than in the Lectures, and many of the allusions to him are not referred to in the Index. He comes in when we should least expect him, and always with evil purpose, — plotting and counter-plotting, — disappointed when the trials were over, — planning new excitement and other trials in Boston, — unrepentant when every-

* Lectures, p. 284.

body else had taken to the confessional, — wrecked in reputation almost before his career had commenced, — and going to his grave full of remorse and disappointment.

Mr. Upham is never at a loss to know what Mr. Mather "contemplated" on any occasion, — what "he longed for," — what "he would have been glad to have," — what "he looked upon with secret pleasure," — and what "he was secretly and cunningly endeavoring" to do. Mr. Peabody also knows when "Cotton Mather was in his element," and what "he enjoyed the great felicity of." We do not hope to follow these writers into the dark recesses of Mr. Mather's mind; but in the course of this investigation we shall take up some of their statements and examine them in the light of evidence that may be regarded as historical.

A few words touching the wide-spread belief in witchcraft prevalent in the seventeenth century may prepare some of our readers better to appreciate the events which are more particularly to come under our notice.

No nation, no age, no form of religion or irreligion, may claim an immunity from this superstition. The Reformers were as zealous in this matter as the Catholics. It is estimated that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries two hundred thousand persons were executed, mostly burned, in Europe, — Germany furnishing one half of the victims, and England thirty thousand. Statutes against witchcraft were enacted in the reigns of Henry VI., Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and James I. Learning and religion were no safeguards against this delusion.

The "Familiar Letters" of James Howell, who, after the restoration of Charles II., was "Historiographer Royal," gives a frightful picture of the extent of the delusion in England. Under date of February 3, 1646, he writes: "We have multitudes of witches among us; for in Essex and Suffolk there were above two hundred indicted within these two years, and above the one half of them executed. I speak it with horror. God guard us from the Devil!" * Again, February 20, 1647: "Within the compass of two years, near upon three hundred

* Page 386, Edition of 1673.

witches were arraigned, and the major part of them executed, in Essex and Suffolk only. Scotland swarms with them now more than ever, and persons of good quality are executed daily."*

A general history of the witchcraft delusion and trials in England is a desideratum which we commend to the attention of English antiquaries. It would show that no New England man has any occasion to apologize for the credulity and superstition of his ancestors in the presence of an Englishman.

In New England, the earliest witch execution of which any details have been preserved was that of Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, in June, 1648. Governor Winthrop presided at the trial, signed the death-warrant, and wrote the report of the case in his journal. No indictment, process, or other evidence in the case can be found, unless it be an order of the General Court of May 10, 1648, that, after the course taken in England for the discovery of witches, a certain woman, not named, and her husband, be confined and watched.† We give Governor Winthrop's record in full, with the exception of such parts as cannot be printed.

"June 4, 1648. At this court one Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, was indicted and found guilty of witchcraft, and hanged for it. The evidence against her was: —

"1. That she was found to have a malignant touch, as many persons (men, women, and children), whom she stroked or touched with any affection or displeasure, were taken with deafness, or vomiting, or other violent pains or sickness.

"2. She practising physic, and her medicines being such things as (by her own confession) were harmless, as anise-seed, liquors, etc., yet had extraordinary violent effect.

"3. She would use to tell such as would not make use of her physic that they would never be healed; and accordingly their diseases and hurts continued, with relapse, against the ordinary course, and beyond the apprehension of all physicians and surgeons.

"4. Some things which she foretold came to pass accordingly; other things she could tell of (as secret speeches, etc.) which she had no ordinary means to come to the knowledge of.

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* Page 427.

† Mass. Rec., Vol. II. p. 242.

"5. [Omitted.]

"6. . . . The like child was seen in two other places, to which she had relation; and one maid saw it, fell sick upon it, and was cured by the said Margaret, who used means to be employed to that end. Her behavior at her trial was very intemperate, lying notoriously, and railing upon the jury and witnesses, and in the like distemper she died. *The same day and hour she was executed there was a very great tempest at Connecticut, which blew down many trees, etc.*" — *Journal*, Vol. II. p. 326.

We are soon to consider the credulity and superstition of Cotton Mather, and desire here to call attention to the not entire absence of these qualities in the staid and judicious Winthrop, the founder of the Massachusetts Colony. The facts in relation to Margaret Jones seem to be, that she was a strong-minded woman, with a will of her own, and undertook, with simple remedies, to practise as a female physician. Were she living in our day, she would brandish a diploma of M. D. from the New England Female Medical College, would annually refuse to pay her city taxes unless she had the right to vote, and would make speeches at the meetings of the Universal Suffrage Association. Her touch seemed to be attended with mesmeric powers. Her character and abilities rather commend themselves to our respect. She made anise-seed and good liquors do the work of huge doses of calomel and Epsom salts, or their equivalents. Her predictions as to the termination of cases treated in the heroic method proved to be true. Who knows but that she practised homœopathy? The regulars pounced upon her as a witch, as the monks did upon Faustus for printing the first edition of the Bible, — put her and her husband into jail, — set rude men to watch her day and night, — subjected her person to indignities unmentionable, — and, with the assistance of Winthrop and the magistrates, hanged her, — and all this only fifteen years before Cotton Mather, the credulous, was born!

Mary Johnson was executed the same year in Hartford. Mary Parsons was tried in 1651, and again in 1674; her husband, Hugh Parsons, was tried in 1652. In 1651 two persons were tried in Hartford. In 1653 Goodwife Knap was hanged at Fairfield, Conn. In 1656 Mrs. Ann Hibbins, the widow of

an eminent Boston merchant and magistrate, was hanged. Hutchinson* says, three witches were condemned at Hartford January 20, 1662–63. "After one of the witches was hanged, the maid was well!" Cotton Mather was born twenty-three days after this date. A woman named Greensmith was hanged at Hartford in 1663. Elizabeth Segur was condemned at Hartford in 1665, and Katharine Harrison at Wethersfield in 1669. The water test, so successfully applied by Matthew Hopkins in England, by which he caused the death of one hundred persons in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk from 1645 to 1647, was tried in Connecticut. The method was, to tie the thumb of the right hand to the great toe of the left foot, and draw the victims through a horse-pond. If they floated, they were witches; if they sank, they were in all likelihood drowned. The account of these Connecticut women is, that they "swam like a cork."

In 1670 Mary Webster, of Hadley, was examined at Northampton, sent to Boston, and acquitted. On her return to Hadley, a mob of young men dragged her out of her house, hung her up till she was almost dead, let her down, rolled her in the snow, and left her. A similar scene was enacted at Great Paxton, a village within sixty miles of London, in the year 1808, on a poor woman named Ann Izard, accused of bewitching three girls.

From 1652 to the time of the great outbreak in Salem the courts of Essex County in Massachusetts were constantly investigating alleged cases of witchcraft. John Godfrey, of Andover, was cried out upon in 1659. One witness swore, that, six or seven years before, being in the first seat in the gallery of the meeting-house in Rowley, he did see in the second seat one whom he believed was John Godfrey, yawning; and while opening his mouth, so yawning, did see a small teat under his tongue. In 1669 there was another case of a female physician charged with witchcraft by a regular practitioner. Goody Burt, a widow, was accused by Philip Reed, physician, of producing cures which could be accounted for by no natural cause. She practised in Salem, Lynn, and Marblehead. In 1679 the family of William Morse, of Newbury, was disturbed in a

* Hist. of Mass., Vol. II. p. 23, Salem Edition, 1795.

strange manner. The case gave rise to many examinations and much evidence.

Mr. Peabody says: * "After the execution of Mrs. Hibbins in 1655 [1656] the taste for such scenes had abated, and it was not till Cotton Mather, in 1685, published an account of several cases of witchcraft, † that such fears and fancies revived." But, though we have given only an incomplete sketch of the early witch proceedings in New England, it is enough to show that the colonies were in a constant ferment, from supposed diabolical agency, for more than forty years before 1692. In every community there were suspicions and accusations which never came to a public examination. The same disturbance had existed to a still greater extent in England and throughout Europe. With persons actuated simply by malice, the easiest method of annoying a neighbor, or of ridding a community of a pestilent old woman, was by setting on foot a charge of witchcraft against them. English books relating to this subject were very numerous, and constituted the light reading of the day. Everybody knew how a witch ought to behave; and some of their pranks afforded young people of unregenerate minds agreeable recreation after their unsavory tasks over the Cambridge Platform and the Westminster Confession of Faith. Hutchinson says of these books: —

"Not many years before [1681], Glanvil published his Witch Stories in England; Perkins and other Nonconformists were earlier; but the great authority was that of Sir Matthew Hale, revered in New England, not only for his knowledge of law, but for his gravity and piety. The trial of the witches in Suffolk was published in 1684. All these books were in New England; and the conformity between the behavior of Goodwin's children and most of the supposed bewitched at Salem and the behavior of those in England is so exact as to leave no room to doubt the stories had been read by the New England persons themselves, or had been told to them by others who had read them. Indeed, this conformity, instead of giving suspicion, was urged in confirmation of the truth of both: the Old England demons and the New being so much alike. The Court justified themselves from books of law,

* Life of Mather, p. 281.

† It is to be regretted that Mr. Peabody did not give the title of this publication of Mr. Mather's in 1685, for it is one we have never seen or heard of.

and the authorities of Keble, Dalton, and other lawyers then of the first character, who lay down rules of conviction as absurd and dangerous as any which were practised in New England." — *Hist. of Mass.*, Vol. II. p. 27.

One who has never examined this point would be surprised at the number of witch books printed in England from the accession of James I. in 1603 to the deposition of James II. in 1688. Some one has said, with more wit than historical accuracy, that "Witchcraft and Kingcraft came in and went out with the Stuarts." Among their authors and sponsors were some of the most eminent men of the kingdom, — Richard Baxter, Sir Thomas Browne, Sir Matthew Hale, Robert Boyle, Joseph Glanvil, John Gaule, William Perkins, and Richard Bernard. These names were constantly quoted at the trials, and in the writings of that period.

The writings of Gaule, Perkins, and Bernard, though adopting in full the popular theory of diabolical agency, had a beneficial influence in mitigating the evils of the delusion. They defined the kind of evidence necessary to convict a witch. They declared against the admission of "spectral testimony." They proved that the Devil often, for his own wicked purposes, performed his deeds of darkness through the agency of innocent and virtuous persons. This theory was an immense advance on the one maintained at the trials before Sir Matthew Hale, — that the Devil could employ only the spectres of such persons as were in league with him. The clergy of New England accepted the theory of these writers: the magistrates rejected it, and held to that laid down by Sir Matthew Hale. These two theories were the great questions in debate at that time, and all the evils at Salem grew out of the position taken by the magistrates.

The clergy maintained, and referred to Perkins and Bernard as their authorities, that, in the trial of any alleged case of witchcraft, the question was not whether the accused had done acts which in themselves were preternatural, but whether he or she was a willing agent, — in other words, whether a compact had been made with Satan. The compact must not be assumed; it must be proved by legal evidence. But how, on such a theory, could a case of witchcraft be proved? No

spectral evidence must be admitted; for spectral evidence is the "Devil's testimony," who is a liar from the beginning. The evidence of a confessed witch must also be excluded. The evidence must be strictly *human*, — that is, what a person, in the use of his ordinary faculties, and in their ordinary operation, has seen or known, without any supernatural or preternatural assistance, either from God or the Devil. A person confessing himself to be a witch thereby acknowledges that he has renounced God and Jesus Christ, and has entered into the service of the Evil One. How can a person so confessing take a legal oath, or, in any respect, be a competent witness? These writers assert that a trial for witchcraft must be conducted by the same rules of law as a trial for murder or burglary. The testimony of a person who admitted that he had entered into a league with the Devil to work all manner of wickedness would not be received in a case of petty larceny. Why, then, should it be accepted in a case of witchcraft, which is a capital offence? They claim that the rules of a trial for witchcraft, if they vary from those in other capital charges, should be even more rigid; because we are dealing with something of which we know but little, except that it is the greatest of crimes, and that the Devil is mixed up in the affair in some unaccountable way, and will cheat us, if he can.

How, then, inquired their opponents, can a witch be convicted? No one ever saw the Devil make a contract with a man, or a witch "sign his book." If these rules of evidence are observed, the witches will all escape punishment. — God forbid! these judicious writers replied. But that is not your affair, nor ours. If we try them, it must be by the rules of justice and the laws of England; otherwise, we are "playing blind-man's-buff with the Devil in the dark," and we shall surely get the worst of it. We shall put to death innocent persons, and may suffer the same penalty ourselves, which we shall richly deserve, if we try, convict, and execute the accused by illegal methods.

They went so far as to question the validity of a confession. The case must be inquired into. Was the person who confessed in his right mind? Had no diabolical agency been exerted upon him? Had he not been influenced by promises or threats "to sign the book"? If not in his right mind, or if

he had been influenced by the Devil, the confession was to be set aside, the plea of "Not guilty" entered, and the case disposed of as if there had been no confession. If otherwise, and if he had done acts clearly of a diabolical nature, he was, in the eye of the law, guilty of witchcraft; and the best disposition to make of such a person was to hang him. If then there was any mistake about it, the penalty was upon his own head for such unpardonable lying.

On such reasoning it will readily be seen that witch trials would be very infrequent and very harmless affairs. And yet these writers, judged by our modern standards, were very credulous and superstitious persons. The narrative we have quoted from Winthrop's Journal would not have seemed to them absurd or revolting. No intelligent person in those times rejected the theory of diabolical agency, unless he rejected also the authority of the Old and New Testaments, the existence of angels, and a life beyond the grave. A belief in witchcraft was essential to the maintenance of a Christian character. To express any doubts on the subject was to lay one's self open to denunciation as a Sadducee, — a term of reproach which has lost the significance it then had.

No one within the pale of the Christian Church had then written or spoken against the reality of witchcraft. By taking an individual of a past generation out of his relations with his own times, and putting him upon the background of modern civilization and refinement, and then reproaching him with opinions and practices now shown to be erroneous, but which he shared in common with all his contemporaries, it is very easy to make any character appear ridiculous, and even culpable. But this is not the historical method of dealing with the reputations of men of a former age. We of the present shall need a more charitable interpretation of our own opinions and acts on the part of those who follow us. Did the man act well his part with the light he had? Did he, in a time of intense excitement, when life and reputation were at stake, act with reference to his duty to God, and in charity to his fellow-men?

We have set forth with some minuteness the theories of such writers as Perkins and Bernard, because we are to meet these

names as authorities in the progress of our investigation. When the Governor and Council asked the advice of the clergy of Boston and the vicinity, in June, 1692, those ministers advised — and Cotton Mather drew up the advice — that "there is need of very critical and exquisite caution," and recommended "that the directions given by such judicious writers as Perkins and Bernard may be observed." Both the Mathers adopted the theory of these writers, and frequently made references to, and quotations from them. But we shall recur to this matter in another connection.

We now come to consider the first case of witchcraft in which Cotton Mather was concerned, and of which Mr. Upham says,* "there is reason to believe that it originated the delusion in Salem." As the case is one of much importance, we shall allow Governor Hutchinson, who knew some of the parties concerned, and had conversed with others who were eye-witnesses, to relate the main incidents.

"In 1688 began a more alarming instance than any which had preceded it. Four of the children of John Goodwin, a grave man and a good liver at the north part of Boston, were generally believed to be bewitched. I have often heard persons who were of the neighborhood speak of the great consternation it occasioned. The children were all remarkable for ingenuity of temper, had been religiously educated, and were thought to be without guile. The eldest was a girl of thirteen or fourteen years. She had charged a laundress [one Glover] with taking away some of the family linen. The mother of the laundress was one of the wild Irish, of bad character, and gave the girl harsh language, soon after which she fell into fits, which were said to have something diabolical in them. One of her sisters and two brothers followed her example, and, it is said, were tormented in the same part of their bodies, at the same time, although kept in separate apartments, and ignorant of each other's complaint. Sometimes they would be deaf, then dumb, then blind; and sometimes all these disorders together would come upon them. Their tongues would be drawn down their throats, then pulled out upon their chins. Their jaws, necks, shoulders, elbows, and all their joints, would appear to be dislocated, and they would make most piteous outcries of burnings, of being cut with knives, beat, etc., and the marks of wounds were afterwards to be seen. The ministers of Boston and Charlestown kept a day of fasting

* History, Vol. I. p. 459.

and prayer at the troubled house, after which the youngest child made no more complaints. The others persevered, and the magistrates then interposed, and the old woman was apprehended; but, upon examination, would neither confess nor deny, and appeared to be disordered in her senses. Upon the report of physicians that she was *compos mentis*, she was executed, declaring at her death the children should not be relieved. The eldest, after this, was taken into a minister's [Mr. Mather's] family, where at first she behaved orderly, but after some time fell into her fits. The account of her affliction is in print [Mather's "Memorable Providences," 1689]; some things are mentioned as extraordinary, which tumblers are taught every day to perform; others are more natural; but it was a time of great credulity." — *Hist. of Mass.*, Vol. II. pp. 24–26.

In his Lectures, 1831, which have given the cue to all subsequent writers, Mr. Upham states, as an historical fact, that the Goodwin case "was brought about by his [Cotton Mather's] management." * Now if Mr. Upham had not read the little evidence there is in this case, he was chargeable with a negligence and recklessness of statement which we do not like to characterize, in thus assailing the reputation of a member of his own profession, who was not living to make answer. If he had read the evidence, —— but the case is not a supposable one: no one who knows Mr. Upham will for a moment imagine that he would consciously make a misstatement, or suppress any evidence which he deemed essential to a proper estimate of a character of which he was treating. We think it proper to make this explicit avowal here, for we shall often have occasion to question his facts and scrutinize his authorities, as well as challenge his reasoning. There is no more unsafe and perilous task than the writing of history with a theory to maintain. If a preconceived opinion be strong and active, it must be controlled by no common love of truth and justice, not to render the person holding it disqualified even for the examination of authorities. Everything which comes under his eye only strengthens his opinion. The case seems to him so plain that he considers it unnecessary to look up rare and forgotten pamphlets, and pore over musty manuscripts in the obscure chirography of two centuries ago, for

* Lectures, p. 107.

the purpose of verifying a date, or explaining the motives of a person on whom he is to pass judgment.

Mr. Upham can never have seen "Some Few Remarks upon a Scandalous Book by one Robert Calef," Boston, 1701, which was written by the parishioners of the Second Boston Church, as a reply to Calef's charges against Mr. Mather; neither can he have seen "Some Miscellany Observations on the Present Debates respecting Witchcrafts," 1692, nor Increase Mather's "Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcrafts," 1693; for, if he had seen these very important tracts, he would, with his integrity of purpose, have quoted from them the evidence to upset his whole theory. But he has read Cotton Mather's Diary, which is full of penitential confessions, and acknowledgments to himself and his Maker of manifold transgressions, — of pride, vanity, hardness of heart, imprudent zeal, and unworthiness in his Master's service. These confessions Mr. Upham regards as historical evidence. Such a use of the confessional, we believe, is not common with historical writers. Before such a touchstone any devout man who keeps a diary will inevitably fall; since, the more devout he is, the more self-depreciatory will be his confessions. Under this test the Apostle to the Gentiles himself becomes "the chief of sinners."

No historian has a moral right to assail the character of a man who bore a good reputation in his day, without an exhaustive and candid examination of authorities. Such an examination we shall show that Mr. Upham has not made in the case of Cotton Mather, and that he has used the facts which have come under his observation with a strong bias against Mr. Mather as a man of integrity and veracity. Mr. Upham does not bring a particle of evidence or quote a single authority in proof of his allegation that the Goodwin case "was brought about by Cotton Mather's management," — an allegation which he accompanies by others equally unsupported. He says: —

"Dr. Cotton Mather aspired to be considered the great champion of the Church, and the most successful combatant against the Prince of the Power of the Air. He seems to have longed for an opportunity to signalize himself in this particular kind of warfare, and repeatedly en-

deavored to get up a delusion of this kind in Boston. An instance of witchcraft was brought about by his management in 1688. There is some ground for suspicion that he was instrumental in causing the delusion in Salem; at any rate, he took a leading part in conducting it." — *Lectures*, pp. 106, 107.

The same statements, in almost the same words, he reproduces in his History.*

Mr. John Goodwin, the father of the afflicted children, told the story of his domestic trials, over his own name, in Mather's "Memorable Providences," 1689, page 46. He describes how the first child was taken, then a second, and, later, two others. Friends were called in, and afterwards physicians; but no relief came. He then says: —

"Now I considering my affliction to be more than ordinary, it did certainly call for more than ordinary prayer. I acquainted Mr. Allen, Mr. Moody, Mr. Willard, and Mr. C. Mather, the four ministers of the town, with it, and Mr. Morton, of Charlestown, earnestly desiring them that they, with some other praying people of God, would meet at my house, and there be earnest with God on the behalf of myself and my children."

Did Mr. Mather have anything to do with the case before he was called in, with four other clergymen, after the affair had been going on for some time, and physicians and sympathizing friends had given no relief? Mr. Upham must show this, or his accusation fails.

Twelve years afterwards, Robert Calef, between whom and Mr. Mather a personal quarrel existed, and many bitter words had passed, published his "More Wonders of the Invisible World," in which he says (p. 152): "Mr. Cotton Mather was the most active and forward of any minister in the country in these [Goodwin] matters, taking home one of the children, and managing such intrigues with that child, and, after, printing such an account of the whole in his "Memorable Providences," as conduced much to the kindling those flames that in Sir William's time threatened the devouring this country." We shall in another place speak of the value to be set upon Calef's statements respecting Mr. Mather. Soon after Calef's

* Vol. II. p. 366.

book appeared, the parishioners of Mr. Mather took up this accusation, and in "Some Few Remarks," 1701, which Mr. Upham has never seen, proved it to be a downright falsehood. One of the seven persons who prepared the reply was John Goodwin, the father of the children. He makes, over his own name, a further statement, which we give entire.

"Let the world be informed, that, when one of my children had been laboring under sad circumstances from the Invisible World for about *a quarter of a year*, I desired the ministers of Boston, with Charlestown, to keep a day of prayer at my house, if so be deliverance might be obtained. Mr. Cotton Mather was the last of the ministers that I spoke to on that occasion, and though, by reason of some necessary business, he could not attend, yet he came to my house in the morning of that day, and tarried about half an hour, and went to prayer with us before any other minister came. *Never before had I the least acquaintance with him.* About two or three months after this, I desired that another day of prayer might be kept by the aforesaid ministers, which accordingly they did, and Mr. Cotton Mather was then present. But he never gave me the least advice, neither face to face nor by way of epistles, neither directly nor indirectly; but the motion of going to the authority was made to me by a minister of a neighboring town, now departed;* and matters were managed by me, in prosecution of the supposed criminal, wholly without the advice of any minister or lawyer, or any other person. The ministers would now and then come to visit my distressed family, and pray with and for them, among which Mr. Cotton Mather would now and then come, and go to prayer with us. Yet all that time he never advised me to anything concerning the law, or trial of the accused person; but after that wicked woman had been condemned about a fortnight, Mr. Cotton Mather invited one of my children to his house; and within a day or two after that the woman was executed."

"JOHN GOODWIN."

The writers of "Some Few Remarks" then say: —

"Now behold how active and forward Mr. Mather was in transacting the affairs relating to this woman, and be astonished that ever any one should go to insinuate such things to the world as are known by most that ever heard of those afflicted children to be so far different from the truth."

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* Probably Mr. John Baily, of Watertown, who died December, 1697.

Cotton Mather, according to his custom with all prisoners visited the Glover woman twice after her condemnation, — not in the spirit of an inquisitor, but as a spiritual adviser. She never denied to him the guilt of witchcraft; but as to her confessions about confederacies with the Devil, she only said that she used to be at meetings at which her prince and four more were present. She told him who the four persons were, and as to her prince, "her account plainly was that he was the Devil." Mr. Mather asked her many questions, in reply to which, after a long silence, she said she would fain give full answers, but *they* would not let her. *They?* Who are *they?* She replied, that they were her spirits, or her saints. He advised her to break her covenant with hell. She answered, that he spoke a very reasonable thing, but she could not do it. He offered to pray with her, and asked her to pray for herself. She replied, that she could not, unless her spirits would give her leave. "However," he said, "against her will I prayed with her, which, if it were a fault, *it was in excess of pity.*"

Mr. Mather never revealed the names of the persons whom she, or others, accused; "for," said he,* "we should be very tender in such relation, lest we wrong the reputation of the innocent by stories not enough inquired into." "I cannot resist the conviction," says Mr. Upham,† "that he looked upon the occurrences in the Salem trials with secret pleasure, and would have been glad to have had them repeated in Boston." Why, then, did not Mr. Mather divulge the names of the persons accused by the Glover woman? He had the matter entirely in his own hands, and could have indulged the desire here ascribed to him to his heart's content. But we know he did not manifest such a spirit; and we are forced to inquire by what methods of historical investigation Mr. Upham proceeds, when he makes such assertions without examination of the important documents here adduced.

These Goodwin children performed some strange pranks. "They would fly like geese, and be carried through the air, having but just their toes now and then on the ground. One of them, in the house of a kind neighbor and gentleman (Mr. Willis), flew the length of a room about twenty feet, none see-

* Mem. Prov., p. 13.

† History, Vol. II. p. 370.

ing her feet all the way touch the floor." They threw themselves down stairs, and jumped into the fire and into the water. Their dangers and deliverances were so many as to cause the kind-hearted narrator "to consider whether the little ones had not their angels, in the plain sense of our Saviour's intimation." At family prayers they would "roar and shriek and holla," to drown the voice of devotion. "In short," says Mr. Mather, "no good thing must then be endured near those children, who (while they are themselves) do love every good thing in a measure that proclaims in them the fear of God."

Mr. Mather took one of these pests to his own house, where he kept her during the autumn and winter of 1688–89. He endured from her all manner of annoyance and vexation, but not a word of reproach or complaint did he utter. For a time "she applied herself not only to acts of industry, but to piety, as she had been no stranger to." Then of a sudden she would cry, "They have found me out!" and go into fits.

She stated that *they* (her spirits) brought to her an invisible horse. She would throw herself in a riding position into a chair and gallop about the room, "the bystanders not perceiving that she was moved by her feet upon the floor, for often they touched it not." Sometimes she would be carried *from* the chair oddly about the room, in the posture of a riding-woman. A spectator once asked her if she could ride up the stairs. She thought she could, and the next time the horse came, "to our admiration she rode (that is, was tossed as one that rode) up the stairs."

Speaking of her being able to read some books and not others, Mr. Mather says: "I was not insensible that this girl's capacity to read, or incapacity to read, was no test; therefore I did not proceed much further in this fanciful business, not knowing what snares the devils might lay for us in these trials."

So the winter wore away, with a recurrence at intervals of these strange actions, some absurd, others curious, and all entertaining.

Mr. Mather concludes by saying that the story is all made up of wonders, but that he has related nothing but what he believes to be true; and he hopes his neighbors have long thought that he has "otherwise learned Christ than to lie unto the world."

"Yea," he declares, "there is, I believe, scarce any one particular in this narrative which more than one credible witness will not be ready to make oath unto. The things of most concernment in it were before many critical observers, and all sorts of persons that had a mind to satisfy themselves. I do now publish the history, while the thing is fresh and new; and I challenge all men to detect so much as one designed falsehood, yea, so much as one important mistake, from the egg to the apple of it. I am resolved after this never to use but just one grain of patience with any man that shall go to impose upon me a denial of devils or of witches. I shall count that man ignorant who shall suspect; but I shall count him downright impudent, if he asserts the non-existence of things which we have had such palpable convictions of." — *Mem. Prov.* p. 40.

No edition of the "Memorable Providences" has been issued since the London reprint of 1691, with a Preface by Mr. Richard Baxter, in which he states that "this great instance cometh with such full, convincing evidence, that he must be a very obdurate Sadducee that will not believe it." Mr. Baxter quoted from it largely in his "Certainty of the World of Spirits," 1691, and was in the habit of recommending his hearers to buy it. Both editions are now very rare, and cost their weight in gold. Its republication at this time would be a contribution to the literature of Spiritualism.

In Mr. Upham's view, the Goodwin affair had a very important relation to the Salem troubles. Cotton Mather "got up" this case; this case "got up" the Salem cases; therefore Cotton Mather "got up" Salem Witchcraft. This is the argument concisely stated. It is proper, therefore, to inquire what there was in Mr. Mather's practice with the Goodwin children that foreshadowed the shocking scenes at Salem. His whole conduct in this transaction — call it credulous and superstitious, if the reader will — was marked with kindness, patience, and Christian charity towards the accused, the afflicted children, their friends, and four poor wretches, who, if the affair had been in other hands, might have come under condemnation. He had a method of his own for the treatment of witchcraft and possession. He believed in the power of prayer. The Almighty Sovereign was his Father, and had promised to hear and answer his petitions. He had often tested this promise, and had found it faithful and sure. Some will call such

faith as his credulity and superstition; but this was Cotton Mather's method. He applies it to the cases in question. The children all recover. He deems it an act of grace in answer to prayer. He writes his "Memorable Providences" to prove two propositions: 1. That witchcraft is a reality, and 2. To illustrate the proper method of treating it. In his introductory note "To the Reader" he says: "Prayer is the powerful and effectual remedy against the malicious practices of devils and those that covenant with them"; and concludes the narrative as he began, with these words: "All that I have now to publish is, that Prayer and Faith was the thing which drove the devils from the children; and I am to bear this testimony unto the world: That the Lord is nigh to all them who call upon Him in truth, and that blessed are all they that wait for Him." *

The peculiarity of the Salem cases was, that the managers hanged their witches, and the more victims they hanged the more the delusion spread. Cotton Mather, on the other hand, prayed with and for his bewitched ones, exorcised the demons (as he supposed), saved the children, suppressed the names of those accused, and put a stop to all further proceedings. Hutchinson says: † "The children returned to their ordinary behavior, lived to an adult age, made profession of religion, and the affliction they had been under they publicly declared to be one motive to it. One of them I knew many years after. She had the character of a very sober, virtuous woman, and never made any acknowledgment of fraud in the transaction." Mr. John Goodwin and his wife Martha united with Mr. Mather's church, May 25, 1690. Before this their relations had been with the church at Charlestown. The four children were subsequently admitted to Mr. Mather's church. Nathaniel Goodwin, the eldest of the sons, July 22, 1728, took out letters of administration on Cotton Mather's estate.

This is a record which requires no apology. Can Mr. Upham suggest any improvement in Cotton Mather's management of a witch case? Why do we not find some of these facts in his History? Would Cotton Mather, who had a method of his own, which he had practised with eminent success, and for the

* Mem. Prov., p. 44.

† Hist. of Mass., Vol. II. p. 26.

purpose of illustrating and commending it to the world had written a book, have instigated, and taken a "secret pleasure" in, the detestable methods pursued at Salem, unless he had been himself bewitched? This charge is the corner-stone on which the whole fabric of Mr. Upham's misrepresentations of Cotton Mather rests. If this crumbles, the whole must fall.

"The wise and learned of his [Cotton Mather's] day, and before it, had faith in judicial astrology; but of this he ventures boldly to express his scepticism, — a remarkable fact, certainly, considering his reputation for unbounded credulity. So, too, he rejected all kind of charms and incantations and exorcisms, all vulgar antidotes to witchcraft and the common machinery of magic, and ridiculed the notion, not now out of belief, that a seventh son is born with extraordinary qualities. The only weapon with which he sought to resist the powers of evil, or control them, was the arm of the law, or, what he preferred to that, prayer and fasting." — S. F. Haven, *North American Review*, Vol. LI. p. 11.

Mr. Upham and Mr. Peabody* uniformly speak of Cotton Mather at this period of his life as *Dr.* Mather, a title which recalls to the reader the mature and majestic face, the flowing wig, the clerical bands, and the silk robe depicted in the well-known portrait. Mr. Mather received his degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Glasgow in 1710, when he was forty-seven years of age, and it was near this time, probably, that the portrait was painted. But at the time he "got up" the Goodwin case he was only twenty-five years old, and, considering his youth and inexperience, we think his conduct in the matter entitles him to great praise. Though a boy in years, he was a prodigy in talent and erudition. At the age of eleven years and six months, when he entered Harvard College, he had read Cicero, Terence, Ovid, and Virgil, and wrote Latin with freedom. He had read through his Greek Testament, and had commenced the study of Homer, Isocrates, and the Hebrew Grammar. In college he mastered the Hebrew, and composed treatises on logic and physic, besides prosecuting the usual curriculum of collegiate studies. Almost any other boy would have been ruined by the compliments and flattery lavished upon him. When he took his first degree at the age

* Mr. Peabody (p. 225) says: "Little did the venerable doctor think," etc. The venerable doctor was twenty-nine years of age! and was no doctor at all.

of fifteen, President Oakes addressed him in Latin to this effect: —

"Cotton Mather! What a name! I confess, my hearers, I have erred; I should have said, What names! I shall say nothing of his father (since I am unwilling to praise him to his face); but if he should represent and illustrate the piety, learning, elegant culture, solid judgment, prudence, and dignity of his most eminent grandfathers, John Cotton and Richard Mather, he will bear away every prize; and in this youth I trust Cotton and Mather, names so eminent, will unite and live again."

He was admitted a freeman and began to preach at the age of seventeen. The facility with which he acquired languages was remarkable. At twenty-five years of age he could write in seven languages, one of them the Iroquois. Proud of his ancestry and his attainments, the wonder is that we find so much in his character that is charitable, affectionate, and lovely.* His great aim in life was to do good. His intense application to study left him but little time to mingle in the common pursuits of life, and hence his knowledge of ordinary human nature was less than that of many men with inferior abilities. He was doubtless the most brilliant man of his day in New England. Within the last forty years, however, there has grown up a fashion, among our historical writers, of defaming his character and underrating his productions. For a specimen of these attacks the reader is referred to a "Supposed Letter from Rev. Cotton Mather, D. D.," † with comments on the same by James Savage. Meanwhile his writings have been

* As an illustration of these qualities, we give an extract from a letter of Cotton Mather to John Saffin, an old man with many domestic troubles, dated July 19, 1710.

"All former and crooked things must be buried. There must be no repeating of matters which never can be exactly rectified. There is a Scotch proverb, that you must keep to, — By-gones be by-gones, and fair play for the time to come. Do the part of a gentleman. Cheerfully entertain the reputable character of a *miles emeritus*. Repose is the milk of old age. No more earth now, Sir, but all for heaven! You must lay aside all bitterness; and the more bravely you forgive all real or supposed injuries, the more sweetly you will be prepared for the consolations of your own forgiveness. Good Sir, throw all embitterments into a grave before you go into your own." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. XXI. pp. 137 - 139.

Saffin died a few days after the date of this letter (29th July, 1710), at Bristol, R. I.

† Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXII. p. 122.

more and more sought for, and their cost is now so great, with the exception of such as have been reprinted, as to put them beyond the reach of all but wealthy collectors. One of our best living historical writers, in a public address, speaks of the "Magnalia" as an "historical medley which is beneath criticism in any point of view." * This writer, nevertheless, has drawn upon it largely in making his own books. Mr. Peabody says: "The Magnalia has fallen into disrepute with those who read for instruction. Its value is not to be estimated by its usefulness, but by the more doubtful standard of its oddity and its age." † And again: "His works are of a kind which were attractive in their day, but now sleep in repose, where even the antiquary seldom disturbs them." ‡ Yet no student of New England history can dispense with the "Magnalia." The original edition of 1702, published at one pound, will now bring ten pounds, and it has twice been reprinted within the present century. Mr. Mather's other books and tracts, numbering nearly four hundred, were never so much prized by collectors as to-day. Many of them will command their weight in sovereigns. It is not, however, with his general character, or the merit of his writings, that we are at present concerned, but with his alleged connection with Salem Witchcraft.

It seems never to have occurred to Mr. Upham that the name of Cotton Mather does not once appear in Governor Hutchinson's account of the Salem delusion, — and yet he says: § "Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts is, perhaps, the most valuable authority on the subject. He enjoyed an advantage over any other writer before, since, or hereafter, so far as relates to the witchcraft proceedings in 1692; for he had access to all the records and documents connected with it, a great part of which have subsequently been lost or destroyed. His treatment of that particular topic is more satisfactory than can elsewhere be found." This statement we fully indorse. How, then, can Mr. Upham explain the circumstance, that Hutchinson, having all the original documents, and being the most valuable authority on the subject, should nevertheless omit to mention the agency, or even the name, of the alleged chief

* Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXIX. p. 173.
† Life of Mather, p. 269.
‡ Ibid., p. 349.
§ History, Vol. I. p. 415.

actor? — Again, Thomas Brattle, the Treasurer of Harvard College, (not William Brattle, a merchant of Boston, as Mr. Upham states,*) wrote, at the time, an account of Salem Witchcraft. He was a candid and impartial writer, a stanch unbeliever in the methods pursued at Salem, personally acquainted with the prominent individuals engaged, and an authority whom Mr. Upham never mentions but with approval. Mr. Brattle gives the names of other persons, — both of those who incited and abetted, and those who utterly disapproved and denounced the proceedings, — but he never once mentions Cotton Mather. He gives the initials "C. M." in one strange connection (if Mr. Upham's theory be true), and has some remarks, of a still more surprising character, concerning "a Rev. person of Boston" (which will be considered in another part of this inquiry); but he seems to have been wholly unconscious of the iniquity which Cotton Mather was committing.

It ought to have occurred to Mr. Upham that he has sufficiently accounted for the origin of the Salem proceedings without laying any portion of the responsibility upon Cotton Mather. He assigns as causes: 1. The general prevalence of erroneous opinions respecting diabolical agency, as well in England as in this country; 2. The parish troubles in Salem Village, to which he devotes much space; 3. The Indian servants of Mr. Parris, who taught the afflicted children their tricks; 4. The intrigue and malice of Mr. Parris; 5. The family and neighborhood feuds of the village; 6. The stolid credulity of the local magistrates, Hathorne and Curwin; 7. The infatuation of the judges in admitting spectral testimony, and adhering to the dogma that the Devil could act only through willing confederates. These would seem to be sufficient to account for the origin of the Salem delusion. Cotton Mather had no connection with these incidents, and he had no opinions on witchcraft that were not held by all the clergy of the land. The storm was raised, the jails of the county were filled, persons had confessed themselves to be witches and were accusing others, and the whole community was in an uproar, before Cotton Mather's name appears legitimately in the tragedy.

* History, Vol. II. p. 450.

"Stoughton was in full sympathy with Cotton Mather, whose influence had been used in procuring his appointment over Danforth." * The Chief Justice, indeed, was in full sympathy with Mr. Mather as a friend, but not in the methods of trying alleged witches. Their opinions on this subject were diametrically opposed. Stoughton admitted spectral testimony against the accused; † Mather, in his writings on the subject, denounced it as illegal, uncharitable, and cruel. All the judicial murders at Salem grew out of the acceptance of this rule by the Court. All questions in debate at the time, concerning the trial of witches, centred in this: "What sort of evidence shall be taken?" Everybody believed in witchcraft, and in punishing witches; but some persons, and among them Mr. Mather, believed in trying them by legal methods.

Mr. Upham says: ‡ "I know nothing more artful and jesuitical than his attempt, in the following passage, to escape the odium that had been connected with the prosecutors: 'The world knows how many pages I have composed and published, and particular gentlemen in the government know how many letters I have written, to prevent the excessive credit of spectral accusations.'" This statement, so far from being artful and jesuitical, was literally true, though Mr. Upham had never seen the evidence of it, which is to be found in a letter which Mr. Mather wrote to John Richards, one of the judges, and his own parishioner, May 31, 1692, three days before the trials commenced at Salem. The letter is one of the "Mather Papers," for many years deposited with, and recently printed by, the Massachusetts Historical Society. Samuel Mather, in the "Life of Cotton Mather," 1729, page 44, makes mention of this letter as follows: "Mr. Mather, for his part, was always afraid of proceeding to convict and condemn any person as a confederate with afflicting demons upon so feeble an evidence as a spectral representation. Accordingly he ever testified against it, both publicly and privately; and particularly in his Letter to the Judges he besought them that they would by no means admit it; and when a considerable assembly of ministers gave in their advice about the matter, he not only concurred with the

* History, Vol. II. p. 250. † Ibid., p. 356.

‡ Lectures, p. 107; History, Vol. II. p. 367.

advice, but he drew it up." A search for this letter, in a collection so well known as the "Mather Papers," would seem to be the first duty of an historian, before putting in print such a grave accusation, and repeating it thirty-six years later. It was the lack of such research that led Mr. Upham and his followers into many of their errors. In this letter Mr. Mather says: —

"And yet I most humbly beg you, that, in the management of the affair in your most worthy hands, you do not lay more stress upon pure spectre testimony than it will bear. When you are satisfied, and have good, plain, legal evidence, that the demons which molest our poor neighbors do indeed represent such and such people to the sufferers, though this be a presumption, yet I suppose you will not reckon it a conviction, that the people so represented are witches to be immediately exterminated. It is very certain that the devils have represented the shapes of persons not only innocent, but also very virtuous. Though I believe that the just God then ordinarily provides a way for the speedy vindication of the persons thus abused.

"Moreover, I do suspect that persons who have too much indulged themselves in malignant, envious, malicious ebullition of their souls may unhappily expose themselves to the judgment of being represented by devils, of whom they never had any vision, and with whom they have much less written any covenant.

"I would say this: If, upon the bare supposal of a poor creature's being represented by a spectre, too great a progress be made by the authority in ruining a poor neighbor so represented, it may be that a door may be thereby opened for the devils to obtain from the courts in the invisible world a license to proceed unto most hideous desolations upon the repute and repose of such as have yet been kept from the great transgression. *If mankind have thus far once consented unto the credit of diabolical representation, the door is opened!* Perhaps there are wise and good men that may be ready to style him that shall advance this caution a *witch advocate;* but in the winding up, this caution will certainly be wished for." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4th Series, Vol. VIII. pp. 392, 393.

Mr. Mather, in this letter, expresses his full belief in the reality of witchcraft, and in the duty of the civil magistrates to discover, if possible, and extirpate, those who are guilty of it. But while fighting devils, he was full of compassion for poor afflicted mortals.

His advice was not adopted by the judges. The Court, which met June 2, after the trial and conviction of Bridget Bishop, finding that the excitement and the number of accused persons were increasing, took a recess till June 29. In the mean time the Governor and Council, in view of the alarming aspect of affairs, asked the advice of the ministers of Boston and the vicinity. As the advice of the ministers was drawn up by Cotton Mather, it becomes important evidence in this case, as well on his account as on that of his associates. Mr. Upham has never seen fit to print this paper; and as its import has been so often misstated, we give it in full.

"*The Return of several Ministers consulted by his Excellency and the Honorable Council, upon the present Witchcrafts in Salem Village.*

"Boston, June 15, 1692.

"I. The afflicted state of our poor neighbors that are now suffering by molestations from the Invisible World we apprehend so deplorable, that we think their condition calls for the utmost help of all persons in their several capacities.

"II. We cannot but with all thankfulness acknowledge the success which the merciful God has given unto the sedulous and assiduous endeavors of our honorable rulers to detect the abominable witchcrafts which have been committed in the country; humbly praying that the discovery of these mysterious and mischievous wickednesses may be perfected.

"III. We judge that in the prosecution of these and all such witchcrafts there is need of very critical and exquisite caution, lest, by too much credulity for things received only on the Devil's authority, there be a door opened for a long train of miserable consequences, and Satan get an advantage over us; for we should not be ignorant of his devices.

"IV. As in complaints upon witchcrafts there may be matters of inquiry which do not amount to matters of presumption, and there may be matters of presumption which may not be reckoned matters of conviction, so 't is necessary that all proceedings thereabout be managed with an exceeding tenderness toward those that may be complained of, especially if they have been persons formerly of an unblemished reputation.

"V. When the first inquiry is made into the circumstances of such as may lie under any just suspicion of witchcrafts, we could wish that there may be admitted as little as is possible of such noise, company, and openness as may too hastily expose them that are examined; and that there may nothing be used as a test for the trial of the suspected,

the lawfulness whereof may be doubted among the people of God; but that the directions given by such judicious writers as *Perkins* and *Bernard* be consulted in such a case.

"VI. Presumptions whereupon persons may be committed, and much more convictions whereupon persons may be condemned as guilty of witchcrafts, ought certainly to be more considerable than barely the accused person being represented by a Spectre unto the afflicted; inasmuch as 't is an undoubted and a notorious thing, that a demon may, by God's permission, appear even to ill purposes in the shape of an innocent, yea, and a virtuous man. Nor can we esteem alterations made in the sufferers by a look or a touch of the accused to be infallible evidence of guilt, but frequently liable to be abused by the Devil's leger-demains.

"VII. We know not whether some remarkable affronts given to the devils, by our disbelieving of those testimonies whose whole force and strength is from them alone, may not put a period unto the progress of the dreadful calamity begun upon us in the accusation of so many persons, whereof we hope some are yet clear from the great transgression laid unto their charge.

"VIII. Nevertheless, we cannot but humbly recommend unto the Governor the speedy and vigorous prosecution of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious, according to the direction given in the laws of God and the wholesome statutes of the English nation for the detection of witchcrafts." — INCREASE MATHER'S *Cases of Conscience, Postscript;* also HUTCHINSON'S *Hist. of Mass.*, Vol. II. p. 52.

Concerning this important document Mr. Upham prints only the following: "These reverend gentlemen, while urging in general terms the importance of caution and circumspection in the methods of examination, decidedly and earnestly recommended that the proceedings should be vigorously carried on; and they were, indeed, vigorously carried on." * The Advice, instead of urging caution in "general terms," was very specific in excluding spectral testimony, and evidence from alterations in the sufferers by the look and touch of the accused, — in excluding noise, company, and bustle, — in counselling the judges to take the directions given by such judicious writers as Perkins and Bernard, — and in recommending "an exceeding tenderness towards the accused, especially if they have borne an unblemished reputation." These were

* History, Vol. II. p. 268.

the very points on which the judges erred, and it is these errors that have made those scenes so memorable. Is that a fair statement which omits the essential and concluding portion of the last section? "In the laws of God and the wholesome statutes of the English nation" had a meaning in the minds of those ministers. The laws of God require two witnesses to prove the charge in a capital trial; the wholesome statutes of England demanded competent witnesses and legal evidence, even in a witch trial. Mr. Upham says: "They recommended that the proceedings should be vigorously carried on." What *proceedings?* The word is not to be found in the Advice. The impression is left on the mind of the reader that the ministers indorsed the Salem proceedings, against which, in the principles it sets forth, the whole paper is an earnest protest. One who brings such charges as the following might, in common justice, have given the profession to which he himself belonged the benefit of allowing the ministers concerned to state their opinions in their own words: "The intimate connection of *Dr.* Mather and other prominent ministers with the witchcraft delusion brought a reproach upon the clergy from which they have not yet recovered." * The same observation is repeated in his History. † Mr. Quincy says: ‡ "The guilt of the excesses and horrors consequent on that excitement rests, and ought to rest, heavily upon the leading divines and politicians of the colony at that period." There was nothing in Cotton Mather's connection with those "excesses and horrors" for which any clergyman need hang his head. The ministers' advice will be further noticed presently.

Cotton Mather believed that devils were concerned in the proceedings at Salem. If this be superstition, he was very superstitious. But not a single person who held the faith of the Christian Church at that day can be named who had any other belief. Calef, Brattle, and Pike, who are accredited by Mr. Upham with superior intelligence in opposing the Salem delusion, fully indorsed the popular theory as to the reality of witchcraft. We are free to confess, that, if there be a Devil,

* Lectures, p. 114.
† Vol. II p. 369.
‡ Hist. Harv. Univ., Vol. I. p. 64.

and it can be shown that he had no part or lot in the transactions at Salem, then is he an objectless and superfluous being in the moral economy of the universe. If, on the other hand, there be no Devil, then we claim that the human instincts demand the supposition of one, to account for the diabolisms there perpetrated: innocent people confessing themselves to be witches, and accusing others; children swearing away the lives of their parents; and judges of spotless moral and religious character convicting and hanging their fellows on spectral or "devils' testimony." "O condition truly miserable!" says Cotton Mather. "It is wonderfully necessary that some healing attempts should be made at this time. I should think dying a trifle to be undergone for so great a blessedness." * These are the remedies which he proposes. "I would most importunately, in the first place, entreat every man to maintain a holy jealousy over his own soul at this time. Let us more generally agree to maintain a kind opinion of one another. If we disregard this rule of charity, we shall indeed give our body politic to be burned." † After quoting from the sixth section of the advice of the Boston ministers, and giving the obnoxious eighth section entire, he says: "Only 't is a most commendable cautiousness in those gracious men to be very shy, lest the Devil get so far into our faith, as that, for the sakes of many truths which we find he tells us, we come at length to believe any lies wherewith he may abuse us; whereupon, what a desolation of names would then ensue, besides a thousand other pernicious consequences! and lest there should be any other such principles taken up as when put into practice must unavoidably cause the righteous to perish with the wicked." ‡ These words are an authoritative explanation (if one were needed) of the meaning of the advice of the Boston ministers, by the hand that drew up that paper; but they are not found in either of Mr. Upham's books. Everything serving to explain the actual position of Cotton Mather and the Boston clergy seems to have been omitted.

Mr. Mather wrote his "Wonders" while the excitement was at its height, by express command of the Governor, as a record of the Salem trials. In it he spoke respectfully of the judges,

* Wonders of the Invisible World, p. 11. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid., p. 12.

and of "their heart-breaking solicitudes how they might therein best serve both God and men. Have there been faults on any side fallen into? Surely they have at worst been but the faults of a well-meaning ignorance." * He submitted it, when completed, to Stoughton, who gave it his cordial approval. This approval we regard as applying to the writer's views on witchcraft in general, and to the reports of the trials contained therein, which were chiefly or wholly furnished by the clerk of the courts at Salem, rather than to Mr. Mather's spirit and views of the conduct of the trials, which were wholly at variance with Stoughton's ideas.† Isolated expressions and passages can be selected, which, separated from their connection, appear harsh and cruel; but we must take the book as a whole, and must consider the time and the circumstances of its composition. Thus viewed, Mr. Mather appears as a peacemaker, instead of an instigator of further excitement. While expressing freely his own opinion of methods, he deprecated the heated controversy which had arisen on the subject. "We are to unite," he says, "in such methods for this deliverance as may be unquestionably safe, lest *the latter end be worse than the beginning*." He proceeds: —

"And here I will venture to say thus much, that we are safe when we make just as much use of all advice from the invisible world as God sends it for. It is a safe principle, that, *when God Almighty permits any spirits from the unseen regions to visit us with surprising informations*, there is then something to be inquired after; *we are then to inquire of one another what cause there is for such things*." — *Wonders*, p. 13.

We have italicized portions of the above extract for the purpose of indicating the authority on which Mr. Longfellow evi-

* Wonders of the Invisible World, p. 13.

† This statement will, perhaps, be better understood, if we add that the work consists of several distinct parts. Mr. Mather first gives his own views, some of which we have quoted; then an abstract of Mr. Perkins's way for the discovery of witches, and several discourses on the enormity of witchcraft, which are followed by reports of five of the Salem trials, and some additional matter. Of the reports, he says, They are "an abridgment collected out of the Court papers on this occasion put into my hands. . . . . I have singled out four or five which may serve to illustrate the way of dealing wherein witchcrafts use to be concerned; and I report matters, not as an advocate, but as an historian." — *Wonders*, p. 55.

dently relied for the words which he puts into Cotton Mather's mouth in addressing Hathorne, the magistrate.

> "If God permits
> These evil spirits from the unseen regions
> To visit us with surprising informations,
> We must inquire what cause there is for this,
> But not receive the testimony borne
> By spectres as conclusive proof of guilt
> In the accused." *

Mr. Thomas Brattle, who denounced the methods pursued at Salem as "rude and barbarous," † spoke, nevertheless, in charitable terms of the judges. Of Stoughton he says: —

"The chief judge is very zealous in these proceedings, and says he is very clear as to all that hath as yet [October 8, 1692] been acted by this court, and, as far as ever I could perceive, is very impatient in hearing anything that looks another way. I very highly honor and reverence the wisdom and integrity of the said judge, and hope that this matter shall not diminish my veneration for his Honor; however, I cannot but say my great fear is that wisdom and counsel are withheld from his Honor as to this matter, which yet I look upon not so much as a judgment to his Honor as to this poor land." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. V. p. 74.

The cases before Chief Justice Holt, which, with the Salem trials, produced a revulsion of feeling in England, were not tried till 1704. The judges at Salem were doubtless carried away by the storm of excitement that was raging around them, and by the strange manifestations exhibited before their eyes. They rejected the advice concerning "critical and exquisite caution," and the recommendation of such judicious authorities as Perkins and Bernard, submitted by the clergy of Boston. These writers were also clergymen, who were deemed by the judges to know but little of law as a technical science. The opinions of the clergy, however, on legal and political subjects into which moral questions enter largely are not always safely to be rejected. It had been well with the twenty victims at Salem, if the ministers of the colony, instead of the lawyers, had determined their fate. And yet the chief responsibility for those judicial murders at Salem has been ascribed to the

* New England Tragedies, p. 110. † Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. V. p. 72.

credulity and superstition of the New England clergy, and that, too, by members of the same profession.*

While the trials at Salem were in progress, Increase Mather, then President of Harvard College, was requested by the ministers of Boston to prepare a more elaborate statement of their views, a brief synopsis of which was contained in their advice of June 15. He entered upon the work forthwith, and finished it October 3, 1692. It was printed soon after in Boston and London, with the title of "Cases of Conscience concerning Evil Spirits personating Men," 1693. The copy before us is a reprint, bearing the date, London, 1862. The note, "To the Reader," indorsing the statements and opinions contained in the work, is signed by fourteen ministers of Boston and the vicinity. This is, perhaps, one of the most important documents relating to the history of Salem Witchcraft, and cannot be ignored in a full and candid treatment of the subject. How it should have escaped Mr. Upham's attention is more than we can account for. Calef makes allusions to, and quotations from, it in seven instances. We assume that Mr. Upham has not seen this tract, as he has neither mentioned it nor made use of its material. He seems to be in a quandary as to the position of Increase Mather in these proceedings. At one time he makes the father to be equally implicated with the son. Then he qualifies this opinion, and shows a discrepancy in their views. Again, he relapses into his first position, and finally concludes that the father has much the better record of the two. The truth is, that they held the same opinions. If Mr. Upham had seen the "Cases of Conscience," he would have known what Increase Mather's opinions were.

The book affirms the existence of witchcraft and witches. "The Scriptures assert it, and experience confirms it. They are the common enemies of mankind, and set upon mischief." It is chiefly devoted to the methods of detecting and punishing witches, which was the question of the day. "The more exe-

* Calef's enmity to the Mathers, and his want of candor as an historical writer, appear in the following extract: "It is rather a wonder that no more blood was shed; for if that advice of his [the Governor's] pastors [the two Mathers] could have still prevailed with him, witchcraft had not been so shammed off as it was." — *More Wonders*, p. 153.

crable the crime is," say the fourteen ministers in their preface, "the more critical care is to be used in the exposure of the names, liberties, and lives of men, especially of a godly conversation, to the imputation of it." Cotton Mather, in his "Wonders of the Invisible World" (p. 14), has substantially the same remark: "But I will venture to say this further, that it will be safe to account the names, as well as the lives, of our neighbors." Would it not be well for historians, in dealing with the names of godly men of a past generation, to use the same critical care? Shall we blame our ancestors for practising methods in the twilight of the seventeenth century which we ourselves repeat in the noon of the nineteenth?

We shall quote from "Cases of Conscience" only with reference to a single inquiry, — whether spectres, fits, spasms, touches, and other abnormal appearances, are to be regarded as legal evidence. Mr. Mather answers this question in his opening sentence: —

"The first case that I am desired to express my judgment in is this: Whether it is not possible for the Devil to impose on the imaginations of persons bewitched, and to cause them to believe that an innocent, yea, that a pious person does torment them, when the Devil himself doth it; or whether Satan may not appear in the shape of an innocent and pious, as well as of a nocent and wicked person, to afflict such as suffer by diabolical molestations. The answer to the question must be affirmative."

He then proceeds to prove it. In the course of his argument he quotes from Mr. Bernard: "If the Devil can represent to the witch a seeming Samuel, saying, 'I see gods ascending out of the earth,' to beguile Saul, may we not think he can represent a common ordinary man or woman, to deceive them and others that will give credit to the Devil?" Mr. Mather adds: "As for the judgment of the elders of N. E., so far as I can learn, they do generally concur with Mr. Perkins and Bernard." He regards the strange exhibitions proceeding from the sight and touch as occasioned by some demon. To use such exhibitions as evidence is nothing less than witchcraft itself. "We ought not," he says, "to practise witchcraft to discover witches. If we may not take the oath of a distracted or of a possessed person in a case of murder, theft, or felony of

any sort, then neither may we do it in a case of witchcraft." He makes "the judicious Mr. Perkins" his authority for the statement, that "the ways of trying witches in many nations were invented by the Devil himself." In his Postscript he says: —

"Some, I hear, have taken up the notion, that the book published by my son [Wonders of the Invisible World] is contradictory to this of mine. 'T is strange that such imaginations should enter into the minds of men. I perused and approved of that book before it was printed; and nothing but my relation to him hindered me from recommending it to the world. But myself and son agreed unto the humble advice which twelve ministers concurringly presented before his Excellency and Council respecting the present difficulties, which let the world judge whether there be anything in it dissentary from what is attested by either of us."

Cotton Mather, in the Life of his father, 1724 (p. 166), says: "But what gave the most illumination to the country, and a turn to the tide, was the special service which he did in composing and publishing his very learned *Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcraft.* . . . . Upon this the Governor pardoned such as had been condemned; and the spirit of the country ran violently upon acquitting all the accused."

Cotton Mather never attended one of the trials at Salem * in any capacity, — as adviser, witness, or spectator. He made visits to Salem while those sad and pitiful scenes were occurring, but, as we shall presently see, for quite another purpose than that which has been alleged. The intimation that he took delight in these proceedings is a groundless accusation. His book, though written in haste and amid excitement, is full of compassion for the poor afflicted ones. His method of combating witchcraft by spiritual weapons he never swerved from, even when admitting that the civil magistrates had a duty to perform. Not an expression implying bloodthirstiness can be found in all his writings. Pity for the suffering and charity for all were the ruling principles of his life. Prayer was ever his method of dealing with supposed cases of witchcraft. "O that, instead of letting our hearts rise against one another, our prayers might rise unto a high pitch of importunity! Especially let them that are suffering by witchcraft be sure and

* See his statement in Calef, p. 54.

stay and pray, and beseech the Lord thrice before they complain of any neighbor for afflicting them." *

Soon after the outbreak at Salem, we find him endeavoring to put in practice the methods which had, as he supposed, restored the Goodwin children. For the following statement of his proceedings, written by Mr. Mather in 1693, but not printed by him, we are indebted to the book of his enemy, Calef.

"After that storm was raised at Salem, I did myself offer to provide meat, drink, and lodging for no less than six of the afflicted, that so an experiment might be made, whether Prayer with Fasting, upon the removal of the distressed, might not put a period to the trouble then rising, without giving the civil authority the trouble of prosecuting those things.

"In short, I do humbly, but freely, affirm it, there is not that man living in this world who has been more desirous than the poor man I to shelter my neighbors from the inconveniences of spectral outcries. . . . . The name of no one good person in the world ever came under any blemish by means of any afflicted person that fell under my particular cognizance; yea, no one man, woman, or child ever came into any trouble for the sake of any that were afflicted, after I had once begun to look after 'em. How often have I had this thrown into my dish, that many years ago I had an opportunity to have brought forth such people as have in the late storm of witchcraft been complained of, but that I smothered all!" — *More Wonders*, p. 11.

These statements appear in an account by Mr. Mather of the case of Margaret Rule in 1693. Calef obtained possession of the paper, and printed it seven years later, without Mr. Mather's consent, together with a letter from Mather to himself. These writings of Mr. Mather, which are nowhere else to be found, constitute the chief historical value of Calef's book. Mr. Mather, in his "Life of Sir William Phips," printed in 1697, and included, in 1702, in the "Magnalia," mentioned some of these incidents, but did not state that he himself was the person who made the proposals named. He says: —

"In fine, the country was in a dreadful ferment, and wise men foresaw a long train of dismal and bloody consequences. Hereupon they first advised that the afflicted might be kept asunder in the closest pri-

* Wonders of the Invisible World, p. 17.

vacy; and one particular person (whom I have cause to know), in pursuance of this advice, offered himself, singly, to provide accommodations for any six of them, that so the success of more than ordinary power of *prayer* and *fasting* might with *patience* be experienced, before any other courses were taken." — *Magnalia*, Vol. I. p. 210, Hartford, 1853.

There are later allusions to these incidents in "Some Few Remarks," 1701 (p. 38), "Life of Increase Mather," 1724 (p. 165), and "Life of Cotton Mather," 1729 (p. 45).

Mr. Upham charges Mr. Mather not only with "having been active in carrying on the delusion in Salem and elsewhere," but with having "endeavored, after the delusion subsided, to escape the disgrace of having approved of the proceedings, and pretended to have been in some measure opposed to them, while it can be too clearly shown that he was secretly and cunningly endeavoring to renew them during the next year in his own parish in Boston." * The evidence to sustain these grave charges Mr. Upham has not produced, and for the best of reasons, that it does not exist. His only attempt to sustain the accusation is by references to Mr. Mather's "Life of Sir William Phips." He says that the author published it anonymously, "in order that he might commend himself with more freedom." But an assumption of what Mr. Mather's motives were, and what "he was secretly and cunningly endeavoring" to do, is not proof. He says, further, that Mr. Mather, in the "Life of Phips," when quoting from the advice of the Boston ministers of June 15, 1692, "left out those passages in which it was vehemently urged to carry the proceedings on 'speedily and vigorously.'" Mr. Mather did not profess to quote the whole advice; he simply made extracts from it, omitting three entire sections, — the first, second, and eighth. The eighth section he printed in full in his "Wonders" (p. 12), which Mr. Upham has never done. In the five sections which he quoted he did not garble a sentence or change a word. If it were such a heinous crime for Cotton Mather, in writing the "Life of Sir William Phips," to omit three sections, how will Mr. Upham vindicate his own omissions, when, writing the history of these very transactions, and bringing the gravest charges against the character of the

* History, Vol. II. pp. 366, 367.

persons concerned, he leaves out seven sections? This advice is a part of the record, and does not exhibit the clergymen of Boston, and particularly Cotton Mather, at all in harmony with Mr. Upham's coloring.

But this is not all. Mr. Upham does not print any part of the eighth section as the ministers adopted it. He suppresses the essential portions, changes words, and by interpolation states that the ministers "decidedly," "earnestly," and "vehemently"* recommended that the "proceedings" should be vigorously carried on. One who quotes in this manner needs other evidence than that produced by Mr. Upham to entitle him to impeach Mr. Mather's integrity. He adds: "Unfortunately, however, for the reputation of Cotton Mather, Hutchinson has preserved the address of the ministers entire, and it appears that they approved, applauded, and stimulated the prosecutions, — and that the people of Salem and the surrounding country were the victims of a delusion, the principal promoters of which have, to a great degree, been sheltered from reproach by a dishonest artifice, which has now been exposed"! Mr. Upham supposes that Hutchinson, by good fortune, rescued the Advice from oblivion, and thus enabled him to expose Cotton Mather's dishonesty! Mr. Upham should have been familiar enough with the original sources of information on the subject to have found this Advice in print seventy-four years before Hutchinson's History appeared. Hutchinson took the Advice, as we did, from the Postscript of Increase Mather's "Cases of Conscience," 1693. Mr. Upham might have found this information in Calef, who says,† "The whole of the Advice is printed in 'Cases of Conscience,' the last pages."

The charge has been brought by many writers, that, while the excellent Samuel Sewall, one of the judges, made a public confession in the Old South Church, Cotton Mather never repented, nor openly expressed any remorse for the course pursued by him. Why should he? What had he to repent of? For what ought he to have felt remorse? For endeavoring to dissuade the judges from pursuing the course they did? For offering to take six of the afflicted children out of the excitement of Salem Village and care for them at his own house?

* History, Vol. II. pp. 268, 368.

† More Wonders, p. 152.

For believing that there were devils, and that evil spirits took part in the affairs of men? The more Mr. Mather saw and heard of these scenes at Salem, the more he was convinced of the reality of devils' agency. Calef, the alleged disbeliever, said, November 24, 1693:* "That there are witches is not the doubt; the Scriptures else were in vain, which assign their punishment to be death. But what this witchcraft is, and wherein does it consist, seems to be the whole difficulty." This statement was made after Mr. Mather had prosecuted him for libel. Whether this circumstance had any influence on his opinions we leave for the consideration of Mr. Calef's admirers.

The more we investigate these events, the more strongly we are convinced that there was some influence exerted (we give it no name) which was wholly abnormal, and which cannot be accounted for on Mr. Upham's hypothesis of fraud and self-deception. Cotton Mather, his father, and all the religious men of that day went to their graves in full belief in the reality of witchcraft. It was the "blades" and "learned witlings of the Coffee House"† who objected to and ridiculed the doctrine. Writing in 1701 to his parishioners, Mather says: "About the troubles we have had from the invisible world, I have at present nothing to offer you, but that I believe they were too dark and too deep for ordinary comprehension, and it may be errors on both hands have attended them, which will never be understood until the day when Satan shall be bound after another manner than he is at this day. But for my own part, I know not that ever I have advanced any opinion in the matter of witchcraft but what all the ministers of the Lord that I know of in the world, whether English, or Scotch, or French, or Dutch (and I know many), are of the same opinion with me."‡

Mr. Upham§ makes the statement, and often repeats it, that Cotton Mather's connection with Salem Witchcraft "left him a wreck,"—and this before he had reached the age of thirty years! But the course pursued even by the judges did not impair their popularity. Stoughton and most of his associates were reappointed, when, soon after, the court was remodelled,

* More Wonders, p. 17.
† Mather in Calef, p. 10.
‡ Some Few Remarks, p. 42.
§ History, Vol. II. p. 503.

and served for years with the confidence and the esteem of the public. Mr. Parris maintained his position as minister at Salem Village for five years after the witch excitement, and the immediate cause of his leaving was his quarrel with the parish concerning thirty cords of wood and the fee of the parsonage.* How Cotton Mather should have been left a wreck requires some explanation. Mr. Upham illustrates this point by a long extract from Mr. Mather's private diary, written thirty-two years later, and four years before his death, in which no allusion is made to Salem Witchcraft. The writer was then in the deepest domestic affliction. His third wife was insane. Thirteen of his fifteen children had died, which had nearly broken his heart. His eldest son, Increase, for his recklessness and dissipation, had been sent to sea, and news had just arrived that he had been washed overboard. His own mind, says Mr. Peabody, was "almost on the verge of insanity." In the passage Mr. Upham quotes, Mr. Mather thinks that he has not so many friends as he deserves, — that many of his intentions to do good have met with little success, — and that he should have had the Presidency of Harvard College. It requires a lively imagination to connect these morbid feelings with Salem Witchcraft. Mr. Mather's course in introducing inoculation for small-pox in 1720, in the face of nearly the whole medical profession, — who opposed it on theological grounds, while he advocated it on medical principles, — did for a time impair his popularity with his contemporaries, and occasioned him much annoyance.† But his publications, of which thirty-one appeared before 1693, and three hundred and fifty-two subsequently, show that the witchcraft delusion of 1692 did not leave him a wreck.

It may seem strange that one who wrote so many books made no public vindication of himself, and that we must go to the book of his personal enemy, Calef, for facts with which to defend him from modern reproaches. He had done nothing that required vindication. He kept on his way and left events to explain themselves. Calef's course, in 1693, he regarded as a deliberate attempt to break down his character and usefulness. He wrote Calef a letter, by the printing of which the

* Drake's Witchcraft, Vol. III. p. 220. † Mather Papers, p. 448.

latter demolished his own credibility as a witness. A copy of Calef's "More Wonders of the Invisible World," in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library, has on the cover an autograph note of Mather's in these words: "Job xxxi. 35, 36. My Desire is — that mine Adversary had written a Book. Surely I would take it upon my Shoulder, and bind it as a Crown to me. Co: Mather." In "Some Few Remarks" (p. 36), he says: "He [Calef] has been so uncivil as to print a composure of mine, utterly without and against my consent; but the good Providence of God has therein overruled his malice; for if that may have impartial readers, he will have his confutation, and I my perpetual vindication."

Calef's book, in our opinion, has a reputation much beyond its merits. What it contains condemnatory of the Salem proceedings was stated earlier, and in a clearer and more forcible manner, in the writings of the two Mathers and of Samuel Willard. If Mr. Upham had read Mr. Willard's "Some Miscellany Observations," printed in Philadelphia in 1692, he would never have said of Calef, that "his strong faculties and moral courage enabled him to become the most efficient opponent in his day of the system of false reasoning upon which the prosecutions rested"*; or of John Wise, of Ipswich, that "he was perhaps the only minister in the neighborhood or country who was discerning enough to see the erroneousness of the [Salem] proceedings from the beginning"†; or of Robert Pike's letter against the Salem methods, that "no such piece of reasoning has come down to us from that age."‡ Calef's faculties, as indicated by his writings, appear to us to have been of an inferior order; and as to his being "the most efficient opponent of the false reasoning," his name nowhere appears in the record until the storm had passed over, and the people had somewhat recovered their senses. Without discussing the character and motives of Calef, it is clear that he had a very feeble conception of what credible testimony is, or of the proper method of stating it. Mr. Mather and his friends believed that the misstatements of Calef's book arose from downright malice. Of his account of the interview at the bedside of Margaret Rule, in 1693, when he and the two

* History, Vol. II. p. 461. † Ibid., p. 305. ‡ Ibid., p. 448.

Mathers were present, Cotton Mather says, "There are as many lies as there are lines in it." It doubtless contained many misstatements; but we are willing to account for them by the writer's loose habits of observation, and looser methods of stating what he observed. When Calef, soon after, was passing his manuscript about, hearing that Mr. Mather intended to prosecute him for slander, he sent it to Mather, who replied, "I do scarcely find any one thing in the whole paper, whether respecting my father or self, either fairly or truly represented." He terms the narrative "an indecent travesty." He specifies some of its misrepresentations: —

"When the main design in visiting the poor afflicted creature was to prevent the accusations of the neighborhood, can it be fairly represented that our design was to draw out such accusations? When we asked Rule whether she thought she knew who tormented her, the question was but an introduction to the solemn charges which we then largely gave, that she should rather die than tell the names of any whom she might imagine that she knew. Your informers have reported the question, and report nothing of what follows as essential to the giving of that question. And can this be termed a piece of fairness? . . . 'T is no less untrue that either my father or self put the question, How many witches sit upon you? We always cautiously avoided that expression, it being contrary to our inward belief. All the standers-by* will, I believe, swear they did not hear us use it, your witnesses excepted; and I tremble to think how hardy those woful creatures must be to call the Almighty by an oath to so false a thing." — *Letter to Calef*, in *More Wonders*, p. 20.†

The precise form of the question to which Mr. Mather last objects appears in Calef's narrative thus: "What, do there a great many witches sit upon you?" Calef, in his reply, seeks to evade the point of Mr. Mather's objection by saying, "I find not in the narrative any such question as 'How many witches sit upon you?'"

As Calef persisted in circulating his paper, Mr. Mather caused him to be arrested for libel. The modern revilers of Mr. Mather say that he did not dare bring the case to trial. This explanation is wholly gratuitous. Mr. Mather, though

* There were from thirty to forty in the room.

† Mr. Peabody quotes Calef's statement, but omits Mr. Mather's denial. — *Life of Mather*, p. 251.

at first much annoyed by Calef's charges, soon found that no one whose good opinion he esteemed believed them.* Probably his feelings towards his traducer changed from resentment to scorn and pity, and he abandoned the suit as not worth following up. He said, after Calef's book appeared: —

"I have had the honor to be aspersed and abused by Robert Calef. I remember, that, when this miserable man sent unto an eminent minister in the town [Samuel Willard] a libellous letter, which he has now published, and when he demanded an answer, that reverend person only said: 'Go, tell him that the answer to him and his letter is in the twenty-sixth of the Proverbs and the fourth.' The reason that made me unwilling to trust any of my writings in the hands of this man was because I saw the weaver (though he presumes to call himself a merchant) was a stranger to all the rules of civility, and I foresaw I should be served as now I find." — *Some Few Remarks*, pp. 34, 35.

To Mr. Mather's severe letter Calef replied in a rambling statement, without substantiating his original charges, or seeming to appreciate the position in which the discussion left his own reputation as a credible witness. If he had not intentionally lied, he had a very imperfect appreciation of truth.

Mr. Mather has been reproved for trifling with Calef's name in calling him *Calf*. This was the family name. Two facsimiles of his own autograph, *Robert Calfe* and *Ro: Calfe*, may be seen in Drake's "Witchcraft Delusion." † His wife, in her will, wrote her name simply *Calf*.‡ The records of the town of Boston, April, 1694, show that Robert *Calfe* was chosen hayward and fence-viewer. We have seen also a facsimile of his autograph in a presentation copy of his book now in the possession of a gentleman in New York, written Robert *Calef*, in harmony with his title-page.

There is on every page of Mr. Upham's writings in which he alludes to Mr. Mather an unaccountable looseness of statement in minor details; and they are errors which lead the reader, who has not sufficient knowledge of the subject to correct them, to a wrong estimate of Mr. Mather's character. We will illustrate what we mean by a single extract concerning the case of Margaret Rule. Mr. Upham says: § "He

* Some Few Remarks, p. 32.
† Vol. II. pp. xxii. xxiv.
‡ Ibid., p. xxv.
§ History, Vol. II. p. 489.

[Mr. Mather] succeeded that next summer in getting up a wonderful case of witchcraft, in the person of one Margaret Rule, a member of his congregation in Boston. *Dr.* Mather published an account of her long-continued fastings," etc. Mr. Mather did not "get up" the case of Margaret Rule. He went to see her, as Calef and crowds of other curious people did. The case did not occur in the summer: the date is patent to any one who will look for it. The girl was first taken with fits on the 10th of September, 1693, and the remarkable features of the case occurred subsequently. That she was a member of Mr. Mather's congregation before September, 1693, it will be difficult for Mr. Upham to prove.* Mr. Mather was not *Dr.* Mather. Mr. Mather did not publish an account of her long-continued fastings, or any other account of the case. These are not unimportant errors, but concern the character of one against whom Mr. Upham manifests a strong bias. Under these unsuspected historical inaccuracies Mr. Upham has introduced perhaps the most serious charge he has made against Cotton Mather. If, after the barbarities which had been committed at Salem, Cotton Mather the year following, he being of sane mind, "got up" the case referred to, for the purpose of repeating the Salem proceedings (as Mr. Upham again and again charges upon him), then we also would join with his enemies to cover his name and memory with infamy. But we claim that Mr. Mather shall not be condemned by other than competent evidence.

Mr. Upham's narrative proceeds in the same loose method: "So far was he successful in spreading the delusion, that he prevailed upon six men to testify that they had seen Margaret Rule lifted bodily from her bed and raised by an invisible

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* The minister who prayed for the deliverance of this young woman, and "pleaded that she belonged to his flock and charge," and whom she called her father (Calef, p. 8), we may infer, from what follows on the next page, was not Mr. Mather, the writer, who says: "I inquired whether what had been said of that man were true, and I gained exact and certain information that it was precisely so; but I doubt, in relating this passage, that I have used more openness than a friend should be treated with." Mr. Drake says: "Where the family of Rule came from, or what became of them, does not appear. They were, perhaps, transient sojourners here." (Witchcraft Delusion, II. 49.) Mr. Bancroft (III. 97), following Mr. Upham, says that "Cotton Mather got up a case of witchcraft in his own parish."

power so as to touch the garret floor." This, of course, seems to Mr. Upham very absurd; but similar instances of elevation are recorded in modern times, and are believed in by those who accept the theory of spiritualism. A bed was lifted in this manner in the house of the Wesleys at Epworth. And Cotton Mather "prevailed upon six men" — Samuel Aves, Robert Earle, John Wilkins, Daniel Williams, Thomas Thornton, and William Hudson* — to testify in three depositions to — what? a fact? Testifying to a fact is a commonplace incident, and divests the statement of all its significance. The inference prepared for the reader is, that Mr. Mather prevailed upon six persons to testify to a falsehood, — and all this without a particle of evidence to sustain the charge.

No incident has been used with more effect to break down the reputation of Cotton Mather than the statement that he was present, mounted on horseback, at the execution of George Burroughs. Every school-boy knows the story by heart. This "dreadful horseman" has been tramping through history for nearly two centuries, down even into the text-books in our common schools. It is time that he reined up, at least for a moment, and gave some account of himself. The story has been used by many writers to show that Mr. Mather took delight in scenes of this description, and that he attended witch executions out of curiosity, and in full sympathy with these judicial murders. How changed would be the moral of the story, if it could be shown that he was there as the spiritual adviser and comforter of one or more of the sufferers that day!

The only authority for the story is Calef. Perhaps we have already said enough of Calef's disqualifications as a witness. An examination of his original statement will further illustrate his credibility.

"As soon as he [Burroughs] was turned off, Mr. Cotton Mather, being mounted upon a horse, addressed himself to the people, partly to declare that he was no ordained minister, and partly to possess the people of his guilt, saying that the Devil has often been transformed into an Angel of Light; and this did somewhat appease the people, and the executions went on." — *More Wonders*, p. 104.

* Calef, pp. 22, 23.

If we accept this statement, we must infer that five persons were hanged separately, or in squads, the other victims being kept in waiting for their turn. Here was a refinement of cruelty of which the authorities at Salem, in charity let us believe, were not capable. The mode of execution was very simple, and five persons could be swung off at once as easily as one. Calef himself furnishes us with evidence that such was the practice in Salem, where eight persons were hanged thirty-six days later. He says (p. 108): "After the executions, Mr. Noyes [a Salem minister], turning him to the bodies, said: 'What a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of Hell hanging there!'" — an expression which has often been attributed to Cotton Mather. Mr. Upham cites, from a letter written by the venerable Dr. Holyoke, the statement of a person who "saw those unhappy people hanging on Gallows Hill."*

Calef goes on with his narrative: —

"When he [Burroughs] was cut down, he was dragged by the halter to a hole, or grave, between the rocks, about two feet deep, his shirt and breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of trousers of one executed put on his lower parts, he was so put in, together with [John] Willard and [Martha] Carrier, one of his hands and his chin, and a foot of one of them, being left uncovered."

Observe the minuteness of detail: three persons, one of them a woman, buried in a grave two feet deep! — a shirt and an old pair of trousers pulled off (in the presence of the crowd apparently) from one victim and put upon another! — and when the bodies were partially covered, and certain parts exposed, he states that one of the hands and the chin belonged to Burroughs, and a foot to some one of them! Our surprise is that Calef did not identify the foot. Mr. Upham expands the narrative of Calef by stating that the grave of Burroughs, Willard, and Carrier (two feet deep and uncovered) was "trampled down by the mob."† We have never seen any evidence of this assertion, and should be glad to have it produced.

Rev. William Bentley, D. D., in "A Description and History of Salem," printed in 1800,‡ speaking of the execution

* History, Vol. II. p. 377.

† Lectures, p. 104.

‡ Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. VI. p. 268.

of Burroughs, says: "It was said that the bodies were not properly buried; but upon an examination of the ground, the graves were found of the usual depth, and the remains of the bodies, and of the wood in which they were interred." The bodies, it appears, were placed in coffins, and buried at the usual depth.* Calef's narrative is, therefore, shown to be incorrect or improbable in many particulars. He does not state that he was present at the executions, and may have had the story from mere rumor. We do not impute to him any intentional misrepresentation, but simply an incapacity to ascertain and state facts with accuracy; and inferences have been drawn from the narrative which the text of Calef does not warrant. There may be, too, a thread of truth amid this web of errors; and what that truth is we may possibly ascertain by investigation in other directions.

The attendance of a clergyman at a scene of execution, even on horseback, — at that time the common mode of travelling, — could have been no unusual circumstance. On the contrary, his presence on such occasions is deemed as necessary as that of the hangman. Were those five persons executed that day without any spiritual adviser? Had Mr. Mather spiritual relations with any of the sufferers? We beg to remind Mr. Upham of some facts in this connection which may be useful to him in case he prints a new edition of his History. Mr. Thomas Brattle, speaking of the persons who had been condemned, says: —

"They protested their innocency as in the presence of the great God, whom forthwith they were to appear before; they wished, and declared their wish, that their blood might be the last innocent blood shed upon that account. With great affection they entreated Mr. C. M. to pray with them; they prayed that God would discover what witchcrafts were among us; they forgave their accusers; they spake without reflection on jury and judges for bringing them in guilty and condemning them, and seemed to be very sincere, upright, and sensible

* It may be said that the bodies were reburied. But when, and by whom? The bodies of Proctor and Jacobs were delivered to their friends, and were buried on their own farms. What possible motive could there be for treating the remains of the other three victims with such indignity? For all that appears to the contrary in Calef's narrative, he is describing the final disposition of the bodies.

of their circumstances on all accounts; especially Proctor and Willard, whose whole management of themselves from the jail to the gallows was very affecting and melting to the hearts of some considerable spectators, whom I could mention to you." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. V. p. 68.

Mr. Brattle mentions no other person than "Mr. C. M." as the comforter and friend of the sufferers, "especially Proctor and Willard." In the above statement we trace the character of their spiritual counsellor. It was necessary for these persons to seek spiritual advice from abroad. Proctor begged Mr. Noyes to pray with him, but was refused, unless he would confess that he was guilty.* Proctor and Willard had been confined for several months in the Boston jail,† and there, doubtless, made Mr. Mather's acquaintance, as he was an habitual visitor of the prisons. We now see the object of Mr. Mather's visits to Salem, — for he attended none of the trials, — and what he means when he says: "It may be no man living ever had more people under preternatural and astonishing circumstances cast by the providence of God into his more particular care than I have had."‡ Would these persons have asked Mr. Mather to be their spiritual comforter, if he had been the agent, as has been alleged, of bringing them into their sad condition? If Mr. Mather was present at Witch Hill, August 19, 1692, he was there, we believe, simply in the performance of a sad duty to Proctor and Willard, who were executed that day. That his conduct and bearing on that occasion were in any manner deserving of reproach is wholly without proof or probability.

The following statement of Mr. Brattle is a complete refutation of the charges brought against the clergy for their agency in the witch trials: —

"But although the chief judge and some of the other judges be very zealous in these proceedings, yet this you may take for a truth, that there are several about the Bay, men of understanding, judgment, and piety inferior to few, if any, in New England, that do utterly condemn the said proceedings, and do freely deliver their judgment in the case to be this, viz., that these methods will utterly ruin and undo poor New England."

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* Lectures, p. 99.

† Felt's Salem, Vol. II. pp. 476, 477.

‡ Some Few Remarks, p. 39.

He mentions some of these, — namely, Simon Bradstreet, Thomas Danforth, Increase Mather, Samuel Willard, and Nathaniel Saltonstall. He adds: "Excepting Mr. Hale [of Beverly], Mr. Noyes and Mr. Parris [both of Salem], *the reverend elders almost throughout the whole country are very much dissatisfied.*" *

That Mr. Brattle should make no other mention of Cotton Mather than that heretofore adverted to requires some explanation, and raises the inquiry whether there is no tacit reference to him. If he acted the *rôle* assigned to him by Mr. Upham, the omission is wholly unaccountable. In the following passage Mr. Brattle alludes to some person whom he does not name: —

"I cannot but highly applaud, and think it our duty to be very thankful for, the endeavors of several elders, whose lips I think should preserve knowledge, and whose counsel should, I think, have been more regarded, in a case of this nature, than yet it hath been. In particular, I cannot but think very honorably of the endeavors of *a Rev. person of Boston*, whose good affection to his country in general, and spiritual relation to three of the judges in particular, has made him very solicitous and industrious in this matter; and I am fully persuaded, that, had his notions and proposals been hearkened to and followed, when these troubles were in their birth, in the ordinary way, they would never have grown unto that height which now they have. He has as yet met with little but unkindness, abuse, and reproach from many men; but I trust that in after times his wisdom and service will find a more universal acknowledgment; and if not, his reward is with the Lord." — *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. V. pp. 76, 77.

Who was this person? The editor has a note, "Supposed to be Mr. Willard." He doubtless based this opinion on the fact that three of the judges, Winthrop, Sewall, and Sergeant, were members of Mr. Willard's church (the Old South). We do not assert that this inference is not the correct one; but we venture to make some suggestions on this point. Samuel Willard had been mentioned by name on the preceding page, with Increase Mather and others, as opposing the proceedings at Salem. Having so recently commended him by name, why should Mr. Brattle speak of him again anonymously? Rich-

* Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. V. pp. 74, 75.

ards was a member of Mr. Mather's church. Wait Winthrop and Stoughton were very intimate friends of Mr. Mather, and he had "spiritual relations" with them. Mr. Brattle does not say that these judges were members of the "Rev. person's" church. Stoughton, whose church relations were in Dorchester, was a "Mather man," and Mr. Upham would have his readers believe that Mr. Mather held his conscience and moulded his opinions.* To Wait Winthrop Mr. Mather inscribed his "Memorable Providences," 1689, "whom," he says, "I reckon among the best of my friends." Mr. Mather preached his funeral discourse, and composed his epitaph. Mr. Mather, we know, "was very solicitous and industrious in this matter," and was full of "notions and proposals, when these troubles were in their birth," which were not "hearkened to and followed." Mr. Willard, whose views were the same as Mr. Mather's, held his more quietly, and if he had "notions and proposals," we do not know what they were. The last sentence is particularly applicable to Mr. Mather; for while the executions were going on, he fell under the disapprobation of both parties, — of the more moderate party, because he had preached and written so zealously on the subject of Witchcraft as a theological question, and of the more violent party, because, when the trials and executions took place, he did not give them his support. If Mr. Mather is not alluded to in this paragraph, he is omitted altogether from the narrative, except as spiritual adviser of the persons condemned. It will seem very improbable to the accusers of Mr. Mather that he had no other connection with the proceedings.

Mr. Mather, Mr. Allen, Mr. Moody, Mr. Willard, Mr. Baily, and Mr. Morton acted as a unit in this whole matter. Five of them held prayer-meetings at the house of John Goodwin in 1688. Four of them commended and prefaced Mr. Mather's "Memorable Providences" in 1689. They approved and indorsed Increase Mather's "Cases of Conscience," in 1693; and Cotton Mather, Allen, Willard, and Morton, who were Fellows, set their names to "Certain Proposals made by the President and Fellows of Harvard College" in 1694, soliciting accounts, among other things illustrious and remarkable,

* History, Vol. II. p. 250.

of apparitions, possessions, enchantments, and all extraordinary things wherein the existence and agency of the invisible world are more sensibly demonstrated. Any statement, therefore, concerning the opinions and conduct of either of these clergymen in relation to witchcraft may be applied to them all.*

Mr. Joseph Willard, in the biography of his ancestor,† appropriates Mr. Brattle's commendation of "a Rev. person of Boston" to the benefit of that ancestor, without intimating that the allusion is anonymous. He says: "Mr. Willard early saw through the infatuation which was so thoroughly infused among the people, and by which almost every one else was blinded, — an infatuation, if not created, yet marvellously promoted, by Cotton Mather. He openly opposed it in public and private, he preached against it, and he wrote and published a pamphlet on the subject, entitled, 'Some Miscellany Observations respecting Witchcraft in a Dialogue between S. and B., 1692.'" If by the term "infatuation" he meant a belief in the reality of witchcraft, he was wrong in saying that his ancestor opposed it, as he was wrong in imputing to Cotton Mather the charge of "creating or marvellously promoting" that belief. Mr. Upham says, ‡ "Mr. Willard signed the paper indorsing Deodat Lawson's famous sermon, which surely drove on the prosecutions," and seems to be wholly in the dark as to Mr. Willard's position, as much as he is of Increase Mather's. If he had read Mr. Willard's anonymous tract, his doubts would have been cleared up. Calef, in a letter to Mr. Willard, dated September 20, 1695, names "that late seasonable and well-designed Dialogue intituled, *Some Miscellany Observations*, &c., of which yourself is the supposed author, and which was so serviceable in the time of it," § and quotes from it. It is a quarto tract of sixteen pages. Its reproduction at this time would throw

* John Proctor and others, while awaiting trial, addressed a letter to "Mr. Mather, Mr. Allen, Mr. Moody, Mr. Willard, and Mr. Baily," asking them for their influence and sympathy. "Proctor," says Mr. Upham (History, Vol. II. p. 310), "addressed his letter to these persons because he believed them to be superior in wisdom and candid in spirit." He avoids giving Cotton Mather credit, by saying, "Of course Mr. Mather means Increase Mather." It is so evident, from the connection in which we habitually find the names of these clergymen, that Cotton Mather was the person addressed, that we deem it unnecessary to discuss the point.

† American Quarterly Register, Vol. XII. p. 113.

‡ History, Vol. II. p. 455.

§ More Wonders, p. 38.

more light upon the opinions of the New England clergy respecting witchcraft than any other document which has not been republished. It is written with great ability and logical acumen. The "S. and B." who carry on the dialogue may have been intended for Stoughton and Brattle, or Salem and Boston. "S." defends the theory of the magistrates, and "B." that of the clergy. We give a few extracts.

"*S.* I understand that you and many others are greatly dissatisfied at the proceedings among us, and have sought to obstruct them. Do you believe there are any witches?

"*B.* Yes, no doubt; the Scripture clear for it; and it is an injurious reflection that some of yours have cast upon us, as if we called that truth in question!

"*S.* Ought not, then, witches to be punished?

"*B.* Without question; the precept of God's word is for it; only they must first be so proved.

"*S.* But may not witches be so detected, as to be liable to a righteous sentence and execution?

"*B.* I believe it; though I think it is not so easy as some make it. Yet God often righteously leaves them to discover themselves.

"*S.* Ought not the civil magistrate to use the utmost diligence in the searching out witchcraft, when he is directed by God's providence to grounds of a just suspicion of it?

"*B.* Doubtless; yet ought he to manage the matter with great prudence and caution, and attend right rules of search."

["B." now becomes the questioner.]

"*B.* Taking it for granted that there are witches in New England, which no rational man will deny, I ask whether innocent persons may not be falsely accused of witchcraft?

"*S.* I verily believe it; and hope none of you suppose us so uncharitable as to think the contrary.

"*B.* Do you not think it a hard lot for an innocent person to have the aspersion of witchcraft cast upon him?

"*S.* Without scruple. There is no crime more scandalous and abominable, nor any that is with more difficulty wiped off.

"*B.* All of you are not so minded on my knowledge." [He then states at considerable length the outrageous and illegal methods pursued by the magistrates in committing a person accused]: "without bail, his credit stained, his liberty restrained, his time lost, and great charges and damages come upon him, which who shall repair?

"*S.* These things seem to have some weight in them; but I think them alien to our case. Please, then, to proceed.

"*B.* I believe them so not alien; but for the present let me ask: Do you think that a less clear evidence is sufficient for conviction in the case of witchcraft than is necessary in other capital cases, suppose murder?

"*S.* We suppose it necessary to take up with less; how else shall witches be detected and punished?

"*B.* This is a dangerous principle, and contrary to the mind of God, who hath appointed that there shall be good and clear proof against the criminal. Nor hath God excepted this case of witchcraft from the general rule. Besides, reason tells us, that, the more horrid the crime is, the more cautious we ought to be in making any guilty of it.

"*S.* But how, then, shall witches be detected and executed? Must the land groan under the burden of them, and is there no relief?

"*B.* Witches, as other criminals, are not to be executed till detected, nor are they detected till indubitably proved to be so; for which we are to use God's way, and wait His time." [He then quotes Perkins and Bernard, the authorities recommended by the ministers in their Advice.]

"*S.* You seem to be very nice and critical on this point.

"*B.* And why not? there is life in the case; besides a perpetual infamy on the person, and a ruinous reproach upon his family."

[They then take up spectral testimony, the credibility of confessed witches, and other evidence received at the Salem trials, which "B." subjects to the keenest criticism and most scathing condemnation.]

As evidence to support his charge, that Mr. Mather endeavored to get up at Boston, in the case of Margaret Rule, a repetition of the Salem proceedings, Mr. Upham * produces a letter from Mr. Mather to Stephen Sewall, clerk of the courts at Salem, dated September 20, 1692. This letter he first printed in the Appendix to the second edition of his Lectures, 1832. He has had thirty-five years to reflect upon it, and reprints it in the same connection in his History. Mr. Mather, commissioned by the Governor to prepare an account of some of the Salem trials, wrote to the clerk of the courts, as he had attended none of the trials himself, for "a narrative of the evidences given in at the trials of half a dozen, or, if you please, a dozen, of the principal witches that have been condemned." The clerk doubtless furnished the evidence, and it may be read (we know not what portion of it is the clerk's and what is Mr.

* History, Vol. II. p. 487.

Mather's) in "Wonders of the Invisible World." Mr. Mather, we may infer from his mode of addressing him, "My dear and my very obliging Stephen," was an intimate friend, which will account for the free and somewhat obscure expressions in the letter. This is the passage on which Mr. Upham bases his accusation: "I am willing, that, when you write, you should imagine me as obstinate a Sadducee and witch-advocate as any among us. Address me as one that believed nothing reasonable; and when you have so knocked me down, in a spectre so unlike me, you will enable me to box it [not the narrative of witch stories, but the fallen spectre of Sadduceeism] about among my neighbors, till it [the spectre] come, I know not where at last." "Such," says Professor Enoch Pond, "is the strict, proper, grammatical meaning of the sentence, and is very different from the forced and perverted meaning which the accusers of Mr. Mather have put upon it. I am astonished that learned gentlemen should have so blundered upon it." * Mr. Peabody and Mr. Bancroft have followed Mr. Upham in his misinterpretation of the letter, who says: "He did box it [the narrative of witch stories] about so effectually among his neighbors that he succeeded that next summer in getting up a wonderful case of witchcraft in the person of one Margaret Rule." Mr. Upham makes this charge respecting the case of Margaret Rule without a particle of evidence to sustain it. Mr. Mather cannot in any way be connected with the origin of this case; and instead of making any excitement or getting up any prosecutions in the matter, he cautioned the sufferer not to give the names of any persons whose spectres might appear to her. He prayed with her, as he did with the Goodwin children; she recovered, and the affair passed off without injury to the life or reputation of any one.

Mr. Upham has devoted considerable space to the case of George Burroughs, — in our view, the most lamentable of all the Salem murders, but regarded at the time, even by moderate men, as the case in which the charge of confederacy with the Devil was best substantiated. Increase Mather — who thought that these Salem "methods will utterly ruin and undo poor New England," and who reproved a person coming

* The Mather Family, pp. 134, 135.

to Salem to consult about his child, asking him "whether there was not a God in Boston, that he should go to the Devil at Salem for advice" * — said: "I was not myself present at any of the trials, excepting one, viz., that of George Burroughs. Had I been one of his judges, I could not have acquitted him." † Cotton Mather, and doubtless all the clergy, had the same feeling. "Glad should I have been," said he, "if I had never known the name of this man." The reader of Mr. Upham's History will not find there the evidence which produced such an impression on the minds of the contemporaries of Burroughs, further than that he was a little man, and had performed great feats of strength. Mr. Peabody ‡ says there was no other testimony against him than feats of bodily strength. The report of Burroughs's trial is in print in Mather's "Wonders," and in Calef's "More Wonders," and even Hutchinson, from whom Mr. Upham takes his account, records other evidence, — that he, having been twice married, treated his wives harshly, and that he pretended to know what had been said to them in his absence. He persuaded them to swear that they would not reveal his secrets. They had privately complained to their neighbors that their house was haunted. The brother of one of the wives swore, that, going out after strawberries, Burroughs, on their return, went into the bushes on foot, and although they rode at a quick pace, they found him with them when near home; "that he then fell to chiding his wife for talking to her brother about him, saying that he knew their thoughts, which the brother said it was more than the Devil knew; to which Burroughs replied, that his God told him." There was no "spectral evidence" in this testimony. Mr. Upham, instead of giving what is so necessary for explaining the case of Burroughs, supplies its place by some very grave and unsupported charges against the honesty of Cotton Mather, who printed the only contemporaneous account of the proceedings, which Calef copied. He says: § "Neither Hutchinson nor Calef seems to have noticed one remarkable fact: many of the depositions, how many we cannot tell, were procured after the trials were over, and surreptitiously foisted in among

* Brattle, p. 71.
† Cases of Conscience, Postscript.
‡ Life of Cotton Mather, p. 228.
§ History, Vol. II. p. 297.

the papers to bolster up the proceedings." "This," he remarks, "stamps the management of the prosecutions, and of those concerned in the charge of the papers, with an irregularity of the grossest kind, which partakes strongly of the character of fraud and falsehood. . . . . The persons who had brought Mr. Burroughs to his death concluded that their best escape from public indignation was to accumulate evidence against him; . . . . and Cotton Mather, feeling the importance of making the most of Mr. Burroughs's extraordinary strength, . . . . said: 'Yea, there were two testimonies that George Burroughs, with only putting the forefinger of his right hand into the muzzle of a heavy gun, a fowling-piece of about six or seven foot barrel, did lift up the gun, and hold it out at arm's end.'"* This evidence was, indeed, taken after Burroughs's trial and execution; but it was not *surreptitiously foisted in* among the papers, by "an irregularity which partakes of the character of fraud and falsehood"; and Mr. Upham should have discovered this fact. Mr. Mather puts this testimony within brackets, in a paragraph by itself, and says:† "One of those witnesses was over-persuaded by some persons to be out of the way at G. B.'s trial; but he came afterwards, with sorrow for his withdrawal, and gave in his testimony. *Nor were either of these witnesses made use of as evidence in the trial.*" Mr. Upham probably did not observe the brackets, or the concluding part of the quotation, which wholly relieves Mr. Mather from the groundless charge here made against his integrity.

It seems hardly necessary to continue this examination, and yet our stock of material is far from being exhausted. We might have made our citations from other writers; but we have quoted chiefly from Mr. Upham's books, because he is the earliest, and is regarded as the most reliable authority on the subject of Salem Witchcraft. Mr. Peabody, who adopted Mr. Upham's view of Mr. Mather's connection with the Salem trials, seemed to appreciate the utter incompatibility between this and other portions of Mr. Mather's life, and says:‡ "It would be gratifying to see these things explained in any way creditable to his fame." Such an explanation we have at-

* History, Vol. II. pp. 298 - 300.

† Wonders, p. 64.

‡ Life of Cotton Mather, p. 257.

tempted; and if Mr. Peabody were living, we are sure that no one would welcome more cordially a vindication of Mr. Mather's reputation.

It is amusing to see with what flippancy the newspaper critics have assailed Mr. Longfellow's "Giles Corey of the Salem Farms." His Cotton Mather is not a bloodthirsty fanatic, but is a warning Mentor to the magistrates, and an angel of mercy to the accused. To Hathorne, the magistrate, he says: —

> "May not the Devil take the outward shape
> Of innocent persons? Are we not in danger,
> Perhaps, of punishing some who are not guilty?"

To Mary Walcott, one of the "afflicted" girls, he says: —

> "Dear child, be comforted!
> Only by prayer and fasting can you drive
> These unclean spirits from you. An old man
> Gives you his blessing. God be with you, Mary!"

Mr. Mather and Mr. Hathorne stand over the dead body of Giles Corey. The latter says: —

> "This is the Potter's Field. Behold the fate
> Of those who deal in Witchcrafts, and, when questioned,
> Refuse to plead their guilt or innocence,
> And stubbornly drag death upon themselves."

Mr. Mather replies: —

> "O sight most horrible! In a land like this,
> Spangled with Churches Evangelical,
> Inwrapped in our salvations, must we seek
> In mouldering statute-books of English Courts
> Some old forgotten Law, to do such deeds?
> Those who lie buried in the Potter's Field
> Will rise again, as surely as ourselves
> That sleep in honored graves with Epitaphs;
> And this poor man, whom we have made a victim,
> Hereafter will be counted as a martyr!"

This view of Mr. Mather's principles and bearing during the witch trials is historically the correct one, although Mr. Longfellow has varied some of the minor incidents. Mr. Mather never attended any examination at Salem, and, being but twenty-nine years of age, was hardly "an old man." He

might, however, cite both Mr. Upham and Mr. Peabody for the latter statement. Mr. Longfellow's critics have said that he has represented Mr. Mather as doubting and hesitating in these proceedings. This was precisely Mr. Mather's position, and it is no little credit to the poet that he should have discovered it, when this simple truth has been withheld from the historians. Mr. Mather believed in witchcraft, but disbelieved in the Salem methods of dealing with it. Mr. Longfellow's opinions have evidently been formed, not from the modern histories, but by a study of the original authorities. His poem breathes the very spirit of 1692, and many of its expressions are borrowed from the books and tracts of that period. "Spangled with Churches Evangelical" is from "Wonders of the Invisible World" (p. 6), and "Inwrapped in our salvations" is from the same (p. 17).

Rev. R. H. Allen, in his neat volume, "The New England Tragedies in Prose," has given a sketch of the historical events on which Mr. Longfellow has founded his "New England Tragedies," and it is an appropriate explanatory accompaniment to the poems.

The article on "Salem Witchcraft," in the "Edinburgh Review" for July, 1868, is based on Mr. Upham's History, and is a curious medley of historical errors, of which the following will serve as a specimen: "The settlement had its birth in 1620, the date of the charter granted by James I. to the 'Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England'" (p. 6). Cotton Mather uniformly appears as the confederate of Parris and Noyes. "It remained for Mr. Noyes and the Mathers and Mr. Parris to endure the popular hatred" (p. 33). "Mather, Noyes, and Parris had no idea that these eight executions would be the last" (p. 34). "Cotton Mather was nimble and triumphant on the Witches' Hill, whenever there were firebrands of Hell swinging there" (p. 33). "Cotton Mather was the survivor of the other two. He died in 1728, and was never happy again after that last batch of executions" (p. 37). These are evidently the impressions which one unfamiliar with the subject will derive from Mr. Upham's work. It is not simply the positive assertions, but the allusions with which his writings abound, that convey these impressions.

"Mr. Noyes and all his fellow-persecutors," * and "Mr. Noyes more than any other [not *person*, but] *inhabitant of the town* was responsible for the blood that was shed," † the reader regards as allusions to Cotton Mather.

The History of Salem Witchcraft is as yet unwritten. Mr. Upham's works must be regarded only as affording materials for such a history, — and there are other materials, as we have seen, which he has not used. The subject can be treated, moreover, in a more compact form than his two bulky volumes. Much of the matter in his first volume, though interesting, and showing great industry on the part of himself and his sons, belongs rather to the local history of Salem Village, now Danvers, than to a special work on Salem Witchcraft. We make these suggestions in the hope that Mr. Upham will give us a compact manual on the subject, revising his opinions where he deems them unsound, putting his materials into a more concise form and with a more orderly arrangement, dividing his work into chapters with headings, and by all means giving references to authorities when he quotes. No one is so competent as he to do this work, and there could not be a more acceptable contribution to New England history.

WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE.

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## ART. II. — THE TALMUD.

"ALL this region consists of the Dark Ocean; there is nowhere an inhabited place. What is on the other side of the Dark Ocean nobody knows."

Thus concludes the geographical work of the renowned Arabian author, Edrisi, who wrote his book — divided into "Climates" and "Regions" — in the middle of the twelfth century. The Atlantic Ocean was then called the Dark Sea. Near the junction of this Dark Sea with the Mediterranean there stood — as the same Edrisi tells us — some statues, their right hands uplifted, as if to say to the mariner, "Return

* History, Vol. II. p. 344. † Ibid., p. 254.

whence thou camest; thou canst go no farther!" The Pillars of Hercules were the boundaries of the world. They were there, as Dante says, —

"Acciocchè l' uom più oltra non si metta."

They were the boundaries of the Old World. With the *Più oltra* of Charles V., which superseded the *Ne plus ultra* of the ancients, appeared a New World.

It was human thought which first crossed the *Oceanus dissociabilis*, as Horace calls it, and which connected the Old with the New World. We, on this side of the water, in reading the passage of Edrisi above quoted, cross in imagination not only the Ocean, but also the immense interval between the Dark Sea of former times and the electric cord which now unites the Old and the New World. There is no more Dark Sea in the whole world.

And yet, till lately, there was one Dark Sea. The Talmud is called, in the Rabbinical books, "The Sea of the Talmud." This sea was certainly a dark sea to the world at large. There were a few bold and daring navigators who ventured upon its waters, and they brought home some curious stories, but it was only a small circle of friends who listened to them; the world at large gave them little heed.

But lo! there came a ship under a French flag. Ernest Renan, with the help of a Jewish pilot (mentioned in the Preface to the *Vie de Jésus*), had made some explorations in the Sea of the Talmud. As early as 1838 another French author, Dr. J. Salvador, had published a book on nearly the same subject, with quotations not only from the Talmud, but also from later cabalistic works. But *habent sua fata libelli!* Salvador's *Jésus-Christ et sa Doctrine* found only a small circle of readers, while Renan's book was translated for, and read by, the whole world. Renan, besides giving manifold quotations from the Talmud, said in his Preface, that the Christian theology could not well be understood without the Jewish theology as laid down in the Talmud; and with French courtesy, he introduced Hillel, R. Gamaliel, Antigonus of Socho, and the other Rabbis, to the astonished world. The curiosity thus aroused was partially satisfied by an article in the London "Quarterly Review," for October, 1867.

It might seem superfluous in us to take up this subject again. But what the Psalmist says of the Ocean is also true of the Talmud: it is a "great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable." And so we try another voyage on this vast sea, in the hope to bring back something new, notwithstanding the many books which treat of it. For, indeed, there *are* books from which one can derive information concerning the Talmud, and a whole library might be filled with them; they are only somewhat out of the way. There are also translations of parts of the Talmud. The Mishna has been translated into Latin by Surenhusius (6 vols. folio, Amsterdam, 1698–1703),* and into German by Rabe (6 vols. 4to, Anspach, 1760–63) and Jost (in the Hebrew character, Berlin, 1832–34). Beracoth (Mishna and Gemara) was translated into German by Pinner (Berlin, 1842), and into French by Chiarini (Leipsic, 1831), — in each case, as the first instalment of what was intended to be a complete translation of the Talmud. The number of separate treatises of the Mishna which have been translated either into Latin or some of the modern languages is very large; of the Pirke Aboth alone there are more than a dozen versions, including two in English. We have besides, in English, a volume of "Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna," translated by D. A. de Sola and M. J. Raphall (London, 1843); also, in connection with the original text, an English translation of the treatises Shabbath and Erubin, with notes, by Dr. Wotton (London, 1718). In Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, nineteen treatises of the Mishna, accompanied by the Jerusalem Gemara, have been published with a Latin version, besides two with the Babylonian Gemara, and one with both. The ethical maxims, as well as the legends and moral stories, have been collected and translated into Latin by Drusius and Buxtorf, and into German or Italian by J. Weil, Grünewald, Fürst, Dukes, Tendlau, Hirschfeld, and many others, — also into Italian by G. Levi, and into English by Hurwitz. So much for the material.† In critical and liter-

* Surenhusius, in the highly valuable Preface to the second part of his work, mentions other Latin translations.

† A synopsis of the various parts of the Talmud is to be found in the "American Biblical Repository," for October, 1839.

ary exposition, there have appeared during the present century some highly valuable works, treating with more or less detail of the Talmud or parts of it, by Zunz, Steinschneider, Geiger, and others, which we shall have frequent occasion to cite.

In the sixth chapter of the Pirke Aboth it is observed, that the Thora, or instruction in the Holy Law, is acquired through forty-eight qualities, — one of which is, never to say anything without mentioning the name of the original author of the saying. "Whoever reports anything in the name of the person who first said it causes salvation to come into the world, as it is written: And Esther said it to the king in the name of Mordecai (Esther, ii. 22)." This passage, besides being a characteristic specimen of the Talmudic style, may be regarded as furnishing as it were the key-note of the Talmud. We shall make it the text to what we are going to say.

Genealogy was at all times a matter of great importance with the Semitic nations. Among the Arabians, as well as among the Jews, with the name of a great man the names of his ancestors are given. This genealogical spirit pervades both the Bible and the Talmud. Whatever is said is not for the present only, — it looks back to the beginning, and forward through all generations to come. This is in harmony with the sentiment of family, always so strong among the Jews. It is with a similar feeling that the Talmud says: Despise not thy mother when she is old (Prov. xxiii. 22); which means, Despise not a law or a custom on account of its being antiquated.

It is in the same spirit that even the genealogy of a sentence is asked for. The Talmud has for its basis genealogy, tradition, evolution. The Written Law existed, according to a Talmudical saying, before the world was created, — that is to say, it is above all change of time. The written word is the body, the unchangeable form. But there is likewise the vivifying spirit, the Oral Tradition. Just as in the Hebrew text only the consonants are written, and the vowels, the soul and spirit of words, are left out, so is the spirit of the Law not to be fixed by written characters. In the Old Testament the future life is not a world to come: Moses has no other future life in view than that of coming generations, or

posterity: in this consists the immortality of his nation. In the same way the eternity of the Written Law consists in the oral interpretation. The Oral Law is the same as the Written Law, and *not* the same, — *alius et idem*. Both are derived from the same source. With one of its usual plays upon words, the Talmud* explains the verse, "The words of wise men are like goads" (Eccles. xii. 11), to mean, The words of the Holy Law are like the balls with which girls play: they pass down from generation to generation, thrown from one hand into another. Joshua, according to the Talmud, was the spiritual successor of Moses, who transmitted to him the oral interpretation of the Law. The Oral Law is the necessary supplement to the Written Law. We are told † that a heathen came to Samuel (not the Prophet, but a Rabbi), and said that he would adopt the Jewish faith, but only the Written Law, not the Oral Law. Samuel began to instruct him in the Written Law. One day he pulled the neophyte's ear. "Oh, my ear!" exclaimed the neophyte. "Why do you call it *ear?*" Samuel asked. "Why, because every one calls it ear." "Well," said Samuel, "you call it ear because you have heard it so called by others. Now, my son, what you hear from others is Tradition. You thus plainly see that in the same way Oral Tradition is necessary to the Written Law." By this *argumentum ad aurem* the proselyte was fully convinced of the necessity of an oral interpretation of the Written Law.

In the foregoing passage from the Talmud, a verse of the Bible is, in rather a strange way, quoted as confirmation. It is not exactly a proof, however, but rather an analogy. The Bible is *the* Book: it is eternal, for all times, and so all things are to be found there. The Talmud would quote a passage of the Bible in order to prove that blood is red, or that Babylon was east of Palestine.‡ In the same way most of the Talmudical legal decisions are derived from the Bible.

The Bible is the source of the two great streams of the Talmud, — the Halacha, or casuistical part, and the Hagada, or homiletic part. The passage just now adduced belongs to the

* Talmud of Jerusalem, Synhedrin, Chap. X.

† Midrash to Eccles. vii.

‡ Tr. Shabbath, f. 108. B. Bathra, f. 25.

Hagada, and to that class which Dr. Zunz calls the Ethic Hagada. As the same scholar shows, the explanation of Biblical passages is found also in the later books of the Bible itself.* Both Halacha and Hagada interpret the text of the Bible; but as they are very different from each other, their modes of interpretation are likewise different. The Halacha is dialectic and juridical; the Hagada is poetical and fantastical. The conclusions of the Halacha are derived from the Bible by means of syllogistic formulas; they are developed as the branches and twigs from the tree. The Hagada may rather be compared to garlands; it is like that "lily-work" which adorned the pillars in the temple of Solomon. The Halacha is for the most part tradition; the Hagada is evolution, concatenation. Like the Halacha, the Hagada finds nearly everything in the Bible, but in a different manner.

The Bible is eternal; it is like Nature, all-embracing. The stories told in the Bible are not for one time, they are for all times, foreboding the future. The passage, "Declaring the end from the beginning" (Is. xlvi. 10), is by the Hagada applied to the Bible. The Bible is a perennial stream, flowing through all generations, reflecting all and everything; it is the πάντα ῥεῖ of Heraclitus. Thus the study of the Law is according to the Rabbis the ideal of life, the highest object of pursuit: accordingly all the heroes and great men of the Bible are represented as great Rabbis. Such was Jacob sitting in the school-houses of Shem and Eber, such were Abraham, David, Joab, and Ahithophel, — all great Rabbis. The Talmud tells even of a conflict between David and Joab which arose about the reading of one word of the Bible.† In the same light are

* Zunz, Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden, pp. 23, 31. "The first germs of Midrash . . . are found in the Books of Chronicles." (Steinschneider, Jewish Literature, p. 2.) The denomination "Midrash" is now-a-days applied to special books containing the homiletic and legendary expositions of the Bible (as Genesis Rabba, or Midrash to Genesis, etc.), the greater part of which are also to be found in the Talmud, particularly that of Jerusalem.

† Joab had smitten every male in Edom (1 Kings, xi. 16). "Why did you do so?" David asked. Said Joab, "Because it says, Thou shalt blot out the male of Amalek" (Deut. xxv. 19). "The male?" David replied, "it is not the *male*, the *remembrance* is to be blotted out." "Well," said Joab, "my teacher read the word as male (*sachar*), not remembrance (*secher*)." The teacher was called, and confirmed Joab's reading. Some say that David put him to death for his false read-

regarded the mighty men whom David had (2 Sam. xxiii.): they were great warriors; on the battle-field of the Law their sword was the word, their shield the Thora, their fighting was disputation.

The whole Bible has to undergo this spiritualizing process. Jacob says that he had taken the land with his sword and his bow (Gen. xlviii. 22). Sword and bow? Never! The hands are Esau's hands, but the voice is Jacob's voice. Sword and bow are to be taken figuratively; they mean "with my prayer and my orison." The same interpretation is given of this passage by the Chaldæan translator. The way in which the names of Ahithophel, of the Tachmonite and Adino (2 Sam. xxiii. 8), and others, are interpreted in reference to the study of the Law is a characteristic feature of the Hagada. And the same metamorphosis which men and their characters have to undergo, the written characters, the words and letters, have to undergo also. As the Bible is a book unlike other books, so are the words therein contained unlike other words. They are buds from which more than one flower is made to bloom. The Hebrew words being written without vowels, and their triliteral roots being more symbolical and more comprehensive than the words in other languages, it is from these roots that the Hagada causes its fantastical flowers to spring forth. There is everywhere a sort of punning and playing upon words. The proper names especially are put into this retort, in order to distil from them some new signification. As these names were not given at random, they must of course have a signification in reference to the bearers, which is to be extracted from them as their essence. Sometimes the Hagada (like Philo) finds more than one meaning in a name. The name of Esther, for example, is in one place explained to mean (what it really does) *a star;* in another place it is taken (from the root *Satar*,* to conceal) to signify *a chaste and retired woman, who lives only for and in her house* — as, according to the Talmud, every woman should live.

This way of explaining names may in some sort serve as

ing; others say he did not. The Talmud (B. Bathra, f. 21) says, in reference to this, that one ought to be very careful in engaging a teacher, for it is hard to root out a blunder once adopted.

* First and Second Targums to Esther, ii. 7. Megillah, f. 13.

a clew to parts of the Hagada. The wonderful stories of the Bible are spun out in the Hagada into still more wonderful legends; as a comet is followed by its tail, so every illustrious name in the Bible has its train of marvels. It would be hard to say where those legends had their origin; but it seems that sometimes the names themselves furnished the material wherefrom the fantastical web was wrought. We find the same elsewhere. Thus the name of Œdipus gave rise to the story of his pierced ankles. Byrsa is the Semitic name for *citadel, tower*; and so the citadel of Carthage was called Byrsa. But the Greeks and Romans identified this word with *βύρσα, leather*, and hence sprang the fable about Dido's ox-hide.* As the Raven was an ominous bird, we find its name as a proper noun in the Biblical *Oreb*, the Arabian *Gorab* (in use before Mohammed), among the old Germans, (*Rhabanus Maurus* still keeps the heathen name,) and the Greeks. It is therefore no wonder that we find the same name among the Romans, giving rise to the story of the raven that assisted M. Corvinus.† Numberless mythological stories have their origin in a similar way in proper names.

A like process seems to have prevailed in the Rabbinical legends. There is Nimrod, for example. The Bible says only that "he was a mighty hunter before the Lord." But the root of the word (*Marad*) signifies *to be rebellious*. The Hagada, therefore, takes him for one who rebelled against the Lord; he was not only mighty, but also fierce and violent. It is another characteristic feature of legendary and mythological stories, that they have a tendency to individualization;‡ they would bring every fact into connection with some name, especially with names of known persons. Now the building of the Tower of Babel was a rebellious act, but there is no build-

* In a similar way Professor Max Müller (Science of Language, Second Series, Lecture XII.) explains the origin of the legends of St. Christopher, and Whittington's cat, and the myth of the Barnacle geese, — a kind of geese, by the way, also mentioned in Rabbinical books.

† Livy, VII. 27.

‡ The Hagada says that the name of Pharaoh's daughter was Bithia, and that Semiramis was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar (Midrash to Esther, i. 9, and to Levit. xv. 25). Both those names occur also in the Bible as proper nouns (1 Chron. iv. 18, and xv. 18). As one name is not comprehensive enough, the Hagada gives to Moses and other persons from seven to ten additional ones.

er's name mentioned. But as Babel was the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom, he is brought into connection with the tower and considered as the leader of this rebellion. The Arabian authors* go even so far as to give a whole dynasty of Nimrods. Again, in the history of Abraham occur the names Haran, Nahor, and Ur. The worship of fire existed, probably, in Chaldea. Ur means light, fire; and so Nahor and Haran may be derived from a root signifying *to burn*. Hence sprung the Talmudical legend of Abraham having been thrown — like the three men in Daniel — into the fiery furnace. But, who did it? Somebody must have ordered it, but there is no name given. Who, then, was it? Why, of course, Nimrod, the rebel. By this reappearance of the same person in several stories, the legend is made to appear as an historical fact. The Hagada identifies Amraphel, king of Shinar (Gen. xiv. 1), with Nimrod, by a similar interpretation of his name. By the same process of individualization and concatenation the two striving men (Exod. ii. 13) are made out to have been Dathan and Abiram.

Another characteristic feature of the Talmud is its manner of linking together different things, especially in reference to good or bad actions, and to reward or punishment.† It is said (Exod. xxii. 31) that the flesh that is torn of beasts shall be cast to the dogs. Why to the dogs? Because the dogs of Egypt did not move their tongues when the Israelites departed (Ibid. xi. 7), and so all the dogs are to have the torn flesh as a reward for the good behavior of their progenitors. David was covered with clothes, but he got no heat (1 Kings, i. 1). Why not? As a punishment for his contempt of cloth, in cutting off the skirt of Saul's robe (1 Sam. xxiv. 4).‡ Goliath presented himself before the contending hosts forty days (Ibid.

* Abulfaraj (Hist. Dynast., p. 72) and others. The Arabian and Persian authors — as Tabari and others — say that Nimrod shot an arrow into Heaven, which Gabriel sent back, spotted with blood; whereupon Nimrod said, "I have killed the God of Abraham." The Hagada says (Tr. Gittin, f. 56), that Titus pierced the curtain of the Temple with his sword, and when he saw that it was imbrued with blood he exclaimed, "I have killed the God of the Jews."

† The idea, so often occurring in the Greek tragedies, especially in those of Euripides, that one evil action engenders a multitude of other evils, is also a prevailing idea in the Talmud.

‡ Beracoth, f. 62.

xvii. 16). Why forty? As a reward for the forty steps his grandmother Orpa made in accompanying Ruth. Justice is done to all creatures, even to the letters of the alphabet. When the letter Jod was taken away from the name of Sarai, it went before the throne of the Lord and said: "Is it because I am so little that I was taken away from the name of this pious woman?" And God consoled little Jod by assuring it that it would find a better place in the name of Joshua (Numb. xiii. 16).*

The Hagada, by its fantastical filaments, connects the most distant things, — for instance, the one hundred and twenty-seven provinces over which Esther reigned, with the one hundred and twenty-seven years of Sarah's life. This is what distinguishes the Hagada from the stern and rigid Halacha. The office of the Hagada is embellishment, like the beautiful colored miniatures which adorn the initial letters of old illuminated Bibles. Like the golden bells and the pomegranates upon the hem of the high-priest's robe (Exod. xxviii. 34), the Hagada is the tinkling bell whose sound is heard in the going on of the Bible and the Halacha. For Halacha means *going*.† The Halacha shows the way in which everything is to go on: it contains rules and regulations. The Hagada may be called a dance: it is like those dances of the Orient around some holy object; it is like the leaping and dancing of David before the Lord, so much despised by the princess Michal (2 Sam. vi. 16).

R. Azariah de Rossi, a Rabbi of the sixteenth century, renowned for his acquaintance with profane science and his critical judgment, compares the various Hagadas to those angels who, according to a Rabbinical legend, are created from a stream of fire, (*Nahr di Nur*,‡) sing praises to the Lord, and are then annihilated. He also derives the word Hagada from

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* Midrash to Genes. xvii. 15. The letter Jod is the smallest letter in the Hebrew alphabet (in the so-called Ashurith, not in the old writing). The Talmud, to signify something very little, uses the expression, "the apex of a Jod."

† The books containing religious doctrines are called by the Hindoos and the Javanese *Agama*, from the root *Gam, to go*, as W. von Humboldt says (Kawi-sprache, Vol. I. p. 98), who, besides, quotes other Sanskrit words, wherein *Doctrine* and *Book* are expressed by words signifying *to go*.

‡ The Nahr di Nur occurs also in Daniel, vii. 10.

a root which means *to attract.* The Hagada is to attract and to entertain; it speaks not to the understanding, but to the imagination.

These are, indeed, the characteristics of most of the Hagadas. As two great authorities, Dr. Zunz and Rapoport, have proved, the Hagada is not authoritative, not binding. It is an ephemeral, glittering day-fly. The office of the Hagada is to attract, and even to amuse. The real meaning of the word is *a saying.** The Hagadas are ἔπεα πτερόεντα. They are improvisations; like the stories of Sheherezade, they were designed — sometimes, at least — to make the pressure of time forgotten.

The Hagada was meant to be transmitted orally, not to be written down, as Rapoport shows; and the reason was, as he says, because some Rabbis were afraid lest its committal to writing should lead some people to take everything strictly, and others to ridicule it. The permanency of those improvisations would give occasion for misunderstanding and derision. One may therefore say that the Hagada differs from the Halacha in much the same way as the Oral Law differs from the Written Law. It is a ruling maxim of the Talmud to distinguish those things which are to be written and read from those which are to be spoken and heard only. The spirit of the Law, its interpretation and modification, was not to be written, but to be kept by oral tradition. It was only reluctantly, and because it was an urgent necessity, that the oral tradition *was* written.

We find the same distinction in the nomenclature of the Biblical books. Some of them, the Hagiographa, are called *Kethubim*, the Written Books: for this is the difference between those books and the "Prophets," — that the words of the Prophets are, so to say, spoken words, not written words. The Hebrew word *Nabi*, which is translated "Prophet," means not exactly a prophet, but an inspired speaker. The words of the Prophets are poetry, flaming words bursting out from their enthusiasm. We find mention of musical instruments which helped to raise still more their inspiration. Thus all the poetry of old was accompanied by music. But in the same way as the sounds of the lyre or the harp were meant only for the

* Zunz, Gottesd. Vortr., p. 42. Rapoport, Erech Millin, p. 8. Steinschneider, Jewish Lit., p. 28.

ear, so poetry was originally unwritten; it was kept by heart. What originally distinguished poetry from prose was, that the one was predominantly oral, the other written.

It is with the Prophets that the Hagada has the greatest similarity and connection. Dr. Steinschneider, quoting Zunz, compares the Hagada to the Prophets.* "The Hagada is the free thought, which, in strong contrast to all law, always found its expression in Judaism, — during the time of the unimpaired national life, in the free words of the Prophets, which were often a stumbling-block to the men of law." And again, as Dr. Derenbourg† has shown, in revolutionary times, when the homiletic Hagada was not an entertainment, but a means of inflaming the heart, it was the burning words of the Prophets, the eloquent exhortations of Isaiah and Jeremiah, that were expounded and amplified to the ardent listening multitude. In this way the words of the old Prophets were renewed, were made fresh and young again.

The Bible, from whatever standpoint one may regard it, is indeed a wonderful book. It is an old book, yet it never grows old. The Arabians call the Koran the mother of writing, or of books. In the same way one may call the Bible the mother of books. There is no other book in the world which has engendered, and still engenders, so many other books. But, singular as it may appear, something analogous is to be found in other quarters. In the sacred literature of the Hindoos, there is, as Professor Max Müller tells us, one part called Revelation (*Sruti*), and another part called Tradition (*Smriti*), only the traditional part is the older.‡ The way in which the later books of the Brahmans treat the original Vedas recalls in some measure the manner in which the Bible is regarded by the Rabbis. Everything has a theological garb. New and old are combined together. The Vedas are interpreted in such a way as to derive from them the later rites and ceremonies. Just as the Talmud turns the

* Jewish Lit., p. 28.

† Histoire de la Palestine, p. 163.

‡ History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 86. The word *Sruti*, according to Professor Müller (p. 107), is from a root which signifies *to hear, to receive by inspiration*. The Rabbinical Tradition is also regarded as something heard or received, and thence takes its name. (Steinschneider, Jewish Lit., p. 10.)

heroes of the Bible into great Rabbis, so are the heroes of the old Epos changed into scholars thoroughly acquainted with the Vedas. The warlike character of the old poems is spiritualized; there are no more warriors, there are highly moral and religious men.* The Avesta, the sacred book of the Parsees, had to undergo a similar process. In a book of later date, the Dabistan, it is said, that, besides the literal sense of the holy code, there is another spiritual sense, which is to be considered as the principal one. Ahriman and Ormuzd are explained, in an allegorical way, to signify good and bad actions. This is much the same way in which Philo interprets the Bible, combining its contents with the ideas of Greek philosophers. The school of the so-called "Pure Brethren" among the Arabians, which arose in the tenth century, tries in a similar manner to reconcile the supernatural passages of the Koran with the ideas of Aristotle.†

But although the Talmud has its own field, and has little in common with the literature of other nations, it cannot be denied that in the Hagada we sometimes find exotic plants. The Halacha makes "fences around the Law," and around itself too: it is secluded from the rest of the world, and has a world of its own. The Hagada is not so carefully guarded that some foreign seedlings do not take root there. The Hagada is less narrow than the Halacha; it is more universal, more popular, and more variegated. To this quality it is to be ascribed that the influence of the Hagada went far beyond the circle of Judaism. We find the Rabbinical legends in the Koran, in the Chronicle of the Persian Tabari, in the works of

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* M. Duncker, Geschichte des Alterthums, Vol. II. pp. 34, 72, 91. Professor Müller (History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 433; Chips, etc., I. p. 76) cites an example in the Brahmanas of the exaltation of the interrogative pronoun Who (*Ka*) into a deity. Something similar, but more justifiable, occurs in the Cabalistic book Zohar. Isaiah (xl. 26) says: "Lift up your eyes on high and see! *Who* has created *those?*" Says the Zohar: "Before God had manifested himself, of all unknown things he was the most unknown. As we have no idea about his quality, as we do not know what he is and who he is, the real name of God is *Who*. His name is the name which implies the question." The Hebrew words for *Who* (*Mi*) and *Those* (*Eleh*) have, moreover, the same letters as the word *Elohim*, God.

† The Mohammedans have, besides, two kinds of oral traditions, called Hadith and Sunna.

the Syrian Barhebræus, and even in those of Cedrenus and the other Byzantine authors.

Professor G. Weil has published a collection of later Arabian legends.* In some notes he quotes the Jalkut, a collection of various Hagadas, in order to show that many of those legends have their source in the Rabbinical stories.† There is one legend which Professor Weil has not accompanied with any note, and to which we would point as an example both of the way in which the Hagada assimilates foreign elements, and the way in which the materials of the Hagada were again exported to other regions. We allude to the legend about Solomon, the demon Sachr, the stone Samur, and the raven who was in possession of that stone (p. 234). The whole story is derived, with some slight variations, decidedly from Rabbinical sources. The Shamir, a kind of adamant, with which one could cut the hardest stones, is mentioned in several places in the Talmud. It was used in building the Temple. Iron, says the Talmud, being an implement of war, was not to be used either in making the altar (Exod. xx. 25) or in building the temple, both being consecrated to peace. In one place (Tr. Gittin, f. 68) there is a long story, how Solomon was anxious to get the Shamir; how he asked the demons where it was to be found; how the demons did not know, and told him to ask their king Asmodeus, or Ashmedai, as he is called in the Talmud, about it; how Solomon sent out Benajah, the chief of the guards, to get hold of Ashmedai; how Benajah took with him a chain, on which the name of God — the Tetragrammaton — was engraved; how there was a cistern of water where Ashmedai used to take his daily draught, after descending from Heaven, where he studied at a kind of heavenly college, — all of which the demons had told Solomon.‡

* Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner, translated into English under the title, "The Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud."

† Professor Weil (Bibl. Leg., p. 91) points out the singular fact, that even the legend concerning Ishmael is derived from a Rabbinical source. But this legend came from the Arabians to the Jews, as has been shown by Dr. Zunz (Gottesd. Vortr., p. 276) and Dr. Grätz (Geschichte der Juden, Vol. V. p. 223). The Hebrew legend occurs in a book whose author, as Dr. Zunz thinks, lived under the Arabian dominion.

‡ What is said in Smith's Biblical Dictionary under "Asmodeus" is very superficial, and incorrect. Besides, it does not exactly comport with the odd fables

With the water of this cistern Benajah mingled wine, and then laid himself in ambush. Ashmedai, finding wine mixed with the water, at first decides not to drink, but at length, unable to withstand the temptation, drinks, falls asleep, and is bound with the magic chain. He awakes, and struggles to free himself from it. Benajah then says to him, "The name of thy master is upon thee," whereupon he struggles no longer, and is brought to Solomon. He tells Solomon that the Shamir was given to the angel who is the Lord of the Sea, and that he gave it to the Hoopoo, and that they came into possession of the Shamir by covering the nest of the Hoopoo with a glass cover, which the bird was obliged to break with the Shamir.

In this story, or impious fable, as Buxtorf* calls it, we find the same elements as in the legends of India, Persia, Arabia, Greece, and Rome, and in the mediæval literature of Europe. As Solomon was more a real Oriental king than any of his predecessors or successors, the Oriental nations have exerted all their brilliant fancy to invest him with glory. In the Persian legends he shares this glory with their king Djemshid, and many stories about this Persian hero were in the Jewish sagas applied to Solomon. The wonderful throne of Solomon, as described in the Second Targum of Esther, seems to be the same as the throne of Djemshid. We read in Tabari that Djemshid compelled the demons to build palaces, and that one demon was enchained in the mountain Demaoend. The Arabian legends about Solomon seem to have had their origin partly in Persian and partly in Jewish literature. The angel who is called "the Lord of the Sea"† is decidedly of Persian origin. The Talmud itself says that the names of the angels had their origin in Babylonia;‡ the origin of the later angelology of the Jews is asserted by Frank, Formstecher, Herz-

of "the Rabbis," when it is said that Naamah was the mother of Asmodeus. This genealogy occurs in Cabalistic books of a very late date, and seems to be of Arabian origin. Naamah is identified with Venus, as the word itself may be translated *Venustas*. The Arabian legend says, that two angels, Haruth and Maruth, fell in love with Zohra, or Venus, and were therefore excluded from Heaven.

* Lexicon Chald., Talmud., et Rabbin., col. 2455, under "Shamir."

† In Aramaic, *Sara d'jamma*, not *Sara-Dima*, as it is read by Wagenseil, who gives a short extract from this story in his Tr. Sotah (p. 1073).

‡ Midrash to Genesis, xviii. 2, and other places.

feld, Winer, and others, to be Persian.* The "princes" mentioned in Daniel (x. 13), and the seven angels of the Apocalypse (viii. 2), are the seven Amshaspands (or Amesha-çpentas) of the Parsees.† One of those Amshaspands, Haurvat, is the guardian angel of the waters, and seems to be the same as our "Lord of the Sea." The name of Ashmedai (or Ashemdai, as it may be read) has been identified by several scholars — as Benfey, Stern, Delitzsch, Spiegel, Windischmann, and Kohut — with the demon Ashem-Dev, mentioned several times in the Zend-Avesta. With regard to the Shamir, Bochart (*Hierozoicon*, II. p. 347) quotes, besides other parallels, a passage of Ælian (*Hist. Anim.*, III. 26), where it is said, that the Hoopoo, finding his nest obstructed, opened it by the help of a plant. J. Grimm, treating, in his "German Mythology," ‡ of the manifold legends about birds as guardians of marvellous plants having this quality, quotes our Shamir, and says that the Shamir, under the name of Thumare, found its way into the *Gesta Romanorum*, where the Ostrich is its owner. In an essay upon the Shamir, S. Cassel has shown the vast ramifications of this legend in the story told in the *Gesta Romanorum* (Cap. lix.) about the Emperor Jovian, whose guardian angel, in order to punish him, expelled him from his country, and reigned over it by assuming the Emperor's form, § — in the story told by Ælian (*Hist. Anim.*, I. 45) about the Woodpecker, or *Picus*, — and in the Roman legends concerning Picus (Plutarch., *Quæst. Rom.*, c. 21; Festus, s. v. *Picus*) and Faunus (Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, p. 331). On the other hand, it has been proved by Professor Kuhn, ‖ that the legends about the Fauni

* Frank, Kabbalah, pp. 260, seqq. Formstecher, Religion des Geistes, p. 124. Herzfeld, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, Part II. Vol. II. pp. 283, seqq. Winer, Reallexicon, under "Engel." The Biblical Dictionary of Smith (under "Angel") ignores all these undeniable statements.

† Herzfeld (p. 291) is of opinion that the expression, "waking holy one," occurring in Daniel (iv. 13, 17), is the literal translation of *Amesha-çpenta*. Angels are often designated as *vigiles*, *custodes*, as Gesenius shows (Thesaurus, p. 1006), who in the same way quotes the *Genii* of the Parsees.

‡ Deutsche Mythologie, p. 925.

§ Cassel quotes this in reference to what is further said in the Talmud (Gittin, f. 68), that Ashmedai drove out Solomon, and, assuming his form, took possession of his throne. But the parallel between Solomon and Jovian is even more striking when compared with the Talmud of Jerusalem (Synhedrin, Cap. II.), where not Ashmedai, but an angel, does the same, in order to punish Solomon.

‖ Adalbert Kuhn, Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks, 1859.

and Satyri, about Picus and Silenus, about birds as guardians of magical plants (*Spring-wurzel* in the German sagas), had their origin in the mythology of the Hindoos, and are connected with the myth of Prometheus, which also sprung from India. In a note (p. 216), Professor Kuhn quotes the legend of the Shamir as analogous. But besides all the above-mentioned analogies, there are still other striking parallels to be drawn between the Talmudical and other myths. Professor Kuhn (p. 33) mentions Picus, who is entrapped by Numa in the same way as Silenus is entrapped by Midas. Midas mixed some wine with the waters of a fountain to which Silenus was accustomed to come, and so inebriated and captured him.* This is exactly the same way in which Benajah captured Ashmedai. It has often been said† that the legends about Satyrs, Fauns, etc., are of Eastern origin: Ashmedai seems to be another proof of it. On his way to Solomon, he commits many seemingly absurd and iniquitous acts, which he afterwards justifies. The same thing occurs in many Eastern tales, even in the *Zadig* of Voltaire. It has been said that most of the mediæval romances had their origin in the East, whence they were brought during the Crusades. In the history of the enchanter Merlin, we read that he was the son of a demon. On his way to King Vortigern, he laughs at seeing a man who had bought a pair of new shoes. Ashmedai does precisely the same: he laughs at a man who ordered a pair of shoes which were to last seven years, while the man himself was not to live seven days longer. Merlin laughs ironically and diabolically at the sight of persons weeping at a funeral procession: Ashmedai weeps at the sight of a nuptial procession, for he knew that the bridegroom would die in less than a month.

This story about Ashmedai shows another characteristic feature of the Hagada in contrast with the Halacha. In the Halacha we find sagacity, in the Hagada wit. The Halacha is full of sharp distinctions; and it is aided in the display

* Pauly, Realwörterbuch, under "Silenus." Daub und Creuzer, Studien, Vol. II. p. 232.

† Creuzer, Symbolik und Mythologie, etc., IV. 48, 3d ed. The word "devils" in the version of Levit. xvii. 7 is in the original text "goats," with reference to the Satyrs. The lasciviousness attributed to the Satyrs is also a characteristic of Ashmedai.

of this quality by the syllogistic formulas in which it abounds. The Hagada is witty; it finds an analogy between the remotest things. But our story about Ashmedai is — like many other Hagadas — a popular tale; like most popular tales, it is not only witty, but also of a humorous character, and we are perhaps not wrong in imagining that the stern Rabbis smiled a little at these jokes, and considered them refreshing after the heavy discussions of the Halacha. Ashmedai himself is a humorous personage. He reminds us more of Le Sage's *Diable Boiteux* than of a real demon. He shows his humor, when, before taking the intoxicating draught, he holds a monologue, "To drink or not to drink, that is the question," and quotes passages from the Bible (which most likely he had studied at the heavenly academy) in answer to this question. The acts which he commits on his way to Solomon are also of a humorous character; they are not at all in a demoniac style. Moreover, the true demon never weeps, as Ashmedai does. Only once he shows himself as a real devil, when, delivered from the magic chain, he hurls Solomon to a distance of four hundred miles and occupies his throne as Pseudo-Solomon. Even this humorous feat reminds us of Mephistopheles, when he says, "Now I have quite enough of all this dry stuff, — I want to play the devil again."

As one may easily see, the Hagada is much more interesting than the Halacha. Interesting as the Halacha is in reference to the development of religious and theological ideas, its circle is a narrow one: the Hagada, offering a greater variety, and being of a more universal tendency, is for that reason of more general interest.

But even in religious matters the Hagada has exercised great influence. Nobody now-a-days would deny the Jewish origin of the Christian religion. Professor F. C. Baur, of Tübingen, was the first to show the way in which Christianity originated in Judaism, and how it gradually emancipated itself from its original doctrines. But it is the Hagada whose influence we see here. Renan says (*Les Apôtres*, p. 93), in reference to the typical manner in which the Old Testament is interpreted in the New: "This arbitrary method of interpretation was the same as that practised in all the Jewish schools. The allu-

sions to the Messiah were a kind of *jeu d'esprit.*" * The manifold parallels drawn between passages of the Talmud and the New Testament by Lightfoot, Wetstein, Schöttgen, Otho, Nork, and others, refer generally to passages belonging to the Hagada. Dr. Derenbourg goes even so far as to say that probably the Hagada may be regarded as one of the most powerful auxiliaries of Christianity in its rise. (*Hist. de la Palestine*, pp. 202, 352.)

We find the Hagada again in books of later date than the New Testament. "The word of the Lord is like a hammer that breaks the rock in pieces" (Jer. xxiii. 29). "Exactly," says the Talmud, "as at one stroke of the hammer many sparks and many pieces fly from the rock, so every word of the Bible may be interpreted in various ways." This ruling maxim of the Hagada is the same that prevails in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, especially Origen and Jerome. Both had Jewish teachers; Jerome mentions his teacher sometimes as his Jew (*Judæus meus*). Both follow the Hagada, but each in his own way.

There is, for instance, the Song of Solomon. Just as the erotic poems of the Hindoos and the Persians (*Gitagovinda*, the poems of Hafiz, of Nizami, and others) have been interpreted as allegorical and mystical poems, the Rabbis regard the Song of Solomon as an allegorical and mystical song. It is not only the Song of Songs; they call it likewise the holiest of the holy. Origen interprets the Song of Solomon throughout in the same allegorical manner, though the persons represented are different. For instance: "My beloved is white and ruddy" (v. 10) is explained by Origen: "My Beloved; that is, Christ. He is white; that is, he is pure and candid, he is the

* A remarkable instance of this is seen in the passage quoted in Matt. ii. 23: "He shall be called a Nazarene." Neither the word *Nazarene* nor *Nazareth* occurs in the Old Testament. But Jerome (in Isa. xi. 1) says, that the learned Jews consider this to be an allusion to the Hebrew word *Nezer* (branch) in the verse, "And a branch shall grow out of his roots" (Isa. xi. 1). — In regard to the distinction between *seed* and *seeds* made by Paul (Gal. iii. 16), Jerome says, that the plural *seeds* does not occur in Scripture. But Dr. Geiger has shown that the same distinction between seed and seeds is made by the Talmud in various places, and that the way in which Paul explains the passage is the same as that in which the Midrash expounds similar passages. (Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morg. Ges., XII. 309.)

true God. He is red, on account of the blood shed for the Church's sake." The Hagada interprets the same passage: "My Beloved is God. He is white; that is, he is mild and indulgent towards Israel. He is red; that means, he is fierce and severe towards Edom, as it is said: Who is this that cometh from Edom? wherefore art thou red in thine apparel? (Isa. lxiii. 1, 2.)"

The name of Edom furnishes another example of the mode of interpretation employed in the Hagada, and of the manner in which Jerome makes use of it. Wherever the name Edom or Esau is mentioned in the Prophets, it is applied by the Hagada to Rome. Edom is Rome, and Rome is Edom or Esau. But how so? What connection was there between Edom and Rome? How could such an explanation be justified?

The Jews were groaning under the Roman yoke. They had to suffer not only manifold oppressions, but also the scoff and scorn of their oppressors. The tyranny to which they were subjected was the greater on account of their restiveness under the Roman sword, and their final bloody and desperate resistance. There was, besides, as Tacitus relates (*Hist.*, V. 13), a mysterious saying, that from Judea would come the rulers of the world. An antagonism of principles intensified the mutual hostility. Rome supported the standard of Paganism; the Jews were the defenders of Monotheism. The Romans had destroyed the Temple, but the spiritual temple they could not destroy; they had changed the name of Jerusalem to Ælia Capitolina, but they could not exalt Jupiter Capitolinus to the place of the God of the Jews, nor even prevent the belief in this God from winning more and more adherents among themselves.

Historical events of such importance must have been foreshadowed in the Bible. The Eternal Book must contain some prophetic allusions to these matters. Where were they to be found? Clearly, it was conceived, in the passages relating to Jacob and Esau. The representatives of two nations standing in a relation of inveterate opposition and struggle, the rule of the one dependent on the oppression of the other (Gen. xxv. 23, xxvii. 40), — by these must be signified Judæa and Rome. The Jews, studying the Holy Law, and praying to the One God,

— the Romans, mighty rulers of the world, the oppressors of nations, — theirs, plainly, were the voice of Jacob and the hand of Esau (Gen. xxvii. 22), the latter of whom was to live by his sword (Ibid. vs. 40). There was, indeed, no nation but the Romans to whom the words, "By thy sword shalt thou live," could be so well applied.* But there was, besides, another connecting link between Esau (or Edom) and Rome. The people of Edom were among the bitterest foes of Judæa, and always assisted the enemies of the Jews. The Bible mentions Edom in connection with the destruction of the Temple (Ps. cxxxvii. 7; Lam. iv. 21). The destroyers of the Temple, the Romans, might well be considered the heirs and successors of the Edomites, and so could be identified with them.†

The identity of Edom and Rome once established, the name of Edom where it occurs in the Prophets, and their consoling words which point to a time when Edom shall no longer exult, are invariably applied to Rome, and the Hagada then goes on spinning and weaving innumerable webs from the threads of single words. It finds Edom (Rome) where nobody else would find it. Rome is considered as the fourth and last kingdom, after whose reign the Messiah is to come (Dan. ii. 40, seqq.). And so not only the four animals in Daniel (vii. 3–7), but also the four animals in Leviticus (xi. 4–7), the four components of the carcase of the red heifer (Numb. xix. 5), and the four rivers of Paradise (Gen. ii. 11–14), are applied to the four kingdoms. In the vision of Abraham (Gen. xv. 9), the animals mentioned last are a turtle-dove and a pigeon. The Hebrew word for *pigeon* (*Gosal*) could by a slight change be made to signify *rapacious* (*Gosel*): this is an allusion to the fourth kingdom, Rome, which shows itself as a dove, but which is rapacious.‡ These conceits find, besides, an auxiliary in the resemblance of the written words Edom and Rome, — the

* It is through a similar substitution and identification that the Septuagint calls Haman a Macedonian, i. e. a Greek (Esther, ix. 24), and renders Philistines by Hellenes (Isa. ix. 12).

† The Arabian authors call the Romans the Sons of the Red (*Banu Alazfar*). It is the prevailing opinion that this designation had its origin in the Rabbinical identification of the names Rome and Edom (the Red One).

‡ Other Hagadas in reference to Edom (Rome) are quoted in Dr. Sachs's Beiträge zur Sprach- und Alterthumsforschung (II. 134).

Hebrew letters corresponding to D and R (ד,ר) having nearly the same form, — and in the sound of the word *Arami*, which means *Aramæan* (heathen), and which with a slight change could signify also *a deceiver*. It is, indeed, the voice of Jacob against the hands of Esau,* dialectic subtilty against brute force, which finds its expression in these and similar passages.

Of those manifold interpretations two were known to Jerome. The word *Dumah*, in the vision concerning Seir or Edom (Isa. xxi. 11), was read by R. Meir as *Roma* and applied to Rome.† In the same way Bozrah, the capital of Edom, was identified with Rome, which could be done the more easily as the word *Bozrah* might be taken as an appellative for *any strong and fortified city*.‡ Jerome quotes these two interpretations in his Commentaries on Isaiah (xxi. and xxxiv.) and Obadiah. In reference to the prophecy of the latter he says: "It belongs to the idle dreams of the Jews (*Judæi frustra somniant*) to say that this prophecy is directed against Rome, and that instead of the name *Dumah* in Isaiah one ought to read *Roma*." It is a dream. But how does Jerome explain it? Does he say that Edom means Edom, and nothing else? No, certainly not! It must be expounded in the tropological way (*secundum leges tropologiæ*). He accordingly says that this prophecy is directed against the Jews or the heretics, so that Jacob would signify the Christians, and Esau the Jews or the heretics.

This "*Judæi frustra somniant*" of Jerome, which reminds one of Juvenal's "*Qualiacunque voles Judæi somnia vendunt*,"§ has become the traditional cue and watchword for centuries. "The Rabbinical fables," "the dreams of the Rab-

* Nachmanides (born 1195), one of the most judicious commentators of the Bible, says that the message of Jacob to Esau (Gen. xxxii. 4, 5), which is severely censured in the Midrash, is to be considered as foreshadowing the legation which in later times the Jews sent to the Romans, and which was the first cause of all the disastrous events that followed.

† Talmud of Jerusalem, Tr. Taanith, Chap. I.

‡ A word of the same root, and of the same signification, *Mibzar*, occurring with reference to Edom in the Psalms (cviii. 11, lx. 11), is in the same way applied to Rome in the Chaldaic versions not subjected to censorship, and in the Midrash to Deut. i. 6. The Hagada goes so far into detail, that even the waters mentioned in reference to Edom (Isa. xxxiv. 9) are said to signify the river Tiber, and the Tyrrhenian, or, as it is called in the Ionian dialect, the Tyrsenian Sea.

§ Sat. VI. 547.

bis," were expressions often repeated, especially by those who had only a very superficial and a second-hand knowledge of the Talmud. Many of them had no other source of information than the *Entdecktes Judenthum* (Judaism Exposed) of Eisenmenger, who has collected many passages, not only from the Talmud, but also from later Cabalistic books which have nothing to do with the Talmud and are rather opposed to it, in order to show their absurdity.* As others make anthologies, or collections of flowers, so Eisenmenger made a collection of thorns, or of such passages as seemed to corroborate the prevailing idea of Rabbinical fables, leaving out those which would be an ornament to any literature. It is, besides, very superficial to comprise all the men of the Halacha and the Hagada under the collective name of "the Rabbis," as if they were all soldiers of the same regiment, drilled by the same system, dressed in the same uniform, and commanded by one and the same officer. One might as well quote passages from Jacob Boehme in order to give an idea of "the Philosophers," from Pythagoras down to Victor Cousin. The Rabbis *were* soldiers, but from different armies. As regards the Halacha, one may find there contests similar to those found elsewhere between political or philosophical parties. They *were* partly political. Dr. Geiger, who was the first distinctly to exhibit the real character of the Pharisees and Sadducees,† has shown the great influence of those opposite parties in reference to the Halacha, and that there was an older and a younger Halacha. One has only to read the fourth part of the *Geschichte* of Dr. Grätz, or the *Hodegetica in Mischnam* of Dr. Frankel, to be convinced of the great diversity of opinions between the schools of the different Rabbis, and to see with what passionate tenacity those opposite doctrines were maintained by their adherents. Aside from this, with all the

* This venomous book contains, besides, horrible lies and calumnies; and it appeared at the very time when two other Christian authors, Wülfer and Wagenseil, had proved the falsity of these calumnies, and when Surenhusius uttered his indignation against those who studied the Jewish books and then aspersed the Jews. (See Grätz, Geschichte, Vol. X. pp. 304, seqq.)

† In his *Urschrift*, in his *Vorlesungen über Judenthum* (the first part of which has been translated into English), and more at length in his *Zeitschrift* (Vol. II. pp. 11–81).

narrowness of the Talmud, there is no dogmatic spirit prevailing. The debate is independent, the thought has a vast field, and so one may find individual opinions which are, in fact, contrary to the general spirit of the Talmud.

And this leads us to notice another distinction between the Halacha and the Hagada. The Halacha is all war, the Hagada all peace. Every page containing Halacha is a battle-field. Every Rabbi has his friend, who is at the same time his antagonist. There are duels on every page, where the knights and champions of the Holy Law fight against each other with all the passion and all the ardor ever displayed at a tournament. This dialectic combat is considered necessary in order to elucidate things, and highly meritorious. If, according to Seneca, the struggle of virtuous men against fate is the most agreeable spectacle to the gods, so, according to the Talmud, there is nothing more pleasing to God than to see this contest of his beloved children for the sake of his equally beloved Law.

It could not be otherwise. There are innumerable things to be elucidated. For instance: on the Day of Atonement, the Scripture commands, "Ye shall afflict yourselves." But what is affliction? The privation of bodily pleasure. It is a pleasure to eat; consequently one must not eat. But what of swallowing a piece of leather, or of eating a crumb of bread,—is this eating? No, the quality and quantity must be fixed. A date is considered the normal measure.* But what kind of date? and with the kernel or without? since the kernel is not the date. Another comfort is washing and bathing. This cannot be allowed on the Day of Affliction, or *the* Day, as it is called. But are there no exceptions? Yes, there are exceptions. R. Chananiah ben Tiradion — as the Mishna tells us — is so polite as to allow a bride and a king to wash their faces. He also allows a woman in confinement to put on sandals, which is generally forbidden. A still greater world of bewildering questions is to be resolved in regard to another day, the Sabbath. No work is to be done. But what *is* work? what is labor? (for these synonyms occur in the Bible.) Or rather, what is *not* work? Anything done to some purpose is work.

* The olive is a measure in regard to other things, but for the Day of Atonement a date is the normal scale.

The Mishna enumerates thirty-nine principal divisions of labor, or, as they are called, "fathers of work." But these fathers of work have an innumerable family of children and grandchildren. The Gemara goes into endless discussions about the definitions, the classifications, and the nomenclature of work, to determine what is forbidden and what is allowed, — or, to use the Talmudic expression, — which also occurs in the New Testament (Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18), — "what is loosened and what bound." This dialectic war, which to any outsider must appear as a kind of *Batrachomyomachia*, fills nearly the whole treatise called *Shabbath*.

Similar minute prescriptions are to be found in the sacred books of the Hindoos and Parsees, — the rites and ceremonies of the latter bearing, besides, a striking resemblance to many of the Jewish rites and customs, and even to those of the Romans. Mommsen says that the list of the duties and prerogatives of the Roman Pontiff was so minute and detailed, that it might find a place in the Talmud. But in all those books there are only rules and regulations, everything is fixed. In the Talmud there is dispute and life.

It is quite different with the Hagada. There serene peace reigns. That is no battle-field, but a field with plants and flowers, where we find the rose of Jericho, the weeping-willow of Babylon, the balm-tree of Gilead, and sometimes even the cedar of Lebanon. Since in the Hagada there are no vital questions to be solved, everything goes on quietly. There are different opinions, but no disputes. To take one instance. The Bible mentions ten plagues with which the Egyptians were smitten. Comes R. Jose the Galilæan and says: "In Egypt it was the finger of God (Exod. viii. 19); on the sea it was the hand of God (Ibid. xiv. 31)." The hand has five fingers; consequently they were smitten on the sea with $5 \times 10 = 50$ plagues. Comes R. Eliezer and proves out of a Biblical passage (Ps. lxxviii. 49) that every plague in Egypt was a quadruple plague; and always retaining the undeniable axioms, that the hand is five times as much as the finger, and that $4 \times 5 \times 10 = 200$, he proves mathematically that on the sea they were smitten with two hundred plagues. Another Rabbi is not satisfied with two hundred; he proves

that on the sea there were two hundred and fifty plagues. For from the same passage in the Psalms it is evident that every Egyptian plague was a fivefold plague; now $5 \times 10 = 50$; again, $50 \times 5 = 250$; *ergo* there were two hundred and fifty plagues on the sea: *quod erat demonstrandum.* But there is no dispute about all this. It is only a saying, — ten or fifty, two hundred or five hundred, — the more, the better. R. Jose, and R. Eliezer, and all the others, — they are all right, nobody is wrong. It is no fight, it is a tourney.

In the same way one has to distinguish the Rabbis of the Halacha from the Rabbis of the Hagada. The Halacha is like a field of corn, which furnishes the daily bread; the Hagada resembles the blue corn-flower, which is more ornamental than useful. The Rabbis of the Halacha tilled this corn-field in the sweat of their brow; they were a hard-working set; while the men of the Hagada followed the flight of their fancy, and their sayings were not to be weighed. It is therefore not astonishing that generally, though not always, the men of the Halacha looked down on the men of the Hagada as an inferior class, in about the same way as a theologian or a lawyer (and those Rabbis were both theologians and lawyers) would look down on one of the laity. There are Rabbis who excelled in both Halacha and Hagada; but — as has been remarked by Rapoport — there are also Rabbis who occur only in the Halacha, as others only in the Hagada.

As there are various Hagadas, so there are various opinions concerning their value. It seems — as Dr. Derenbourg says — that some of the Rabbis, at least, were exceedingly dissatisfied with some of the allegorical interpretations of Biblical precepts, as being in contradiction to the more strict interpretations of the Halacha.

From this fact originates another, secondary, difference in reference to the external form. In opening a volume of the Talmud, one may generally know at the first glance whether a page contains Halacha or Hagada. If the text has a narrow shape, it contains Halacha; if it is broad, it for the most part contains Hagada. In this way the form gives an idea of the matter; and this external difference results from the internal diversity in the following manner.

The text of the Talmud, as it is now printed, is accompanied by two running commentaries, — on the right hand *Rashi*,* on the left *Tosaphoth* (a collective name). Rashi, with admirable precision, explains every obscure word and passage. Tosaphoth is not exactly a commentary; it is rather — as the *côté gauche* always is — an oppositionist. It seeks, with a wonderful sagacity, to discover contradictions between one passage and another, and with still greater sagacity it tries to reconcile the contradictory passages; but if this cannot be done, it submits itself to the authority of the Talmud, whose ways must be right. Tosaphoth is, so to speak, the Talmud to the Talmud; and besides the war raging on the broad highway of the text, Tosaphoth gives us the sight of a skirmish on the by-road. All this is done in honor of the Law, in order to sharpen and to elucidate; it is, to use a Talmudic expression, like the sharpening of iron with iron (Prov. xxvii. 17), or the friction of flints against each other. The more friction, the more sparks and the more light.

But all this is only in the department of the Halacha. When the Hagada has its turn, Tosaphoth generally takes no notice of it. It would be easy enough to find contradictions. The Hagada, like Penelope, itself unravels its web sometimes. But just for this reason: it is only a body of sayings, ἔπεα πτερόεντα. Suppose the Messiah were to come, and the Temple to be rebuilt, the Hagadas all together would not help solve one ritual question. And so, while the hard and stony places of the Halacha are bordered on both sides, and are the narrower the more stony they are, the Hagada, as commented only by Rashi, is broad and wide. The Hagada is the Garden of Tadmor amidst the sands of the Desert; and the reader may go through it without fear lest any of the other commentators should disturb him by throwing in some of their interpellations.

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* The author of an article on the Talmud in "Lippincott's Magazine" (May, 1868, p. 524) is the only one now who calls this commentator by the obsolete name of *Jarchi*. Since Dr. Zunz, in his monograph upon Rashi, proved that he was erroneously called Jarchi, and that his real name was (Rabbi) Shelomo Jitschaki (i. e. Solomon ben Isaac), or, as represented by the initials, according to the Rabbinical style of abbreviation, *Rashi*, the latter designation has been generally adopted.

The difference between the Halacha and the Hagada shows itself in the language. The Halacha uses many more Hebrew words than the Hagada. The Mishna especially is composed of Hebrew words, which differ from the Biblical Hebrew in about the same way as the mediæval Latin differs from the classical Latin. The Hagada, being in itself more popular, uses generally the vulgar Aramaic idiom, and contains, besides, many more foreign words — Greek, Latin, Persian, etc. — than the Halacha. Professor Delitzsch calls the Aramaic a fantastical, mysterious, and Titanic idiom.* But it cannot be denied that it has all the characteristics of a lower dialect, especially so when compared with the Hebrew. The Hebrew is poetical and symbolical, the words have comparatively large and subtile relations, while in the Aramaic they are of narrow and more prosaic range. But the terminations give to the words a somewhat majestic sound, an air of grandiloquence. It is like the rustling of the wide Oriental garments. The Aramaic is the expression of what the Romans called the *Asiaticum genus dicendi;* and there is certainly something strange and mysterious in the form and sound of the words. The Book of Daniel, for instance, would lose much of its powerful charm, if it were written in Hebrew. In fine, the spirit of the Aramaic is quite different from the spirit which animates the Hebrew language.

It has been said that mosaic work was first employed by a Semitic tribe, the Arabians. Arabesques — as the word itself shows — are also of Arabian origin. It is this style which we find in the Hagada; it is throughout arabesque, it is mosaic in the twofold sense of the word. It combines the Hebrew passages of the Bible with the spirit of the Aramaic, and surrounds them with ornamental figures. But the Aramaic is a more encumbering and amplifying style; it has a strong tendency to the hyperbolical manner of expression. And so we find in the Hagada the same magnifying and multiplying style, whose power depends more upon numerical aggregation than upon interior strength. It is especially a kind of geometrical progression which the Hagada uses, in order to give an idea of something great. To show what a great city Bethar, or

* F. Delitzsch, Zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Poesie, p. 135.

Rome, or Jerusalem was, it would say: The city had (or has) twenty-four wards, every ward twenty-four precincts, every precinct twenty-four districts, etc. The sublime poetry of the Bible is often combined with this arithmetical amplification. There is, for instance, the beautiful passage (Isa. xlix. 14, 15): "And Zion said, The Lord has forsaken me, and my Lord has forgotten me. Can a woman forget her sucking child? . . . . Yea, they may forget; yet will I not forget thee." Between the first and second verse the Hagada* has intercalated a geometrical progression, to give an idea of the immensity of the world. And then it concludes: "And all these worlds, and all these stars and planets, I have created only for thy sake, O Zion, and thou sayest, The Lord has forgotten me?" A similar paraphrase is used in reference to the words of the Babylonian king, that is, according to the Talmud, Nebuchadnezzar (Isa. xiv. 14): "Comes a voice from heaven," or, as it is called, a daughter-voice, — an expression occurring likewise in the Syriac version of the New Testament,† — and says: "O thou wicked man, son of a wicked man, grandson of Nimrod the Rebel!" Then comes a long geometrical progression to show the immense distance between Heaven and Earth, and then it concludes: "And thou sayest, I will ascend to the heights of the clouds, I will be like the Most High? No! Thou shalt be brought down to *Sheol*, to the depths of the grave!" ‡

Hyperbole is a characteristic feature of many of the Hagadas. Everything great appears in the Hagada still greater; its measure is a gigantic scale. The Koran says (Sura xxviii. 76), that Corah, or Karun, as he is called, was so rich, that the keys to the repositories of his wealth would have been a load for several men, — ten, or forty, or seventy, or even for forty mules, as the commentators say. This is taken from the Talmud, which says that three hundred mules were necessary to carry the keys of Corah's treasure-houses, and that these keys were made of leather. § Every quality attributed to any person or thing in

* Tr. Beracoth, f. 32.

† Bath-Kol (Acts xii. 22; Hebr. iii. 15). In the Semitic languages the words father, son, etc., are much more comprehensive than in other languages, and are often used, where, in other languages, an adjective would be employed. This genealogical kind of expression is at the same time highly poetical.

‡ Tr. Chagigah, f. 13.

§ Tr. Pesachim, f. 119. One of the commentators, Rabbi Samuel ben Meir,

the Bible is magnified and multiplied, — as the stature of Og, king of Bashan, or that of Absalom, the beauty of Esther, Sarah, and even of Eve, the strength of Samson, the virtues of the righteous men, and the wickedness of the wicked men. Every pious man appears as a unique exemplar of piety, and every wicked man seems the wickedest in the whole world.

There are some topics especially which occur very often, and which with numberless variations give occasion to this superlative style of exalting and embellishing. The first of all things is study. Study means, of course, *the* study, — the study of the Law, or the Thora. As those Rabbis seem to have known the whole Bible by heart, Biblical passages without number are quoted to prove that the Thora is wine, water, milk, balm, life, happiness, wisdom,* gold, jewels. The Thora is the quintessence of all good things; and occupation with it is a preservative against all bad things. The study of the Law is a divine service; it is even more than sacrifice and prayer. To learn and to teach the Holy Law is the corner-stone of all faith. And as Moses is called "our Teacher," as Thora itself means *instruction*, so the Talmud gives instructions how to instruct. One finds there didactic maxims which deserve a place in any book for the education of the young.

It is therefore quite natural that the heroes of the Bible should be represented as great Rabbis. But not only the men of the Bible, God himself is sometimes regarded as a Rabbi. God, in the Hagada, is, so to speak, the sublimated idea of the people of Israel itself. He is the apperception, the self-consciousness, of Israel. "Since the destruction of the Temple," says the Hagada, "the Holy, blessed be his name, has only the four square yards of Halacha," † — that is to say, the only consolation of Israel in exile is occupation with the Holy Law.

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called Rashbam, by the initials of his name, says, that, wherever the number three hundred occurs in the Talmud, it is not to be taken literally, but as denoting a great quantity generally (like the Latin *Sexcenti*).

* Cf. Sirach, xxiv. 23. Also the wisdom of Solomon is said to have chiefly consisted in the knowledge of the Law.

† Dr. Steinschneider (Jewish Lit., p. 18) makes the sense of this passage to be: "God resides at those places where men are engaged in study." He also shows that Eisenmenger, in his desire to make the Talmud ridiculous, gives an entirely false translation of this passage, showing therein his ignorance of the genius of the language.

God has given the Law to the Israelites, but, like a constitutional king (if we may use this expression), he submits himself to the Law. God had already created the souls of the demons, and was going to give them, on a Friday evening, their bodies; but it was too late, it was already the Sabbath.* Another time the angels ask God about the beginning of the feast-days. "Let us go down," says the Lord, "and ask the Synhedrin": for it was this assembly which had to determine the neomenia and holidays. All this means, that the Holy Law is supreme. Even the laws of Nature are submitted to it, as is shown by the river Sabbation, which all the week through kept rushing on with a horrible noise, but which flowed quietly and silently on the Sabbath-day.

Since, according to the Bible, the majesty of God dwells in the midst of Israel, it is from the same identifying idea that in the Hagada God is represented as lamenting the destruction of his house, the Temple, like a father who mournfully chastises his son, and drives him out of his house with a grieved heart. The Midrash to the Lamentations especially is full of descriptions of this kind.

But notwithstanding this paternal relation of God to Israel, the Talmud bears always in mind, that, as the Bible says, God is the Father of *all* men, and merciful to *all* his creatures.† It is a remark of Dr. Geiger,‡ that the current Talmudical designation of God as "The Merciful" (*Rachmana*) was adopted by Mohammed, but that this name is used only in the Koran, and not in the current sayings of the people. "God has no joy," says the Talmud, "in the perdition of the wicked. When the Egyptians were perishing in the Red Sea (Exod.

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* Midrash to Genesis, i. 24.

† Once on a time R. Jehudah ha-Nasi happened to be at a place where a calf was going to be slaughtered. The calf ran to R. Jehudah, put his head under the Rabbi's robe, and groaned, as if to say, "Save me from death!" The Rabbi said: "What can I do for thee? Go, this is thy destiny!" It was then said in heaven: "As he has no pity, he will have to suffer." The Rabbi had to suffer pains for years. Once his daughter was going to kill a weasel. Said he to her: "Don't kill it, for it says, His mercy is over all his creatures" (Ps. cxlv. 9). From that moment he was relieved from his sufferings. (Tr. B. Metsia, f. 85; Midrash to Genesis, viii. 1.) It is remarkable that the Talmud expresses "pains" by "castigations."

‡ Das Judenthum und seine Geschichte, Vol. II. p. 43.

xiv. 24), the angels around the throne of God were going to sing at dawn of the morning their usual hymn to the praise of the Almighty. But God said: The works of my hand (the Egyptians) are perishing in the flood, and you come to sing? No!" In the same way the verse, "Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth" (Ps. civ. 35), is explained by, "Let the sins be consumed. God is slow to punish. When he is going to reward, he does it by himself; but when he is going to punish, he first consults with the heavenly Synhedrion, the higher angels." It is said, "Let us go down and see" (Gen. xi. 7; xviii. 21). Does God need to descend from heaven? "Certainly not," the Hagada says; "but this expression is used to teach us not to judge too hastily, and before having examined thoroughly into the matter."

There are many other things which fancy is exercised in embellishing: as, for instance, the Sabbath, Paradise, Jerusalem, and the Holy Land, as it was, and as it is going to be in the time of the Messiah, but more than all, the pious men and women of the Bible.

But with all the eulogies bestowed upon pious Sarah, chaste Joseph, penitent David, humble Jacob, etc., the Hagada is sharp and severe, sometimes even sarcastic, upon any fault committed. Laban, for instance, is not at all a favorite with the Hagada. His epithet "Aramæan" (*Arami*) is, in the usual way of playing upon words, taken in the sense of *deceiver*. It is said (Gen. xxiv. 60), "And they blessed Rebecca, and said, Thou, our sister, thou shalt become thousands of myriads"; and again (Gen. xxxi. 55), it is said, that Laban blessed his daughters. Says the Midrash: "O those misers! all their dowry consisted in words."

One may say that the Hagada is like the ladder in Jacob's dream: it reaches to heaven, and the angels are going up and down, but it stands upon the earth. Sometimes the Hagada in its fantastic flights reminds us of Don Quixote (who has certainly something Oriental in his character), but at the same time it has all the practical gravity of Sancho Panza; and just as this immortal book amuses us with its saws and proverbs, so the sarcastic vein of the Hagada is often expressed in a proverb. There is perhaps no literature so abounding in

proverbs as the Talmud. Besides the collections made by Buxtorf, Drusius, Fürst, and Dukes, one could fill a volume with the proverbs which they have omitted.

Sometimes the Hagada quotes a Biblical maxim. As already mentioned, the legation sent to Esau is strongly censured in the Midrash. It is said (Prov. xxvi. 17): "He that passes by and meddles with strife that does not concern him takes a dog by the ears." This passage is applied to Jacob: he was to let Esau alone, and not to humble himself before him. Sometimes common proverbs are corroborated by passages of the Bible. In reference to the maxim, "Do not throw a stone into the well thou hast drunk from," the passage Deut. xxiii. 7 is quoted.* But for the most part the vulgar proverb is employed in order to make some sharp remark. To Jacob's bowing down before Joseph is applied the proverb, "Bow down to the fox when he is in luck." † God had to remind Jacob to fulfil the vow he had made (Gen. xxviii. 22; xxxv. 1). Says the Midrash: "This is what people say: 'In the hour of distress the vow is made, in the hour of prosperity it is forgotten.'" (*Passato il pericolo, gabbato il Santo*, as the Italians say.) Hagar was born in Egypt (according to the Talmud, she was a daughter of Pharaoh), and she took from Egypt a wife for her son (Gen. xxi. 21). "Of course," says the Midrash; "as the proverb says: 'Throw a stick into the air, it will always come back to its first place.' She was an Egyptian, and so she wanted an Egyptian wife for her son." In saying that Jethro rejoiced for all the good done to Israel (Exod. xviii. 9), the Bible expresses "rejoiced" by a word which occurs very seldom, and whose root signifies *sharpness, smartness*. The Midrash therefore says, that Jethro, with all his joy, was somewhat grieved, and it quotes the proverb, "Do not condemn a heathen before a proselyte, even in the tenth generation," with the gloss, "He will always have sympathy for his original ancestors." The Bible says (Gen. vi. 9): "Noah was a just man and perfect in his generations." Says one Rabbi: "He was just and perfect even in his time; if he had

* B. Kama, f. 92.

† A similar proverb occurs in Burckhardt's Arabian Proverbs (No. 87): "When the monkey reigns, dance before him."

lived in the time of pious men, he would have been still better." "No," says another, "he was a pious man only in his time, only in comparison with his wicked contemporaries; in the city of the blind they call the one-eyed a seeing man."* Abigail, in speaking to David, says: "When the Lord shall have dealt well with my lord, then remember thine handmaid" (1 Sam. xxv. 31). She was thinking of the future. By way of illustration, the Talmud quotes the proverbs, "A woman spins while she is talking," and, "The goose (or the duck) walks humbly along, but its eyes look far around."

In reference to women the Talmud has many sharp and sarcastic sayings, but in general they are not sharper than Virgil's *Varium et mutabile semper fœmina*, or Shakespeare's "Frailty, thy name is woman," or the French, *Souvent femme varie, bien fou qui s'y fie*, or innumerable sayings of other nations. Women are considered volatile and light-minded; accordingly, instruction in the Law is highly recommended in regard to men only, not with reference to women: women are not serious enough to enter the holy temple of religious instruction. It was from a similar motive that among the Hindoos the women were not allowed to learn the sacred songs of the Vedas, and that the metaphysical doctrines were not to be communicated to them.† But, on the other hand, the Talmud has the highest veneration for the virtues and the domestic influence of women. It could not be otherwise, as in the Bible also the women are highly respected. While Syncellus and other authors ‡ regard all female decorations as an invention of the Devil, the Talmud, on the contrary, is so convinced that ornament and embellishment belong to woman's nature, that it says God himself, before introducing Eve to Adam, first adorned her like a bride. § This is deduced from the expression (Gen. ii. 22), "And God built," instead of "God made." (In another place the same expression is taken to imply that woman has more sense and understanding than man.) The

* The French proverb is: *Dans le royaume des aveugles le borgne est roi.* A similar proverb in Greek is quoted in the *Adagia* of Erasmus: *Monoculus rex inter cæcos.*

† Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 27.

‡ Syncellus, Chronographia, p. 9; Book of Henoch, VI. 1.

§ Tr. Niddah, f. 45.

Talmud indeed says,* even in reference to Halacha, that the ornaments of women are to be considered as their arms (wherewith to conquer). Mention is also made of particular women who were held in high veneration, as, for instance, Beruriah, the wife of R. Meir, — upon whose character a German theologian, G. G. Zeltner, early in the last century, wrote an essay.† Out of many illustrative passages which might be adduced, we shall quote only one. "It is said, God blessed them (Adam and Eve) and called their name Adam (Gen. v. 2); for a man alone, without a wife, is not a man." ‡ Man and wife together represent the idea of man. Many other sayings, showing the high respect entertained for good women, as well as some sharp remarks upon the faults of women, may be found in Buxtorf's *Florilegium*, under "Mulier."

The Talmud distinguishes between ethical maxims and proverbs of daily life, calling the latter "common sayings"; but it is in these popular sayings especially that the sagacity, the common sense, the plain and practical mind of the Rabbis find their expression. These proverbs are given in Aramaic, which, as a plain, popular dialect, is very suitable to this kind of popular wisdom. It cannot be denied that the spirit of the Talmud, on the whole, is realistic; the Rabbis are matter-of-fact men. There is no lofty speculation, no *Nephelococcygia*, as in the "Birds" of Aristophanes. Everything — for the most part, at least — has a clear, distinct, and concrete shape: even the angels, the demons, and God himself.

And here we would beg leave to make a few remarks concerning some views expressed in the London "Quarterly," which, in our opinion, are incorrect, and which would lead to a false conclusion in reference to the Talmud. We contest the manner in which the reviewer brings an artificial word into connection with a real word of the same sound, — the word *Pardes*.

Throughout the Jewish literature, there are innumerable examples of *voces memoriales*. In order to facilitate the remem-

* Tr. Abodah Zarah, f. 25.

† De Beruria, Judæorum Doctissima Fœmina. He also wrote another book, De Fœminis ex Hebræa Gente Eruditis.

‡ Yebamoth, f. 63.

brance of different things belonging to one category, an artificial word was formed out of the initial letters of the words representing them, — in constitution analogous to that of our English word *Cabal*, for instance, formerly employed for recollecting the names of the five ministers of Charles II., or of the fictitious word *Apjunseno*, designed to memorize the months which have only thirty days (April, June, September, November). In the Jewish books the fictitious word *Shaznamkechal* (or rather, *Sznmkchl*, — the vowels to be substituted *ad libitum*) is a mnemonic sign, made up in the same way, with a view to remembering the order of sun, moon, and five planets. We might also, from the initials of their English names — without reference to the order — form the word *Simsumm*; or leaving out sun and moon, and calling Mercury by his Chaldæan name, *Cochab*, or by his Arabic name, *Chateb*, we should have the word *Music*, which would, besides, recall the Pythagorean music of the spheres, and would thus be a good mnemonic word. As in the case of our English *Cabal* and *Music*, the Hebrew artificial words happen sometimes to be real words.* This is the case with the word *Pardes* (P R D S), which is formed from the initials of the words expressive of the four ways in which to explain the Bible, — namely, the philological (*Peshat*), the allegorical (*Remaz*), the ethico-homiletical (*Derūsh*), and the mystical (*Sōd*).† But the fictitious word is of

* A familiar example of a word of similar formation and character in the Greek, symbolized by the figure of a fish in mediæval epitaphs, is the word Ἰχθύς, composed of the initial letters of the words Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ. In an opposite way, the letters of a single word are taken to represent the initials of several words, — as the word *Adam*, for instance. According to a Talmudical legend, God, in forming man, took the dust from the four regions of the world, which St. Augustine (Tract. IX. in Johann. Ev. c. ii.) finds represented in the name of Adam, as Ἀνατολή, Δύσις, Ἄρκτος, Μεσημβρία. The Hebrew analysis of this word is — with many other anagrams of the same kind — given by Buxtorf (De Abbreviationibus, p. 62) as an example of the *Notaricon*, as it is called, with reference to the abbreviations of the Roman Notarii. The Notaricon is used chiefly in the Cabalistic books. Christians who studied Cabala tried in this way to find Christian doctrines in the Hebrew Bible. Pico della Mirandola, for instance, says that the first three letters of the first word of the Bible contain Son (*Ben*), Spirit (*Ruach*), and Father (*Ab*). The example given in "Lippincott's Magazine" (May, 1868, p. 526), with reference to the same subject and the same word, is rather forced; nor is it correct to say that "among the several modes employed in the Talmud for the 'searching of the Scriptures,' that called *Notricon* [Notaricon] holds the chief place."

† Steinschneider's Jewish Lit., p. 142.

later date than the real word; it does not occur in the Talmud, and has nothing to do with it. The author of the article in the "Quarterly", is decidedly wrong in saying that this word "gradually indicated the secret science only."

The word *Pardes* in the Talmud is everywhere a real word, with the same meaning and the same origin* as the old classic *Παράδεισος*. The New Testament uses the latter word in the same sense as that in which we use the word *Paradise*. With the same signification the word *Pardes* occurs in the Syriac version of the New Testament (Luke, xxiii. 43), in Ephrem Syrus, and other Syriac authors. But the Talmudic *Pardes* means what the Biblical *Pardes* means, *a beautiful garden*. In the story of the four Rabbis who entered the *Pardes*, the word is used allegorically to designate the theosophic science, with allusion to the tree of knowledge in the original Paradise; and so, too, the other expressions which occur in this narrative (as, "he cut the plants") are likewise used allegorically. It is in this way that the word *Pardes* is explained by Hottinger, A. Franck,† S. Cassel,‡ and Grätz,§ all of whom treat at large of this story. Maimonides‖ explains it as signifying the secret and secluded transcendental science; the other old commentators make it to signify Heaven. It is clear, however, that the Talmudical *Pardes* has no connection with the artificial word.¶

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* The author of the above-quoted article in "Lippincott's Magazine" is the only one who says that *Pardes* is *not* of Persian origin. Such scholars as Reland (Diss. Misc., II. 210), Gesenius (Thesaurus, p. 1124), Renan (Hist. des Langues Sémit., p. 153, 2d ed.), and others, quoted by A. von Humboldt (Kosmos, II. 133), are of opinion that it *is* of Persian origin. But to call *Pardes* a "Persian word," as the "Quarterly Review" does, might lead to the erroneous conclusion that it was still extant in the Persian language, which is not the case. Professor Spiegel (Avesta, I. 293) traces the origin of *Παράδεισος* and *Pardes* to the Zend, where *Pairidaeza* signifies *an inclosed field;* Professor Haug derives them from the same word (Ewald, Bibl. Jahrbücher, V. 162). Also the Semitic *Gan*, the Latin *Hortus*, the Dutch *Tuin* (from the same root as *Town*, and the German *Zaun*, fence), and other words meaning *Garden*, signify, originally, like the word *Garden* itself, nothing more than an inclosed place.

† Kabbala, p. 42.

‡ Ersch und Grubers Encyklopädie, Art. "Juden," p. 42.

§ Geschichte der Juden, IV. 117.

‖ At the beginning of his Mishneh Thorah, Chapters V. and VII.

¶ The name *Epikuros* occurs in the Talmud only as an appellative noun, to designate a sceptic or free-thinker; otherwise one might think of the *Hortus Epicuri*.

A mysterious awe envelops this story of the four Rabbis. But its obscurity seems to be in accordance with the doctrine it conveys, — not to enter into the arcana of the supernatural, or, as the Talmud, in reference to a passage in Sirach (iii. 20), says, "not to inquire what is above and what is below, what was before the world and what will be after it." It is at the same time a warning against philosophical inquiries, or "the wisdom of the Greeks." It is the history particularly of Elisha ben Abujah, which seems to be given as an example of the fatal consequences of a devotion to Greek literature. This Elisha was afterwards called *Acher*,* that is, *Another*, or, rather, *Alienus*, because he had alienated himself from the Law: the word *Acher* conveying, besides, the idea of something wrong and devious. He had read Greek books, and when he entered the Pardes "he destroyed the plants," — that is to say, he denied the fundamental principles of the Jewish faith. He even went so far as to act the part of a denunciator, and to deliver his Jewish brethren to the Roman sword.† Yet, when, after his death, his children, being in want, asked charity of the Rabbis, saying, "Remember not the acts of our father, but remember his learning," they were supported by them. The manifold stories in the Talmud about Acher represent him as a highly talented and greatly beloved son,‡ who was alienated from his father's house by the seductions of a foreign woman. This foreign woman was the Greek literature and philosophy, — "the wisdom of the Greeks."

And here again we must dissent from what is said in the "Quarterly Review" in reference to profane science, — that, through "contact with Greece and Rome, their history, geography, and language came to be added as a matter of instruction to those of Persia and Babylon," — that "the Greek language and culture" held a "high position in both the school and the house," — and that a vast deal of the Talmudic meta-

* C. Gutzkow, in his *Uriel Acosta*, makes a happy application of this word to the hero of his drama. M. Letteris, of Vienna, has composed a poem in which Acher appears as another Faust.

† It is rather a strange idea to identify Acher with St. Paul, as is done in "Lippincott's Magazine."

‡ This is especially the case in the Talmud of Jerusalem (Tr. Chagigah, Chap. II.).

physics and philosophy is to be found in Plato, Aristotle, etc. It is true that numerous Latin and Greek words occur in the Talmud, especially in the homiletic Hagadas, called "Midrash." S. Cassel has shown* the occurrence in the Talmud of Greek and Latin words relating to common life, as, *τράπεζα*, *κοιτών*, *ἐξέδρα*, *subsellium*, *phiala*, *collyris*, etc., and that only the words pertaining to agriculture are wholly of Hebrew origin. But although many other Greek and Latin words may be found in Buxtorf, or any other Talmudical dictionary, we nevertheless maintain that all this is no proof of any acquaintance on the part of the Jews with Greek literature.

For an illustration let us take the Germans in this country. The cultivated Germans, those who are acquainted with the literature of their native land, would never intermix English and German. They have too much respect for any language, and especially for their own, as almost forming a part of themselves, to alloy it with foreign elements. But the uneducated class, who learn languages more by hearing than by reading, and who look upon words as only a kind of small coin, serving just for their needs, employ, in conversation, a horrible jargon of German and English words, disfiguring the latter by giving them German terminations. Their language is a fusion, or, rather, a confusion, a medley, of German and English. Now the men of the Talmud knew the Greek only through the medium of the ear. The Greek words occurring in the Talmud have undergone changes, as all words do, in passing from one people to another; but besides that, most of them are more or less disfigured, having been treated in much the same way as the English is treated by uncultivated Germans. To take one instance out of many. The Latin of the Church uses Roman military terms in a spiritual sense, as the words *Sacramentum*, *Statio*, and even *Miles*, which is sometimes made to signify *Miles Christi*. In the same way the Greek *κατήγορος*, *συνήγορος*, *παράκλητος*, etc., are used in the Talmud in a narrow and spiritual sense, with reference to good or bad actions. Now the Aramaic form of the Greek *κατήγορος* is *Katigor* (for it seems that the Greeks themselves,

* Ersch und Grubers Encyklopädie, Art. "Juden," p. 28.

at that time, pronounced $\eta$, as they do to-day, like $\bar{e}$). But besides this, there occurs in the Talmud the verb *Katreg* (to accuse), and *Mekatreg* (the accuser), formed from the noun *Katigor*, according to the spirit of the language. Other words are hybrids, half Greek and half Hebrew. This would not occur, if the Rabbis had been acquainted with Greek literature. Besides, it is not the quantity, but the quality of words, which is to be tested. Now most of these words are such as are used to designate external objects. They are words for the house, the street, and the market. But the words which belong more to the literature, to the inner life, the abstract nouns, are — although the Greek language is much more copious in such nouns than the Semitic languages, — for the most part Hebrew or Aramaic words.

It is true, we are told that R. Akiba praised his pupil Aquila for his translation of the Bible into Greek, and applied to him the verse about Shem and Japhet.* But this isolated fact does not prove an acquaintance with Greek literature. In some cities the Jews spoke Greek, as it was the vernacular tongue, and so a translation was needed. But in this translation of Aquila we find Greek words, but no Greek thoughts; it is the body, but not the spirit of the Greek language. The Greek is really treated as *vernacula;* it has to follow its master, the Hebrew. The word κεφάλαιον, for instance, by which Aquila renders the first word of the Hebrew Bible, is not exactly the Greek for *Beginning;* it is the literal translation of the Hebrew word which corresponds to *Head* (κεφαλή).

The Thallith and the Pallium were, indeed, of too heterogeneous a nature to be combined. There was even an aversion to Greek literature. The expression "Greek wisdom" oc-

* Grätz (Geschichte, IV. pp. 127, 60, seqq.), Geiger (Judenthum, und seine Geschichte, II. 21, seqq.), Jost (Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten, II. 59, seqq.), J. Salvador (Histoire de la Dominion Romaine en Judée, I. 25), Derenbourg (Hist. de la Palestine, pp. 395, seqq.), and many others, have filled whole pages with delineations of the character of R. Akiba, who was certainly a great man. But the book Othioth is falsely ascribed to him in "Lippincott's Magazine." Like many other Cabalistic books of a recent date, bearing the name of an old author, this book is called "Othioth of R. Akiba," but is of later origin. (See Zunz, Gottesd. Vortr., p. 168; Steinschneider, Jewish Lit., p. 107.)

curs in some places in the Talmud, but the exact meaning is not clear. Luzzato* is of opinion that it signifies the Greek grammar and literature, and that the Rabbis, not being able to exclude the use of Greek words, wished at least to prevent the Greek spirit from entering the realm of Jewish faith. The passages quoted by Renan,† and especially the often-quoted passage at the end of the Antiquities of Josephus,‡ prove sufficiently that the Greek sciences were neglected, and were even regarded with hostility.

The spirit of the Greek literature was opposed to Judaism, and was a lure to apostasy. "Javan" (i. e. Greece), says the Talmud, in more than one place,§ "said to Israel: 'Write on the horn of the ox, that you have no portion in the God of Israel!'" The allusion here seems to be to the drinking-horns used at the Bacchanalian revels of the Greeks, which the Romans, rather contemptuously, called *pergræcari;* and it was probably at such licentious orgies that some were induced to adopt Greek ideas, and to renounce the Jewish faith. It was some such consideration, perhaps, that led to the general prohibition to drink wine with Gentiles.

The prevailing spirit of the Talmud is in direct opposition to the sensual, realistic, and, if we may say so, the naked naturalism‖ of the Greeks. "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness" (Exod. xx. 4). This commandment is the corner-stone of the Talmud, as the opposite idea is the corner-stone of Greek art and literature. Instead of the gay, joyous, and worldly spirit of heathen literature, there is an elegiac tone resounding through the Talmud. How could it be otherwise, in view of the manifold oppressions and endurances? Some of the greatest Rabbis had died martyrs to their faith, slaughtered by the Romans. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget!"

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* Il Giudaismo Illustrato, per S. D. Luzzato, Professore in Padova, p. 224.

† Vie de Jésus, Chap. III.; Hist. des Langues Sémit., 2d ed., p. 288.

‡ Jos., Antiq., XX. xi. 2.

§ Midrash to Genesis, chapters ii., xvi., xliv.; to Leviticus, chap. xiii.

‖ Herodotus says (I. 10): "Παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι, καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει." In opposition to this, Larcher quotes a passage from Ennius: "Flagitii principium est nudare inter cives corpora." The same may be said of the Jews.

(Psalm cxxxvii. 5.) This is the melancholy strain, which, like the dying sound of the harp, is re-echoed in the Talmud. The burning Temple, which some of the older Rabbis had seen in its glory, was always before their eyes. "Since the day the Temple was destroyed," — this sentence is of frequent occurrence, conveying the idea, that since that day all things in life and Nature had undergone a change for the worse. The last Mishna of the treatise Sotah contains mournful complaints, how, since the destruction of the Temple, and the death of the great men, all the virtues are departing, and how every day's curse is greater than that of the preceding day; and it concludes: "On whom have we to lean? On our Father in heaven." It is remarkable that perhaps the only specimens of a truly poetic diction in the Talmud are of an elegiac character, — as, for instance, some funeral poems,* and a beautiful paraphrase† of the melancholy verses at the end of Ecclesiastes.

"To commemorate the destruction of the Temple" was the object of many observances. In painting a house one place was to be left black. No ear was to hear music. The heathen theatres and circuses are mentioned together particularly, in perhaps a hundred passages, as an abomination, as places to be shunned. Designed for the display of heathen art, frivolity, and brutality, and frequently the scene of mockery and ridicule of the Jewish rites, the theatre and circus were considered to be designated under the epithet, "The seat of the scornful," of which it is said, "Blessed is the man who does not sit there, but who meditates on the law of the Lord" (Ps. i. 1, 2). In like manner, the passages, "Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in," and "Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in" (Deut. xxviii. 6, 19), are rendered in the Chaldee paraphrase: "Blessed shall you be when you come into the school-houses" (places for studying the Holy Law), and, "Cursed will you be

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* Some of these are quoted in Buxtorf's Lexicon, col. 1524.

† "Youth is a crown of roses, old age is a crown of thorns. Two are better than three" (i. e. the two legs of the young man are better than the three legs of the old man, — in the same sense as in the Enigma of the Sphinx). "Alas for the one [youth] which is gone and never returns!" These and other sentences are given in Tr. Shabbath, f. 152.

in going to your circuses and theatres, instead of studying the words of the Thora." And this reminds us of a passage often quoted. R. Ismael, being asked by his nephew if he could be allowed to study the "Greek wisdom," answered: "It is said (Joshua i. 8), Thou shalt meditate in the Book of the Law day and night. Well, you may study the Greek wisdom at a time when there is neither day nor night."* The Greek wisdom was in this way delayed *ad Kalendas Græcas.*

We must therefore protest against the opinion expressed in the "Quarterly Review," that profane science was highly esteemed by the Rabbis of the Talmud. A very instructive article † in the American German Monthly, "Sinai" (April, 1862), shows, indeed, that some knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, botany, zoölogy, anatomy, and medicine was necessary in order to regulate the Talmudic decisions, and that some passages exhibit even a high veneration for the wise men of other nations; but the general spirit of the Talmud is adverse to profane science. The different branches of science were necessary to the Law, but they were considered only as means, not as ends; they were merely by-roads. There is only one God, one country, one nation, one science above all others. As the Talmud calls the Holy Land "*the* land" and all other countries "the foreign land," so all profane books are called foreign books. The study of the Law is *the* study, *the* science, and there is nothing beside it. The study of the Law is praised and recommended in numberless passages, but there could hardly be found one passage in which any profane science is recommended. Only astronomy seems to be an exception. "He who knows how to calculate the course of the stars," says the Talmud, "and does not do so, of him it is said: They regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the work of his hands." (Isa. v. 12.) Astronomy was highly necessary for fixing the festivals, and perhaps was considered the best preservative not only against Paganism, but also against astrology, to which false science some at least of the Rabbis were strongly

* Tr. Menachoth, f. 99. This and many similar passages are quoted by Wagenseil (Sotah, p. 968), and by Dr. Herzfeld, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, Vol. III. pp. 253, seqq.

† Judenthum und Wissenschaft, by Dr. Adler.

opposed. This seems to be implied in the saying of a Rabbi (in the same place): "He who learns anything from a Magian forfeits his life; and he who knows how to calculate the course of the stars, but does not practise it, his name is not to be mentioned." *

There were, of course, a few Rabbis who were acquainted with profane knowledge. There was, for instance, Samuel, who was both a great astronomer and a renowned physician. But the predominant spirit of the Talmud is adverse to the art of healing; prayer is regarded as the best medicine, and God as the best physician.† The belief in magic cures, in the portentous indications of eclipses, in the hosts of demons,‡ which form a kind of Talmudical mythology, in evil spirits, which, according to the Talmud, exist everywhere (Samuel attributes even the madness of a dog to its being possessed by an evil spirit),§ — these and the like things certainly partake more of a superstitious than of a scientific character. There is more mythology than natural history in the assertion that the hot springs of Tiberias owe their heat to Hell (*Gehinnom*), from the doors of which they issue. And so of the phenomena of Nature generally, — the reference of most of them in a similar way to supernatural causes shows that Science and the Talmud have little to do with each other.

The Talmud is too narrow and too exclusive, it is too much taken up with the Holy Law, to have time or space for metaphysical speculations. It reminds one of Platonic ideas, when it says that the passions — or the personified "evil desires," as

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* Tr. Shabbath, f. 73. The passage above quoted is the opinion of Abba Areka, who, together with his antagonist, Samuel, lived in Persia. These Rabbis dispute as to the meaning of the word *Amgusha*, or Magian. Duncker (Gesch. des Alterth., II. 377) remarks, that the word Magian "does not occur in the Zend-Avesta, but only in the inscriptions of Darius, where the form *Maghush* is used to designate a Magian." It is remarkable that in the Talmud also a Magian is called *Amgusha* and *Magush*.

† Suidas (s. v. Ἐζεκίας) says, that a book containing remedies, made by King Solomon, was destroyed by King Hezekiah, in order to induce people to pray to God, instead of using medicines. This is entirely from the Talmud (Pesachim, f. 56).

‡ Rapoport remarks, that the magic cures, as well as the manifold stories about demons, belong only to the Babylonian Talmud, and are not found in that of Jerusalem.

§ Tr. Joma, f. 85.

they are called, in imitation of Parseeism — are necessary to the existence of mankind.* There is certainly a striking resemblance between Socrates and the Talmud, in the parallels they respectively draw between the Godhead and the soul. But if we compare the one (Xen., *Mem.*, I. iv. 8, seqq.) with the other (Tr. Beracoth, f. 10, and Midrash to Deut. vi. 4), we shall see a great difference. When the Talmud (Erubin, f. 18), in explanation of certain Biblical passages, says that Adam and Eve were originally only one body with two faces, it differs somewhat from Aristophanes (in Plato's *Symposion*), where he explains the Eros by saying that originally man and wife were only one person. When the Talmud, with reference to a passage of Job, says that a child in the womb of its mother is taught the whole Thora by an angel, and that the same angel afterwards slaps it on the mouth and makes it forget all, so that it has to learn again, this is not exactly what Plato says, that all our learning is only a remembering.

But there is one department in regard to which the Talmud is neither narrow nor exclusive, but rather, on the contrary, liberal, and even more liberal than other books, — that is, Languages. In most languages foreign nations are designated in a somewhat contemptuous way, as stammering, as mutes, as uncultivated. This contempt finds its expression in many popular tales about the origin of the different languages. There is nothing of the kind in the Talmud. The Hebrew is, of course, considered the holy and primitive language. The Talmud† compares the Greek *Ἄνθρωπος* and *Γυνή* with the Hebrew *Ish* and *Isha*, in order to prove that the Hebrew was the primordial language. It reminds one of Plato's *Cratylus*, in laying great stress upon the fact that Adam gave names to the animals, that he called the Lord Adonai, on account of his being the Lord, and himself Adam, on account of his being taken from the earth (*Adamah*).‡ But although the "one language

* In one place (Midrash to Eccles. iii. 11) it says, the words "and behold, it was *very* good" (Gen. i. 31) mean the *Jetser harang* (evil desire, passion). In another place the words "very good" are applied to Death. But according to the Talmud, the evil desire, or the demon of evil, is identical with Satan and the Angel of Death, — which is the same as saying that the passions shorten the life of man.

† Midrash to Genesis, ii. 23.

‡ Midrash to Eccles. vii. 19. What is besides said there, that the angels were

and one speech" (Gen. xi. 1) is said to be the Hebrew, — which opinion occurs also in the Patristic literature and in Dante,* — and although the other languages are represented in the Bible as the consequence of a rebellious act, and degenerate, — the Talmud has a high esteem for all of them; for they, too, are a divine institution. God himself descended at the confusion of tongues, with seventy angels; and while the Hebrew is the favorite language, the seventy nations and their seventy languages are under the tutorship of those seventy angels. The Ten Commandments were, of course, proclaimed in Hebrew; but the Talmud remarks that the first word, *Anokhi* (I), is an Egyptian word,† that every word was at the same time heard in seventy different languages, and that the inscription mentioned in Deuteronomy (xxvii. 8) was likewise written in seventy languages. ‡ And so not only the Hagada, but also the Halacha, quotes Greek, Arabic, and other words, especially from the maritime coasts (where a kind of *lingua franca* seems to have existed), in order to explain a Hebrew word of the Bible. §

But all this has reference only to words, not to foreign literature. The Talmud is averse to all "exotic books," especially to the Greek philosophy. ‖ We find a similar aversion among the Romans. We read that Cato persuaded the Senate to send back the philosopher Carneades, for fear that his philosophy would corrupt the Roman youth. The same Cato ex-

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not able to give names to the animals, was, with some variation, adopted by Mohammed (Koran, II. 31). Philo says that Adam gave names to the animals, but not to himself, for he did not know himself.

* De Vulgari Eloquio, I. 6; and Paradiso, XXVI. 124.

† Jalkut to Exod. xx. 2 says that the Egyptian word for *I* is *Anukh*, as in fact is the case. In another place (Tr. Menachoth, f. 34) it is said, in explanation of a Biblical word, that in the *Katpi* language *Tot* signifies Two. In the Egyptian language the Hand is expressed by *Tot;* it might easily be that the same word was used to express the number Two, in the same way as we find Two expressed by Wing. The Katpi language seems to mean the Coptic.

‡ Tr. Sotah, f. 32; Shabbath, f. 88.

§ It is certainly true, as is said in the London edition (1828) of Walton's Prolegomena (II. 569), that the Rabbis, in order to explain the word of the Lord, quote an expression of an Arabian servant; only, instead of the single example quoted (with a misprint) from Buxtorf, one could quote a hundred similar passages.

‖ The word Philosopher is used by the Talmud (Shabbath, f. 116) to designate an unprincipled man.

presses himself in the strongest terms against the Greeks and their literature.* It is true that the Greek language and literature were introduced into Rome, but there was always a party strongly opposed to them, and especially to the Greek philosophy. Even Cicero apologizes for treating philosophical matters, and the way in which he speaks of Archimedes, whom he calls *humilem homunculum*, and in which he occasionally quotes the saying, that every Roman is the more wicked, the more Greek he knows, † shows a certain contempt of the Greeks in general. It is the same contempt with which Pliny (VIII. 34), speaking of Lycanthropia, says: "It is wonderful how far the credulity of those Greeks goes!" Just as if there had never been any fable like it among the Romans. Juvenal gives vent to his bitterest satirical vein in speaking of *Græcia mendax* (X. 174), of *Tusca Græcula facta* (VI. 185), and of the *Græculi* (III. 78), who know all and everything. And when we read ‡ that L. Paulus sent word to the Athenians to send him a philosopher who could make the decorations for a triumphal arch, and who, besides, could instruct children, we cannot help thinking that the Romans considered the Greeks as a kind of *Bohemians*.

It could not be otherwise, with the Roman *gravitas* on one side, and the *Græca levitas* on the other. But there was a still greater discrepancy between the stern and rigid spirit of Judaism and the gay and light spirit of the Greeks,—"the children of the Old World," as the equally earnest Egyptians called them,—with their Proteus-like Jupiter (Lucian calls him ποικιλώτατος), their youthful Dionysus, and their ever-smiling Aphrodite. It is true, that Aphrodite is also mentioned in the Talmud,§ but only to tell us that R. Gamaliel had to justify himself for having taken a bath in a *balneum* where there stood a statue of Aphrodite.

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* Hoc puta vatem dixisse: Quandocunque ista gens suas litteras dabit, omnia corrumpet. Quod bonum sit illorum litteras inspicere, non perdiscere, vincam. (Plin., Nat. Hist., XXIX. 7.) The Talmud says, in a similar way, that all books (even Hebrew books) besides the Bible are superfluous, and that they may be read, but not studied. (Talmud of Jerusalem, Ch. X. Midrash to Eccles. xii. 12.)

† De Off., Lib. II. init. Tusc. Quæst. V. xxiii. 64. De Orat. II. 66.

‡ Plin., Hist. Nat., XXXV. xl. 10.

§ Tr. Abodah Zarah, f. 44.

The aversion to Greek literature was not diminished, but rather increased, when the Greek language became a medium for the propagation of Christian doctrines.* It seems even that the aversion then changed into hostility. We say, *it seems:* this must be said of many other things in the Talmud; it is guess-work. The Talmud is not like other books. It treats of the Oral Law, and it has also, if we may so say, an oral character. It is as if one should enter a debating society where people were engaged in passionate dispute, and should briefly note down what the several speakers said. The diction of the Talmud is a wild, passionate, and, as it were, *viva voce* diction. The *Notaricon*, the stenographic sign of the Roman Notarii, used sometimes by the Talmud in expounding Biblical words, could just as well be applied to the Talmud itself, to its enigmatic, fragmentary, rhapsodic, and aphoristic style. Renan is quite right, when he compares this style to the manner in which the bankers write their *Notes de Cours*.

The obscurity is still greater where other nations and other religions are spoken of. It has been shown by Lebrecht, † how, in such cases, a Persian is mentioned instead of a Roman, and that general terms are promiscuously used to designate a particular sect. The Notaricon ‡ style was thus even more obscured through the *Nota censoria* of the Censor.

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* The author of the article in "Lippincott's Magazine" again stands alone, when he says (p. 532), that Talmudical terms were taken from the New Testament, that Acher became a Christian, and that probably the writings of Paul exercised some influence upon the masters of the Mishna. The Talmudic passages quoted by Dr. Grätz (Gesch., IV. 112), and more explicitly by Dr. Derenbourg (Hist. de la Palestine, p. 380), in which it is said that the books of the *Minim* (Nazarenes) are to be burnt, notwithstanding the holy name of God occurring there, — these and many other passages prove sufficiently that the Rabbis did *not* read the writings of Saul of Tarsus. The doctrines of Paul were rejected even by the adherents of Peter, James, and John. (See Zeller, Vorträge und Abhandlungen geschichtlichen Inhalts, pp. 203, seqq.) Concerning the few apocryphal passages in the Talmud where Jesus is mentioned, one may read Wagenseil's Sotah, p. 1054, and Derenbourg, pp. 202, 468.

† F. Lebrecht, Kritische Lese zum Talmud, p. 37.

‡ In the Talmud the word *Notaricon* is applied to any kind of abbreviation, and is used only in certain places of the Hagada. The same may be said with reference to the *Gematria*, —γεωμετρία, comprising arithmetic also, — the substitution of one word for another of the same numerical value. (See Zunz, Gottesd. Vortr., p. 326). The Notaricon, as the method of representing several words by the single letters of

We find the same aversion to philosophy, to heathen art and literature, to profane or secular science, — but much stronger and sterner — among the Fathers of the Church, especially in Tertullian, who, like a kind of spiritual gladiator, slashes right and left. With all the vehement fierceness of his African temper, he ridicules — commenting on the words of Paul (Colos. ii. 8) — all secular wisdom, the Greek fables as well as the Greek philosophy (which he considers the source of heresy), and all earthly joy and merriment.* Just as the Talmud abhors the circus and the theatre, Tertullian thunders against the *Ludi* and *Spectacula*, which he looks upon as idolatrous. † When he says that even the words εἶδος, εἴδωλον, prove that any image is an idol, ‡ he reminds one — as in many other cases — of the Talmud. With a stern eloquence, after the manner of old Cato, he launches his anathemas against all art, all worldly pleasure, all bodily adornment. "*Quod nascitur opus Dei est, quod fingitur est Diaboli negotium*," § — this is *his* "*Et cæterum censeo.*" But even the mild and highly cultivated Clemens Alexandrinus, who tries to reconcile philosophy with faith, and who says that people's fear of philosophy is like children's terror at masks, ‖ even he — like Tertullian, censuring the women for using looking-glasses, — says: "What has Jerusalem to do with Athens," the Church with the Academy? ¶ In the same way Jerome says: "*Quid facit cum psalterio Horatius, cum apostolis Cicero?*" ** He considers the reading of secular books (*codices*

one word, the Gematria, and the systematic changing of letters, called *Temura*, are the principal methods of the Cabala. (Examples of Temura are given in Buxtorf's Lexicon, col. 64.) While Gematria and Notaricon are of later date, as the words themselves show, the Temura (*Substitution*, in Hebrew), as a kind of secret writing, is old, and also mentioned by Jerome, in his Commentary on Jeremiah, xxv. 26. (See S. Munk, Palestine, p. 521.)

* Tertull., De Anima, Cap. II. seqq.; De Præscr. Hær., Cap. VII. seqq.

† De Spectaculis.

‡ De Idolol., Cap. III.

§ De Cultu Fœmin., Cap. IV.

‖ Stromata, VI. 10.

¶ In the chapter, Ὅτι οὐ χρὴ καλλωπίζεσθαι (Pædagogus, III. 2). Clement says that looking into a mirror is against the commandment not to make any image. The Hagada says that Moses was unwilling to receive the looking-glasses of the women (Exod. xxxviii. 8), but that God told him that these were the most acceptable sacrifices.

** Epist. XXII. cap. 13.

*sæculares*) as an abnegation of God. "What happiness could it afford me to know the sources of the Nile, or what the naturalists dream about the sky?" says Lactantius. "There is nothing certain but the faith; the philosophers are in contradiction with each other, the system of Epicurus is foolishness, and what Lucretius says is madness."* Arnobius uses his vast knowledge of heathen literature to show the absurdity and the immorality of the heathen mythology. The Greek fables are generally treated much worse than the Rabbinical fables have ever been. The contempt for external form goes so far that even grammatical forms and purity of style are neglected. "It is better," says Origen, "to offend against grammar, in order to say plainly what we mean, than to use such words as might lead to a false conception of the Holy Word." † "We do not fear the ferules of the grammarians," says St. Augustine, "if we can only give the true meaning." ‡

The language of the Fathers of the Church has undergone a change. In much the same way as the idiom of the Talmud differs from the powerful and poetical language of the Old Testament, so we find in the Patristic books the old Latin in new forms: it is spiritualized. This one-sided spiritualism pervades them throughout. At the Councils of Tours and Paris, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the reading of books treating of physics was interdicted to the clergy (the laity could not read), and Gregory the Great severely censured the Bishop of Vienne for teaching grammar and reading heathen books (*nugas et sæculares litteras*) with young men. §

This was the prevailing spirit down to the revival of art and science, — the forerunner of the Reformation. It was more than a mere coincidence that Raphael was born in the same year with Martin Luther. Luther's translation of the Bible was a great work; it was an act of emancipation. Another German translation of the Bible, made two hundred years afterwards, led to an emancipation from the Talmud.

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* De Opif. Dei, Cap. VI.; Divin. Instit., Cap. XXIV.

† In Cantic. Canticor. ii. 3.

‡ De Vita Contempl., I. 23.

§ Libri, Hist. des Sciences Mathém., I. 72. Jourdain, Recherches Crit. sur les Traductions d'Aristote, p. 204.

As the Talmud itself is averse to profane science and literature, so we find, that, wherever and whenever the Talmudic spirit reigns exclusively, profane science is for the most part neglected. This was especially the case in Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The hostility of Christians to the Jews was at that time much greater than before. There was less of open hostility, but more vexation and narrow-minded mortification. The Jews were shut up in Ghettos, both in the literal and in the figurative sense. They, on the other hand, kept themselves behind the fences of the Talmud. The Talmud was their asylum, their stronghold; it was the oasis in the desert of the surrounding life; it was the Pharos amidst the hostile waves. The "four yards of Halacha" were their dominion and territory. Everything else was excluded. There were thousands of learned men among them, but their learning consisted only in the knowledge of the Holy Law; they knew the Talmud and all the other casuistic books as well as a good lawyer knows his *Corpus Juris*, or even better, but all other science and literature were a sealed book to them. Even the study of the Hebrew grammar was neglected. The German Jews spoke, of course, the German language, but it was a kind of Pennsylvania-Dutch, a corrupt dialect intermingled with Hebrew words. The German grammar and literature did not exist for them. The Talmud and its decisions were the only authorities.

We all know the beautiful nursery tale, "The Sleeping Beauty." There is a castle, and in this castle sits a princess; under the influence of a charm she sleeps. She sleeps for years, and all her attendants sleep too. In the mean time the hedges around the castle have grown so high and thick that nobody can enter. But one day there comes a lovely prince, and he cuts down the hedges, and enters the castle, and delivers (and of course marries) the princess, and the charm is broken. This is the story of Judaism. The Talmudic hedges of the Law, and the hedges to those hedges, had, with the lapse of time, grown so high, that Judaism, surrounded by them, was secluded from the outer world, till the prince entered, and with him the beaming light of the eighteenth century. This prince was Moses Mendelssohn.

Mendelssohn translated the Pentateuch into German. His friends translated other parts of the Bible. There appeared books upon various sciences, most of them in pure Hebrew, while in the time immediately preceding the Talmudic idiom had been used. It was a revival of science. Judaism assumed a new phase. The princess awoke; a change had come over the spirit of her dreams.

The Midrash says: "On the day when iron was created, all the trees began to tremble. Said the iron to them: Why do you tremble? So long as you do not furnish the wood, no harm can be done to you." It is also a current Talmudic proverb: "Out of the forest comes the handle to the axe which cuts it down." This often happens in history. It was so with Luther, Spinoza, Mirabeau; and it was so now. Those men who began a new era had grown up in the Talmud, and then out of the Talmud. Their minds were sharpened by its dialectics, while the books of such Jewish thinkers as Maimonides, Ibn Ezra, Saadiah had enlarged their views. The Talmud was like that sacred forest in Lucan which nobody dared touch. Those men thinned the forest; they were the pioneers of a coming generation.

There is a striking parallel between the time of the Talmud and that of Mendelssohn. The Talmud, in speaking of the Greek translation of the Bible made by the Seventy Elders (denominated the Septuagint), says that the day when it was begun was as hard for Israel as the day when the golden calf was made. This seems to indicate that that translation was regarded as profanation, and as leading to apostasy. On the other hand, it is said that it seemed impossible to translate the Thora adequately. When Mendelssohn translated the Pentateuch, the Talmudic spirit rose up against him in the same way. The Rabbis of his time thundered against this translation. They said it was a sin, and that the holy words could not be translated. In this they were partly right. The Rabbis probably did not know that in this, as in many other things, they were in accord with the Parsees, who also assert the insufficiency of any translation of the Zend-Avesta.* Besides the wide diversity between the Hebrew

* Max Müller, Chips, etc., I. 176.

and the German, the Bible, in common with other religious books, contains peculiar words which lose much by translation. In the versions used before that time, the religious and many other expressions had been left untranslated,*—the original words, which every one understood, being preserved. In so far the Rabbis were not altogether wrong.

And so, too, in regard to another point. They were afraid lest through this translation into pure and literal German another spirit would enter into the narrow and gloomy Ghetto, and into the Talmud, which was itself a kind of Ghetto. And in this they were right. Some years afterwards, at the beginning of the French Revolution, the Parisians entered the Bastile, destroyed it, and wrote on the walls, *Ici l'on danse*. Here, too, began a revolution. Mendelssohn had made a breach in the old tower. After him followed a jubilant army with the flags and banners of a new time. The absolute monarchy of the Talmud was broken. The Talmud still reigns to-day, but its authority is shaken, its domain is a small one. It had withstood the storm in the time of Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn; † it could not withstand the beams of the sun which brought a new day.

It was, indeed, time for a revolution. For in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Talmud—if we may say so—was even more Talmudical than before. It had engendered an immense literature. The war for the Holy Word became a guerrilla warfare. The discussions of the Talmud were spun out to abstruse and absurd sophisms, to endless scholastic subtilties, to a real *Batrachomyomachia*. Every Rabbi showed his shrewdness in heaping together a dozen contradictory passages. When it seemed impossible to disentangle the skein of endless yarn, he, like Alexander, cut it with the sword of his sagacity. The Talmud of Jerusalem, which is less entangled and of a quieter character than the Babylonian, was

* It is for a similar reason that most of the words pertaining to the Church and Religion, in the German as well as in other languages, are Latin words. The Latin, introduced with Christianity, was considered a holy language, while the Teutonic words did not express the same ideas, or conveyed with them heathen notions.

† The history of Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn is, with all the details, told in the ninth volume of Grätz's Geschichte.

entirely neglected, as was also the study of the Bible. The Babylonian Talmud was built up to a Babylonian Tower. The Halacha became a labyrinth; and he was considered a Theseus, who could overcome the self-created monsters of contradiction.

Singular as this may appear, it was a result of the utter seclusion in which the Jews then lived. The Rabbis concentrated all their faculties on the Talmud. For them the outer world did not exist. The Talmud was their lecture-room, their theatre, their newspaper, their library, their studio; it was the Ἓν καὶ πᾶν. But among those Rabbis were men of ardent imagination, of acute judgment, full of enthusiasm and energy. In another sphere of action they would have gained a world-wide fame. But they were shut up in the Ghetto, inclosed in the labyrinth of the Talmud. The cell of the *Beth-hamidrash*, or school-house, was their arena. Isolated from the world, their imagination created another world of monsters to fight with. Luther in his cell threw his inkstand at the Devil. The Rabbis used pen-and-ink to pour out a burning soul. As all the post-Talmudical books — like many Arabian works — have a poetical title, formed from a Biblical phrase, and often with an allusion to the name of the author,* we find books, written by Rabbis of the eighteenth century, called, "The Roaring of the Lion," "Forests of Honey," "Crethi and Plethi" (2 Sam. viii. 18), and the like, — all revolving around the Halacha in endless spirals. In reading a single page of these books one is overcome by a sense of giddiness, or rather of madness, and he feels that they are rightly named. We have here *truly* the roaring of a lion, confined in a cage, — *truly* a forest, without exit, — *truly* a Crethi and Plethi, mixture and confusion, in the German signification of the words. In look-

* Expressions occurring in the Song of Solomon, and in the descriptions of the Tabernacle and the Temple, are especially used as titles of books; for instance: Pillars of Silver, of Gold, of Marble; A Shining Lamp; Blossom and Bud; Bell and Pomegranate; Lily of Sharon; Collection of Roses; Inclosed Garden. Others are of a warlike character: as, Thousand Shields; Shield of Heroes; Shield of David, of Abraham. The latter refer likewise to the names of the authors, — as also, Abraham's Well, Solomon's Carpet, House of Joseph, Saul's Hill, etc. The name of the collection of Midrashim which we have had occasion to cite, "Jalkut," signifies "Bag," and is taken from "the shepherd's bag" (1 Sam. xvii. 40).

ing over these books, one must pity the Rabbis who so wasted their powers on trifles and nonentities.

In reflecting on the immense influence which the Talmud exercised for centuries (and in a measure still exercises), one must again think of the Parsees. All that Professor Max Müller and Professor Spiegel say about the clinging of this people to their native soil, and to their old customs and ceremonies, may be applied in a higher degree to the Talmudists. The Parsees maintain, that Zoroaster, besides the written Zend-Avesta, communicated to his disciples an oral law, to be preserved by tradition, — and that the original language of the Zend-Avesta is the language of Heaven.* The Parsees in India consider the original seat of their ancestors as their own real home, and in the same way their past history is always present to them: they live in the remote country and the remote time. Professor Müller † finds the causes of their religious constancy in the compactness of their faith, which does not trouble them with mental problems, in its remote antiquity and former glory, in their considering the length of duration as proof of the truth of their religion, to desert which would be a dereliction of filial piety. We find the same causes operating in regard to the Traditional Law of the Jews. The Talmud ‡ mentions a synagogue in Babylonia which was built of earth and stones from Palestine. The same remark may be metaphorically applied to the Talmud itself. The Talmud is composed of materials derived from the Holy Land. The "chain of Tradition" — to use a Talmudical expression — is at the same time the chain which connects the Jews with the land of their ancestors. Another chain to connect the present with the past and with the absent is the Hebrew language, which is kept alive through the Talmud especially. He who knows the Talmud knows Hebrew. While the Parsees mutter hymns in the "time-hallowed accents of Zoroastrian speech," without understanding them, the Hebrew was never to be regarded as a dead language: a language which is used even

* Fr. Spiegel, Erân, das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris, p. 365.
† Chips, etc., I. 178.
‡ Tr. Megillah, f. 29.

now-a-days in books and periodicals* may, in some degree at least, be considered a living language.

A peculiarity of the Hebrew language is, that the tenses are not distinguished from each other as in other languages. The present tense expresses rather continued than momentary action. The ruling tense is a kind of Aorist. In the Prophets especially, we find transition of tenses into each other. The seer stands, like Balaam (Numb. xxiii. 9), on a mountain. He is above the present; his view is ἀόριστος. Both the past and the future are present to his imagination. There is something similar in the Talmud. The axis around which it turns has two poles, — the glorious past and a glorious future, — memory and hope; and it is a rainbow, an *arcus cœlestis*, which in its bright colors connects the two. This is the poetic and ideal element of those who live in the Talmud; they live a twofold life. And surrounded as this life is with an endless tissue of ceremonies and observances, still increased by later Rabbis, the performance of those time-hallowed ceremonies has its attractive charm. Whatever one may say about man's free will, it may be maintained that most people do not care to exercise their free will; they like to be ruled and restricted. The life of those who live according to the Talmud *is* restricted and regulated, — from morning to night, and from night to morning. The very first act of the day is the performance of a religious duty. There is a book with the poetical title of "The Prepared Table," which contains, in the form of rules and regulations, all the decisions of the Talmud, together with many additional requirements of later date. It begins with the words: "Be always strong as a lion and swift as a roe to fulfil the will of thy Father in heaven. When thou awakest in the morning, do not say in winter-time, 'It is too cold to get up,' nor in summer, 'I have

* Since the time of Mendelssohn there have appeared the following periodicals in Hebrew: Meassef (Gleaner); Kerem Chemed (Lovely Vineyard); Bikkure Haittim (First-Fruits of Time); Zion; Hajonah (The Dove); Hechaluts (The Armed Warrior); Ozar Nechmad (Valuable Treasure); Hamaggid (The Teller); Jeshurun; Kochbe Jitschak (Isaac's Stars); — the five last named are still published. The book of Dr. Frankel heretofore cited is written in Hebrew, as are likewise all the works of Rapoport, of Reggio, and several of those of S. D. Luzzato. Besides these four celebrated authors, there are many other writers in Hebrew.

not slept enough.' No! arise, say your prayers, and give thanks to the Lord!"

In this way everything is consecrated, hallowed, and referred to God. The Talmud prescribes benedictions for every enjoyment and gratification. It says: "Whoever eats anything without blessing the Lord is like a thief." But, what is highly characteristic, God is to be thanked not only for the good, but for the evil also: there is a special benediction for bad tidings. There are, again, benedictions for the natural phenomena, for the thunder and for the rainbow, for the sight of the ocean (as well as for the sight of wise men, to whom God has imparted wisdom), for the new moon, for the blossoming trees in spring, and for every phase of the rolling year. The days do not run on indifferently one after another; the eye is lifted up to the silent and holy course of the moon and the stars. All time is hallowed. In the Jewish calendar there is no month without a fast or a feast, memorials of historical events, and at the same time a sanctification of the seasons. The Sabbath is especially honored; there are liturgical songs in which the Sabbath is called The Bride (the word being of the feminine gender in Hebrew), and glorified with all the epithets which in the Song of Solomon are bestowed on the beloved Shulamith. "Israel and the Sabbath," says the Midrash, "are betrothed to each other."

It is not the fault of the Talmud that these observances led to superficiality and mere formalism, — that, while the fences were guarded, the field was neglected. Besides the external formalities, which certainly are overrated in the Talmud, there is a spirit of true internal morality pervading it throughout. The Hagada especially is full of ethical maxims. There are only a few single passages which go too far in assuming the superiority of Israel, and the consequent inferiority of other nations. The Eisenmengers and renegade Jews who have busied themselves in searching them out have not succeeded in making a large collection. On the other hand, it is to be observed that it is always the voice of Jacob against the hand of Esau, the outcry of an oppressed and tyrannized people against its tyrants, which finds expression in those passages.

The Talmud for centuries formed the nucleus of the whole Jewish literature, and never, perhaps, was a book studied with so much ardor and enthusiasm. The learning and the teaching of it — the latter always done gratuitously — were deemed acts of religion. Besides the official Rabbis, there were, till the beginning of this century, thousands of private persons who devoted their lives or their leisure to its study. They had no emolument: it is a maxim of the Talmud not to make the Thora "a spade to dig with" (to gain money by it): they learned, and they taught others, for the love of God. That time is gone, and the very fact that it *is* gone is that which makes us contemplate it with a feeling of reverence. "The back of a man," says Jean Paul somewhere, "has something touching." But in the books of those times we find the same spirit still. There is in them a piety, an enthusiasm, a spirit of holiness, which could not easily be found elsewhere. In opening one of these volumes we have the feeling of entering a temple, and the authors appear to us as priests who keep watch over the sacred fire from generation to generation.

We have made mention of a certain Rashi. Rashi was, in the eleventh century, the Rabbi of the congregation in Troyes, but, like the other Rabbis of that time, without salary.* He wrote a commentary on the whole Bible (a few books excepted), and another highly esteemed commentary upon nearly the whole Talmud. Although revered as of the highest authority, he was so modest as to undertake such a secondary labor, and so full of enthusiasm as to perform a task so gigantic. There were only a few treatises remaining to be commented upon when he died. It happened that in the last sentence which Rashi wrote the word "purity" occurred. His son-in-law continued the commentary. It begins with the words: "Our teacher is no more. His last word was 'purity'; his soul left his body in purity. What follows are the words of his disciple, R. Jehudah, son of R. Nathan."

In conclusion, it is to be remarked, as a prominent feature of the Talmud, that, while in itself an historical monument, there are no historical points given in it. Besides its manifold anachronisms, the Talmud is, if we may so say, *achronis-*

* Grätz, Geschichte, VI. 78.

*tical* (ἄχρονος), without distinction of time. Although the work of many centuries and various lands, the impression it produces is as if it had been wrought out in a single day and in one place only. Even the few events of Jewish history mentioned in it are only incidentally referred to, *à propos* of some casuistical question, and generally with more or less confusion of persons and circumstances. But the Talmud is, nevertheless, a mirror of time, although a broken one. In times of oppression and seclusion the Jews confine themselves to the Halacha. In times and places of greater liberty, we see them engaging in other studies. Such was the case in Spain, before the fifteenth century, — and in Holland, where the expelled Jews had found an asylum, in the sixteenth. There the Thora, the "tree of life," was twined about with the ornamental ivy of philosophy and the natural sciences; there, besides the Holy Law, the "joyous science" of poetry was cultivated; poems in various languages appeared, called by an author of that day "The Lights and Flowers of the Holy Law" (*Luzes y Flores de la Ley Divina*), at the same time that the Halacha was extending its dry ramifications all over Germany. The various phases of history are reflected also in the way in which the Talmud has been treated. In times of darkness it was persecuted and burned. It was isolated from the world by the Dark Sea of ignorance and narrow-minded fanaticism. Horrible stories were told of the Land of the Talmud, and the "Rabbis" of the Talmud had the same fate as the hags and witches: they had their *Advocati Diaboli*, but hardly one *Advocatus Dei*. Those who were best qualified to pass judgment on the Talmud, the Jews, kept within their Ghettos. It was with the Jewish literature as with the Jewish woman of old, to whom were applied the words, "All the glory of the king's daughter is within" (Ps. xlv. 13), as if to say that she was to live only in her house, not in the world: the books written *by* Jews were written only *for* Jews, not for mankind at large.

All this is now changed. And if we go back to the point from which we started, if we draw a parallel between the time of Columbus and our own time, we shall find that the Talmud also has its share in the general advancement. Be-

tween the time when Columbus in his letter to Queen Isabella expressed the hope that no Jew, no Moor, that no other than a Catholic foot would ever tread the new-discovered soil,* and the year 1869, when another Isabella is dethroned and liberty of religion is proclaimed in Spain, how immense the interval! Our century has made other discoveries; it has removed other boundaries, crossed another dark ocean; it boasts greater *Conquistadores* than those of the sixteenth century; its scholars have discovered and conquered the intellectual and religious world of the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Hindoos, the Parsees, the Buddhists. The Talmud also is admitted into the great circle of human efforts and tendencies: it is no more a fabulous country full of monsters.† Humanity has broken down the walls of the Ghetto; it has crossed the seas of darkness which separated the nations from one another; it has discovered *one* world in the place of the many that existed before. And if we, from this new world, look back on the dark ages of the old, we may say, with some feeling of satisfaction, Indeed, there is no more Dark Sea in the whole world!

M. Grünbaum.

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* A. von Humboldt, Examen Critique sur l'Hist. de la Géogr., Vol. III. p. 259.

† In the light of modern investigations, the ideas formerly current regarding even the Leviathan of the Talmud are considerably modified, since we find the same mythological being in the myths of the Hindoos, the Parsees, and the Phœnicians, and even in the Bible itself (Job, xxvi. 13; Isai. xxvii. 1; Ps. lxxiv. 12). The Rabbinical fables on the subject are collected in Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* (Vol. II. p. 872). In some passages the Leviathan seems to be identified with the Ocean. In a similar way the Teutonic Mythology speaks of an immense serpent, the *Midgards-Orm* (World's-Worm), which infolds the earth.

ART. III.—1. *A Relation of the* REVEREND FATHER FRIAR MARCO DE NIÇA, *touching his Discovery of the Kingdom of Cevola or Cibola.* 1539. (Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages. Vol. III. London. 1600.)

2. *The Relation of* FRANCIS VASQUEZ DE CORONADO, *Captain-General of the People which were sent in the Name of the Emperor's Majesty to the Country of Cibola.* 1540. (Hakluyt, Vol. III.)

3. *The Rest of this Voyage to Acuco, Tiguex, Cicuic, and Quivira, etc.* By FRANCIS LOPEZ DE GOMARA. (Hakluyt, Vol. III.)

4. *A Brief Relation of Two Notable Voyages: the first made by Friar Augustin Ruyz, a Franciscan, in the Year* 1581; *the second by Antonio de Espejo, in the Year* 1583, *who together with his Company discovered a Land, etc., which they named New Mexico.* (Hakluyt, Vol. III.)

5. *Relation du Voyage de Cibola entrepris en* 1540. Par PEDRO DE CASTAÑEDA DE NAGERA. (Coll. H. Ternaux-Compans. Vol. IX. Paris. 1838.)

6. *Relation du Voyage fait à la Nouvelle-Terre sous les Ordres du Général Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, Commandant de l'Expédition.* Rédigée par le Capitaine JUAN JARAMILLO. (Coll. H. Ternaux-Compans. Vol. IX.)

7. *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, in* 1846–47. By LIEUT.-COL. W. H. EMORY. Together with the Reports of LIEUT. J. W. ABERT and LIEUT.-COL. P. ST. GEORGE COOKE, and the Journal of CAPT. A. R. JOHNSTON. (United States Senate Executive Document No. 41, Thirtieth Congress, First Session. 1848.)

8. *Journal of a Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Navajo Country, in* 1849. By LIEUT. JAMES H. SIMPSON. (U. S. Senate Ex. Doc. No. 64, 31st Congress, 1st Sess. 1850.)

9. *Report upon the Colorado River of the West, explored in* 1857 *and* 1858, *by* LIEUT. JOSEPH C. IVES. (U. S. House Ex. Doc. No. 90, 36th Congress, 1st Sess. 1859–60.)

SMALL problems are not always to be disregarded because of their insignificance. In some cases they become connected, in

their solution, with other problems of recognized importance. To this class belongs the question with respect to the sites of the so-called "Seven Cities of Cibola," which have not been satisfactorily identified, although made a subject of speculation by different investigators. It is known that they were in the province of New Mexico, westward of the Rio Grande and its tributaries; but in what section of the territory they were situated has not been definitely determined. Upon this question it will be the purpose of this article to present some facts and suggestions, and to point out, in connection therewith, some of the distinctive characteristics of the architecture of the Village Indians of North America.

Coronado's expedition was undertaken in 1540, under the authority of Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain, for the subjugation of these imaginary cities, which were reputed to possess great riches in vessels of gold and silver, and in precious stones. A rumor of the existence of a people with such possessions was quite sufficient to arouse the Spanish adventurers of that period to organize an invasion for the laudable purpose, first, of relieving heathen Indians of such superfluous trifles,* and, secondly, of imparting to them a knowledge of the true religion, ever near to the Spanish heart. But the prudent Viceroy sought to fortify himself against fallacious rumors by sending a monk, Friar Marcos de Niza, to explore New Mexico, and report to him concerning the "Seven Cities," rumors of the existence and wealth of which had reached Mexico through Nuñez Guzman, the founder of Culiacan, and Cabeça de Vaca,† one of the companions of Narvaez in the expedition to Florida. Upon the faith of the Friar's Relation, Mendoza incurred the expense of the expedition.

Niza started from San Miguel, in the province of Culiacan, now Cinaloa, in March, 1539, and, travelling northward into

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* In his first letter to the Viceroy before leaving Culiacan, Coronado naïvely observes: "They have great store of gold, which is, as it were, lost, because they know not what use to put it to." — HAKLUYT, Vol. III. p. 362.

† Alvarez Nuñez, or Cabeça de Vaca, was one of the officers and companions of Panfilo de Narvaez in the Florida expedition of 1528. After their return to Havana was cut off by the departure of the fleet, Cabeça succeeded in crossing the continent to the Pacific coast, reaching Culiacan in 1536, with three survivors, at the expiration of eight years.

the present province of Sonora, reached an Indian village "of reasonable bigness" called Vacupa, situated forty leagues from the Gulf of California. From this place he travelled ten days' journey northward, to the borders of the desert which lay on the route to Cibola. This brought him to the Valley of the Gila, or to some point on the Salinas, but which it is difficult to determine. Afterwards he penetrated the regions beyond, several days' journey, and then returned, and made his famous Relation. The Friar has been charged with mendacity in one important particular, namely, in declaring that he had seen, with his own eyes, one of the "Seven Cities" whereof he made relation. He thus affirmed, substantially, the truth of the statements previously received from others, which were allowed to remain unqualified. His narrative in other respects is that of a conscientious, painstaking explorer, whose enthusiastic temperament tended strongly to self-deception, as well as to exaggeration. Having, as he says, fallen in with a refugee from Cibola, he reports as follows: "He told me that Cevola was a great city, inhabited with great store of people, and having many streets and market-places; and that in some parts of this city there are certain very great houses of five stories high, wherein the chief of the city assemble themselves at certain days of the year. He saith that the houses are of lime and stone, according as others had told me before, and that the gates and small pillars of the principal houses are of turqueses, and all the vessels wherein they are served, and the other ornaments of their houses, were of gold; and that the other six cities are built like unto this, whereof some are bigger, and that Ahacus is the chiefest of them." * Farther on in his Relation he observes: "I followed my way till I came within sight of Cevola, which is situate on a plain at the foot of a round hill, and maketh show to be a fair city, and is better seated than any that I have seen in these parts. The houses are builded in order, according as the Indians told me, all made of stone, with divers stories, and flat roofs, as far as I could discern from a mountain, whither I ascended to view the city. The people are somewhat white; they wear apparel, and lie in beds; their weapons are bows

* Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 370.

they have emeralds and other jewels, although they esteem none so much as turqueses, wherewith they adorn the walls of the porches of their houses, and their apparel and vessels, and they use them instead of money through all the country. Their apparel is of cotton and of ox-hides, and this is their most commendable and honorable apparel. They use vessels of gold and silver, for they have no other metal, whereof there is greater use and more abundance than in Peru." * But the worthy Friar could not have regarded these exaggerations as particularly culpable, since they were well adapted to incite an invasion which would bring these benighted and distrustful heathen to a knowledge of that gentle form of Christianity which had so recently been imparted to the astonished Aztecs.

Mendoza collected an expeditionary force of one hundred and fifty horse, and two hundred foot, — archers and musketeers, — with about eight hundred Indians of Mexico, and placed it under the command of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, then Governor of New Galicia. Setting out in the spring of 1540, Coronado proceeded from Compostella northward into Culiacan, whence, on the 22d of April, with sixty horsemen, accompanied by Captain Juan Jaramillo and the Friar Marcos, and leaving the greater part of his forces to follow, he pushed forward into New Mexico, pursuing, in all probability, the route which the Friar had taken the preceding year. In due time he reached the "Seven Cities of Cibola," and captured them one after another; and before he left them made a relation to the Viceroy of the events of the expedition, up to that time. He afterwards visited and captured the numerous villages in the Valley of the Rio Grande, whence a portion of his command penetrated into the buffalo country northeastward, as far, at least, as the Canadian River. In 1542 he returned with his forces to Mexico, grievously disappointed. He had found and seen much that was truly remarkable, in a march of over four thousand miles; but the vessels of gold and silver, and the precious stones, which had allured him into this barren region, had vanished like a dream.

* Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 372. The truth of the statement of Friar Marcos, that he saw one of the seven towns of Cibola, has been very generally questioned. It seems to me that his assertion is not necessarily false.

Before attempting to trace Coronado's route to the "Seven Cities," it will be proper to call attention to a remarkable group of Pueblo edifices, now in ruins, in the Valley of the Rio de Chacó, which were first mentioned by Gregg,* but first visited and described by Lieutenant James H. Simpson, whose report is named at the head of this article.

Since the year 1846, a number of reconnoissances, under the direction of the War Department, have been made in various sections of the newly acquired territory of New Mexico. The army officers in charge have been directed to devote special attention, among other things, to the physical geography of the regions traversed; and the admirable manner in which they have executed the work is shown by the series of reports issued from time to time between the years 1847 and 1860. To these reports we are indebted for the greater part of our knowledge of the present condition of the Village Indians of New Mexico, and of the remains of their ancient civilization.

One of these expeditions, directed by the government in the year 1849 against the Navajo Indians, was placed under the command of Colonel John M. Washington, chief of the Ninth Military Department, and *ex officio* Governor of New Mexico. To this expedition Lieutenant Simpson was attached, with two assistants as draughtsmen, Messrs. R. H. and E. M. Kern, to whom we are indebted for the numerous sketches and ground-plans which add so greatly to the value of Lieutenant Simpson's report.

The expedition left Santa Fe in August, 1849, crossed the Rio Grande at the Pueblo of San Domingo, and successively the two head branches of the Rio Puerco, a tributary of the Rio Grande, proceeding in a direction slightly north of west. After leaving the Valley of the Puerco at the Cañon de Torrejon, seventy-four miles west of the Rio Grande, they crossed the "divide" which separates the waters that flow into the Gulf of

* "There is sufficient evidence in the ruins that still exist to show that those regions were once inhabited by a far more enlightened people than are now to be found among the aborigines. Of such character are the ruins of Pueblo Bonito, in the direction of Navajó, on the borders of the Cordilleras, the houses being generally built of slabs of fine-grit sandstone." — *Commerce of the Prairies*, Vol. I. p. 284.

Mexico from those which flow into the Pacific through the Colorado.* This is the first material fact. It is well settled, as will be shown hereafter, that the "Seven Cities" were situated upon some one of the remote affluents of the Colorado. At the distance of ten miles west of the Cañon de Torrejon they came upon the Rio de Chaco, an affluent of the San Juan, itself a tributary of the Colorado; and soon after upon the ruins of the first Pueblo. Continuing down the stream westward, they soon entered the shallow cañon of the Chaco, and, within a distance of twenty-three miles from the first Pueblo they found in succession seven others in ruins, — the last seven being near each other, and scattered along an extent of ten miles. The first Pueblo was a mile or more above the commencement of the cañon, and thirteen miles above the first of the other seven, all of which are within the cañon, a narrow valley bordered with bluffs of rock of moderate elevation. Lieutenant Simpson remarks, that the cañon at its commencement is "about two hundred yards wide. Friable sandstone rocks, massive above, stratified below, constitute its inclosing walls." † It widens in its descending course, but its width at the several Pueblos is not stated. From the sketches given of the ruins it is probably a mile or more wide in places, and bordered with bluffs about twenty-five feet high, the summits of which are on a level with the mesa or table-land, but breaking here and there into slopes which give a ready access to the cañon. Of its general appearance at the second Pueblo he observes, that "the view from these ruins, both up and down the cañon, is fine. Rocks piled upon rocks present themselves on either side, and in such order as to give the idea of two parallel architectural façades, converging at either extremity, at a remote distance." ‡ The several Pueblos

* "Seven miles from our last camp [Cañon de Torrejon] we reached the highest point of the land dividing the tributaries of the Gulf of Mexico from those of the Pacific. . . . . Our exploration shows, that, instead of its exhibiting, in transverse section, the sharp angles of the primary mountains, thus, /\, or the flat table-shaped aspect of the mesa formation, thus, /‾‾‾‾\, it presents more strictly the outline of a formation thus, ⌒, the country intervening between the far distant escarpments being very considerably convex." — Simpson's *Journal*, p. 75.

† Ibid., p. 77.

‡ Ibid., p. 78. He continues: "Another and more splendid view burst upon

about to be described are one hundred and ten miles west of San Domingo and the Rio Grande. There are grounds for believing that they are the remains of the "Seven Cities of Cibola."

Since it is quite as much the purpose of this article to call attention to the distinctive features of the indigenous architecture of the Village Indians as to find the sites of the "Seven Cities," the attention of the reader is invited to a somewhat detailed presentation of its characteristics as revealed by the ruins in question.

These great edifices were all constructed of the same materials, embodied the same architectural principles, and were founded upon the same general plan; but they differed in size upon the ground, in the number of rows of apartments, and in the number of stories. Each Pueblo was, in the strict sense, a single edifice, in the nature of a communal house, occupied on terms of equality by an independent band, the possessors possibly of an independent dialect; and the several Pueblos were, in all probability, confederated for mutual defence, and spoke dialects of the same stock-language. These edifices contained from one hundred to six hundred apartments each, and would severally accommodate from five hundred to three thousand people.* In the most prosperous days of the Village Indians of New Mexico it is doubtful whether any single Pueblo contained more than five thousand persons; and in such a case

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us as we turned an angle of the cañon. The chief object in the landscape was *Mesa Fachada*, a circular mound, with tableau top, rising abruptly, midway in the cañon, to a height of from three hundred to four hundred feet." *Mesa Fachada* is between the Pueblos Una Vida and Hungo Pavie, the latter of which is one of the best of the seven. It approximates, but does not answer to, Friar Marcos's description of one of the Cities of Cibola, which was "situated on a plain at the foot of a round hill."

* There are at the present time twenty-one Indian Pueblos in New Mexico, exclusive of the Moquis, nearly all of which are constructed upon the aboriginal plan; and the Village Indians, by whom they are occupied, still preserve, to a great extent, their ancient mode of life, and practise their ancient arts. By the census of 1790, they numbered, collectively, over nine thousand souls, the smallest Pueblo, Santa Clara, containing one hundred and thirty-four, and the largest, Zuñi, one thousand nine hundred and thirty-five persons. In 1864 they still numbered over seven thousand, and the inhabitants of the several Pueblos ranged from ninety-four, at Nambe, to twelve hundred at Zuñi. — *President's Message and Documents, 40th Congress, 2d Session*, 1867–68, *Department of Interior*, Part II. p. 213.

it would be made up of more than one of these great houses grouped together, as at Zuñi. It is reasonable to suppose that at the time of Coronado's expedition the seven Pueblos of Cibola were the finest in New Mexico in construction and architectural design. As such they would be known to the Indians of the Gila and of Sonora, and the knowledge of their existence would spread southward to Mexico. And as the civilization of the Village Indians has declined, rather than advanced, since the advent of the Spanish race, if the remains of the "Seven Cities" still exist, they might be expected to surpass the structures of their descendants. Coronado afterwards captured nearly all the Indian villages in and near the Valley of the Rio Grande, thirty or forty in number; but they were constructed of adobe brick, and inferior to those on the Chaco. Some of those in the province of Tiguex, however, were larger.

The original names of the ruined Pueblos on the Chaco are of course unknown. Lieutenant Simpson adopted the modern names given to them by Caravajal, his Mexican guide, who, he remarks, "knows more about them than any one else." The first, or upper one, without the cañon, he calls the Pueblo Pintado; thirteen miles below is the Pueblo Weje-gi; three and one fourth miles below this, Una Vida; one mile below this, Hungo Pavie; one and three fourths miles below this, Chetho Kette; one and one fourth miles below this, Bonito; one and one fourth miles below this, Del Arroyo; and two and one fourth miles below this, Peñasca Blanca. Thus the seven within the cañon, including Del Arroyo, which was a very small one, were within a distance of ten miles, by actual measurement. This is another material fact. Coronado states, in his Relation, that "the Seven Cities are seven small towns, all made with these kind of houses that I speak of, and they stand all within four leagues* together; and they are all called the Kingdom of Cibola, and every one of them have their particular name."† It is plainly to be inferred from this statement that he found

* The Spanish league is equal to nearly four English miles; but it is probable that the translator corrected the difference.

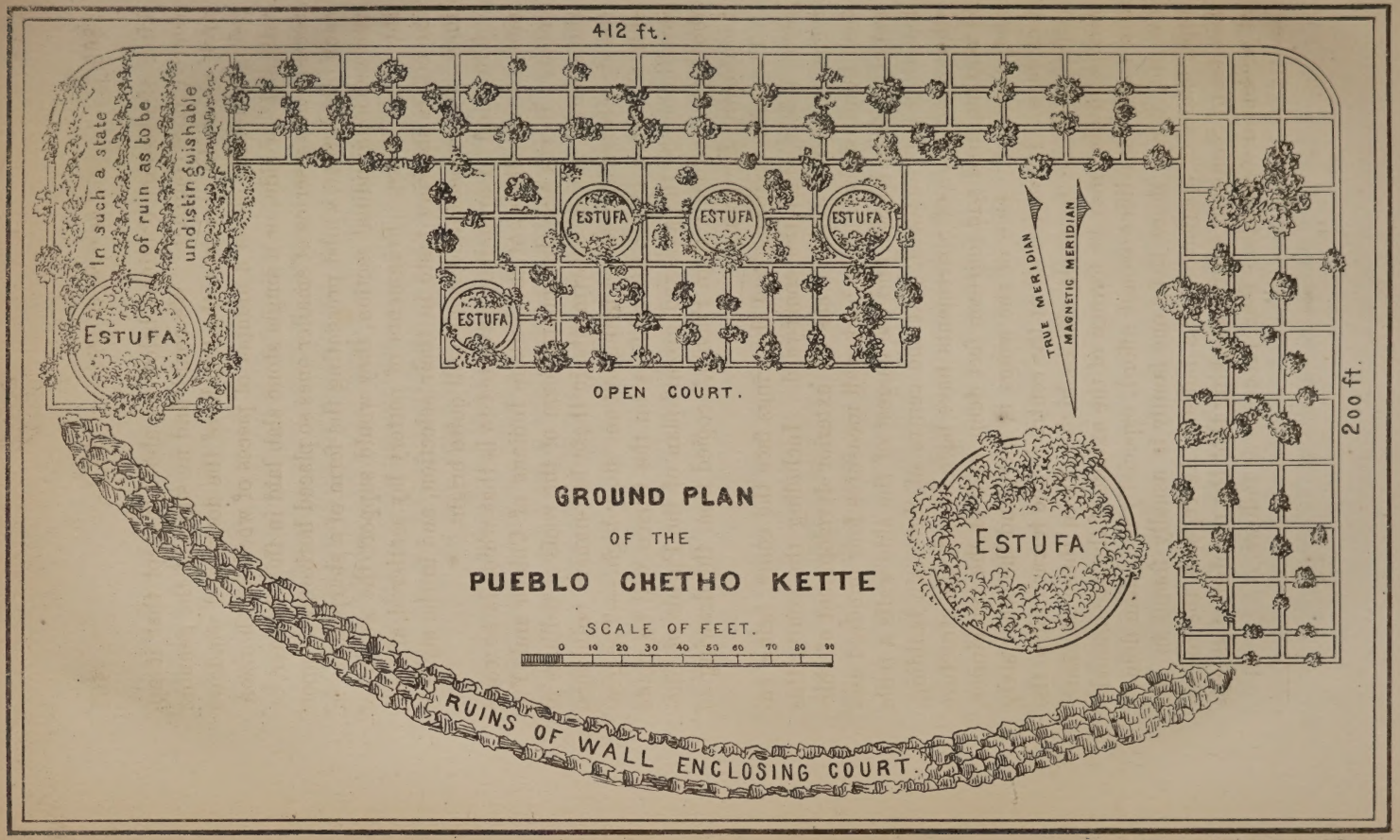
† Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 377.

seven small Pueblos, confederated for common defence, allied by consanguinity, and corresponding very closely to those about to be described.

In Lieutenant Simpson's Journal ground-plans are furnished of five of the seven edifices, and they all agree in one feature, namely, in being constructed on three sides of an open court. This, in turn, appears to have been protected by a low wall connecting the ends of the two wings, but curving outward for the enlargement of the area of the court. The only exception was the Pueblo of Una Vida, and this, for the reason that one wing, and a part of the main building, were not completed. They also agree in another respect: they were all built of stone. The outer faces of the walls were constructed with thin pieces of tabular sandstone, prepared by fracture, and laid in courses without mortar, — the inner faces being composed of rubble masonry, with mud mortar. The exterior walls were about three feet thick. There were no openings or doors to enter the buildings from the ground; but in the stories above the first there were window-openings through the walls.

Lieutenant Simpson thus describes the Pueblo Pintado. "Forming one structure, and built of tabular pieces of hard, fine-grained, compact, gray sandstone (a material entirely unknown in the present architecture of New Mexico), to which the atmosphere has imparted a reddish tinge, the layers or beds being not thicker than three inches, and sometimes as thin as one fourth of an inch, it discovers in the masonry a combination of science and art which can only be referred to a higher stage of civilization and refinement than is discoverable in the works of Mexicans or Pueblos of the present day. Indeed, so beautifully diminutive and true are the details of the structure, as to cause it, at a little distance, to have all the appearance of a magnificent piece of mosaic work. In the outer face of the building there are no signs of mortar, the intervals between the beds being chinked with stones of the minutest thinness. The filling and backing are done in rubble masonry, the mortar presenting no indications of the presence of lime. The thickness of the main wall at base is within an inch or two of three feet; higher up it is less, — diminishing by re-

treating jogs, on the inside, from bottom to top. Its elevation, at its present highest point, is between twenty-five and thirty feet, the series of floor-beams indicating that there must have been originally at least three stories. The ground-plan, including the court, in exterior development, is about four hundred and three feet. On the ground-floor, exclusive of the out-buildings, are fifty-four apartments, some of them as small as five feet square, and the largest about twelve by six feet. These rooms communicate with each other by very small doors, some of them as contracted as two and a half by two and a half feet; and in the case of the inner suite, the doors communicating with the interior court are as small as three and a half by two feet. The principal rooms, or those most in use, were, on account of their having larger doors and windows, most probably those of the second story. The system of flooring seems to have been large, transverse, unhewn beams, six inches in diameter, laid transversely from wall to wall, and then a number of smaller ones, about three inches in diameter, laid longitudinally upon them. What was placed on these does not appear, but most probably it was brush, bark, or slabs, covered with a layer of mud mortar. The beams show no signs of the saw or axe; on the contrary, they appear to have been hacked off by means of some very imperfect instrument. On the west face of the structure, the windows, which are only in the second story, are three feet two inches by two feet two inches. On the north side they are only in the second and third stories, and are as small as fourteen by fourteen inches. At different points about the premises were three circular apartments sunk in the ground, the walls being of masonry. These apartments the Pueblo Indians call *Estufas*, or places where the people held their political and religious meetings. The site of the ruins is a knoll, some twenty or thirty feet above the surrounding plain,—the Rio Chaco coursing by it, two or three hundred yards distant, and no wood being visible within the circuit of a mile. The quarry from which the material was obtained to build the structure seems to have been just back of our camp. . . . . On digging around the base of the exterior wall, we found that for at least two feet (the depth our time would permit us to go) the same




From Lieut. Simpson's Report.

New Eng. Lith. Steam Ptg. Co. 34 Chauncy St. Boston.

kind of masonry obtained below as above, except that it appeared more compact. We could find no signs of the genuine arch about the premises, the lintels of the doors and windows being generally either a number of pieces of wood laid horizontally side by side, or a single stone slab laid in this manner, or occasionally a series of smaller ones so placed horizontally upon each other, that, whilst presenting the form of a sharp angle in vertical longitudinal section, they would support the weight of the fabric above. Fragments of pottery lay scattered around, the colors showing taste in their selection, and in the style of their arrangement, and being still quite bright." *

The kind of arch here adverted to is that which is so common in the edifices of the Village Indians of Chiapa and Yucatan. It was also the general form of the roofs or ceilings of the several rows of apartments in these last-named buildings, the structures themselves being but one story high. — The general character of all the edifices on the Chaco will be made intelligible by the annexed ground-plan of the Pueblo of Chetho Kette, or the "Rain Pueblo," copied from the drawing of Lieutenant Simpson.

The main building and the wings face the court, being entered solely from the court-yard. Including the court, this "great house of stone" has an exterior development of thirteen hundred feet. The back wall measures four hundred and twenty feet in length, and the longest of the side walls a trifle less than two hundred. At the centre of the main building, where four rows of apartments have been added, the structure is one hundred and fourteen feet deep, and for the remainder, forty-four feet. One of the wings is fifty, and the other sixty feet deep. If carried up at the centre in the terrace form, the building would be seven stories high. From these measurements an idea may be formed of the extent of the accommodations such an edifice would afford, especially in Indian domestic life, where more than one family is usually found in one tent, lodge, or apartment of a house. As regards the rooms, Lieutennt Simpson, after remarking that the number of stories at present discernible is four, proceeds as follows.

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* Simpson's Journal, p. 76.

"The number of rooms on the first floor, all of which were distinguishable, except those in the west wing, must have been as many as one hundred and twenty-four. The circular *Estufas*, of which there are six in all, have a greater depth than any we have seen, and differ from them also in exhibiting more stories, one of them showing two, and possibly three, the lowest one being almost covered up with *débris*. In the northwest corner of these ruins we found a room in an almost perfect state of preservation. This room is fourteen by seven and a half feet in plan, and ten feet in elevation. It has an outside doorway three and a half feet high, by two and a quarter wide, and one at its west end, leading into an adjoining room, two feet wide, and at present, on account of rubbish, only two and a half feet high. The stone walls still have their plaster upon them, in a tolerable state of preservation. On the south wall is a recess, or niche, three feet two inches high, by four feet five inches wide, by four feet deep. . . . . In addition to this large recess, there were three smaller ones [higher up] in the same wall. The ceiling showed two main beams, laid transversely; on these, longitudinally, were a number of smaller ones in juxtaposition, the ends being tied together by a species of wooden fibre, and the interstices chinked in with small stones; on these again, transversely, in close contact, was a kind of lathing, of the odor and appearance of cedar, all in a good state of preservation. Depending from the beams were several short pieces of rope." *

In the Pueblo Bonito he found other rooms superior to the one here described, — "one of them being walled up with alternate beds of large and small stones, the regularity of the combination producing a very pleasing effect. The ceiling of this room is also more tasteful than any we have seen, — the transverse beams being smaller and more numerous, and the longitudinal pieces which rest upon them only about an inch in diameter, and beautifully regular." †

Respecting the ground-plans of the other edifices, it will be sufficient to state that that of Weje-gi shows a main building, and two wings of equal length, with an external development, including the court, of seven hundred feet. The back

* Journal, p. 79. † Ibid., p. 81.

wall is two hundred and twenty-seven feet long, and the end walls one hundred and twenty feet each. There are ninety-nine apartments on the ground-floor.

Una Vida seems to have been in process of construction, and designed, when completed, to be the largest of the series. Its exterior development, including the court, is nine hundred and ninety feet. The back wall measures three hundred feet in length, and the side wall two hundred and ninety, occupying nearly two sides of a square. The main building is sixty-five feet deep, showing four rows of apartments, whilst the wing is but fifteen feet deep, or the width of one. It shows, however, very clearly, by a projection from the main building of the width of two apartments, that two more rows of apartments were to be constructed outside of the existing row, and that they were necessary to complete the wing according to its original design. Moreover, it seems to prove that these great houses are of slow construction, by the process of addition from year to year with the increase of the people in prosperity and numbers, and that the enlargement is by adding row to row, until the main building and the wings are three or four apartments deep. Upon this theory of construction the row along the court would be first completed and carried up one story, after which, by the addition of one parallel wall, with partition walls at intervals, as many more apartments would be obtained, and by adding a third parallel wall, with partitions, as many more. It will also be seen, in the sequel, that the second row was carried up two stories, and the third three, the successive stories receding, in the form of great steps or terraces, from the court back to the exterior wall. Further than this, it seems to be evident that the main building was to have been extended at least two hundred feet, with a second wing like the first, to complete the original design, and produce a symmetrical edifice. If these inferences are legitimate, the interesting fact is reached that these Indian architects commenced their great houses upon a definite plan, which was to be realized after years, and perhaps generations, had passed away. This Pueblo shows fifty-five apartments on the ground-floor.

Hungo Pavie, on the other hand, appears to be complete.

In ground-plan it is the most symmetrical of the seven. In exterior development, including the court, it is eight hundred and seventy-two feet, of which the back wall measures three hundred, and the side walls two hundred and forty-four each. "The ends of the floor beams," says Lieutenant Simpson, "which are still visible, plainly showing that there was originally, at least, a vertical series of four floors, there must then also have been originally, at least, a series of four stories of rooms; and as the *débris* at the base of the walls is very great, it is reasonable to infer that there may have been even more. The floor beams, which are round in transverse section, and eleven inches in diameter, as well as the windows, which are as small as twelve by thirteen inches, have been arranged horizontally, with great precision and regularity."* The edifice shows seventy-two apartments on the ground-floor, all of which are unusually large, being about thirteen by eighteen feet.

Pueblo Bonito is one of the most interesting of the series, as well as the best preserved in certain portions. In exterior development, including the court, it is thirteen hundred feet. Its corners are much more rounded than those of Chetho Kette, and the east wing, now the most ruinous part of the structure, appears to have had added upon it several rows of apartments within the court, until nearly one third of its space was covered. "Its present elevation," says Simpson, "shows that it has had at least four stories of apartments. The number of rooms on the ground-floor at present discernible is one hundred and thirty-nine. In this enumeration, however, are not included the apartments which are not distinguishable in the east portion of the Pueblo, and which would probably swell the number to about two hundred. There, then, having been at least four stories of rooms," with a reduction "of one range of rooms for each story after the first" the number would amount "to six hundred and forty-one."†

Of the other three Pueblos described, including Pintado, no ground-plans are furnished, but they were constructed with an open court, as shown in the diagram.

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* Journal, p. 79. † Ibid., p. 81.

The dimensions of Peñasca Blanca, the last of the series, remain to be noticed. "The circuit of the walls," says Simpson, "I ascertained to be, approximately, one thousand seven hundred feet. This is the largest Pueblo in plan we have seen, and differs from others in the arrangement of the stones composing its walls. The walls of the other Pueblos were all of one uniform character in the several beds composing them; but in this there is a regular alternation of large and small stones, the effect of which is both unique and beautiful. The largest stones, which are about a foot in length, and one half a foot in thickness,* form but a single bed [course], and then, alternating with these, are three or four beds of small stones, each about an inch in thickness. The ground-plan of the structure also differs from the others, in approaching the form of a circle. The number of rooms at present discernible upon the first floor is one hundred and twelve, and the existing walls show that there have been at least three stories of apartments. The number of circular *Estufas* we counted was seven." †

Lieutenant Simpson gives the height of the highest portion of the walls still standing in four of the Pueblos, which in Una Vida is fifteen feet, in Weje-gi twenty-five feet, in Pintado and Hungo Pavie thirty feet each.

The question still remains with respect to the architectural design of these edifices, whether the walls were carried up, front and rear, equally high, or whether they were terraced from the court side back to the rear walls. It scarcely admits of a doubt that the latter was the form of these structures. This was the conclusion of both Lieutenant Simpson and Mr. Kern. The sketches given of the walls now standing show no doorways to enter from the ground; the external walls are higher than those on the court side; and those on the court side do not rise in any instance above one story. "The front or exterior walls," says Simpson, "were evidently one plain surface from bottom to top; because wherever we found them

* Norman, in speaking of the size of the stones used in the edifices in Yucatan, says: "The stones are cut in *parallelopipeds* of about twelve inches in length and six in breadth; the interstices filled up of the same material of which the terraces are composed." — *Rambles in Yucatan*, p. 127.

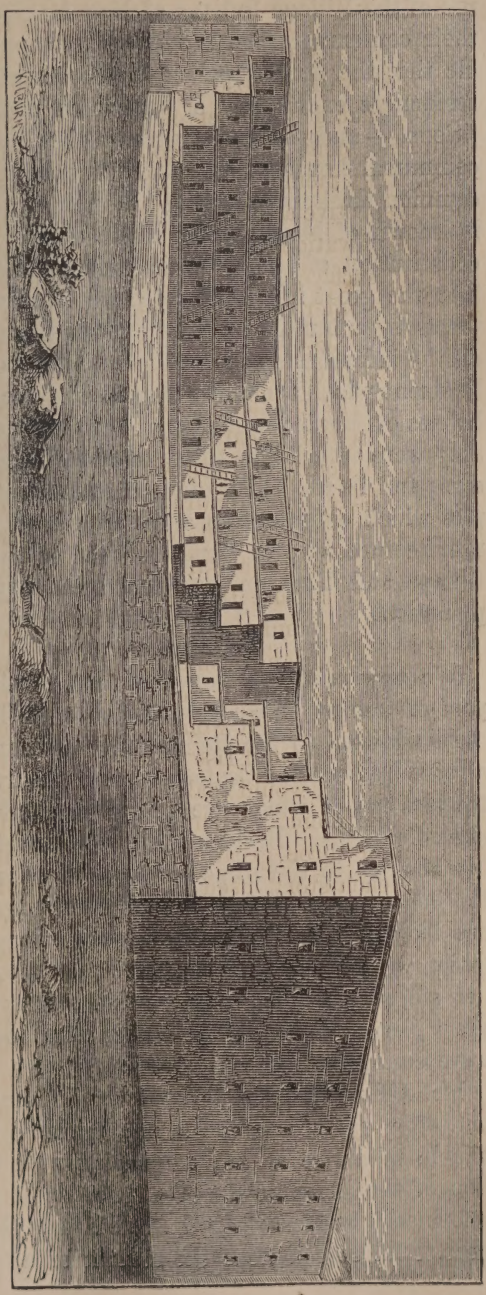
† Journal, p. 82.

in their integrity, which we did for as many as four stories in height, we always noticed them to be uninterruptedly plain. The rear walls [those on the court], however, were in no instance, that I recollect of, found to extend higher than the commencement of the second story; and the partition walls were, if my memory is not at fault, correspondingly step-like in their respective altitudes. The idea, then, at once unfolds itself, that in elevation the inner wall must have been a series of retreating surfaces, or, what would make this necessary, each story on the inner or court side must have been terraced."* If any doubt existed, it would be entirely removed by the structure of the existing and occupied Pueblos in New Mexico, some of which are as old as Coronado's expedition. They are constructed in the so-called terrace form, although not on three sides of a court, and are without entrances from the ground. In an edifice four hundred feet long, and with three rows of apartments, there would be four long parallel walls, divided at intervals by partition walls, which would, when covered with a flat roof, constitute the first story. It would be three rooms deep. The second story would rise upon the second wall back of that in front, and would include the third and fourth, which, when carried up and covered with a similar roof, would constitute the second story. It would be two rooms deep. In like manner, the third would rise upon the third and fourth walls, and, when finished, would make the third story, and be of the depth of one apartment. Such an edifice would present, in end view, a series of three great steps, or retreating stories, with a flat roof on each story, used as a terrace, and bordered with a low parapet wall. The occupants ascended from the ground to the first terrace by means of ladders, which could be taken up after them, and then descended through the terrace floor into the apartments below by ladders let down through trap-doors. The second and third stories were ascended and entered in the same manner. In vertical height the rear wall would be about thirty feet, and the front wall, with the parapet, about twelve. These several architectural features are now shown in the Pueblos of Taos, San Domingo, Jemez, Zuñi, and nearly all the re-

* Journal, p. 82.

maining Indian Pueblos in New Mexico. They seem to embody the twofold idea of a stronghold for defence and communism in living.

For the purpose of completing the representation of the architectural design of these communal houses, the annexed elevation of one of them is introduced. It is a restoration of the Pueblo of Hungo Pavie, made by Mr. Kern, and copied from the drawing in Lieutenant Simpson's Journal, but with the fourth story added, which, by mistake, was omitted by Mr. Kern. We may recognize in this, as it seems to me, a very satisfactory reproduction of the so-called palaces of Montezuma, which, like this, were constructed on three sides of a court, and built in the terrace form, the second story retreating from the first.



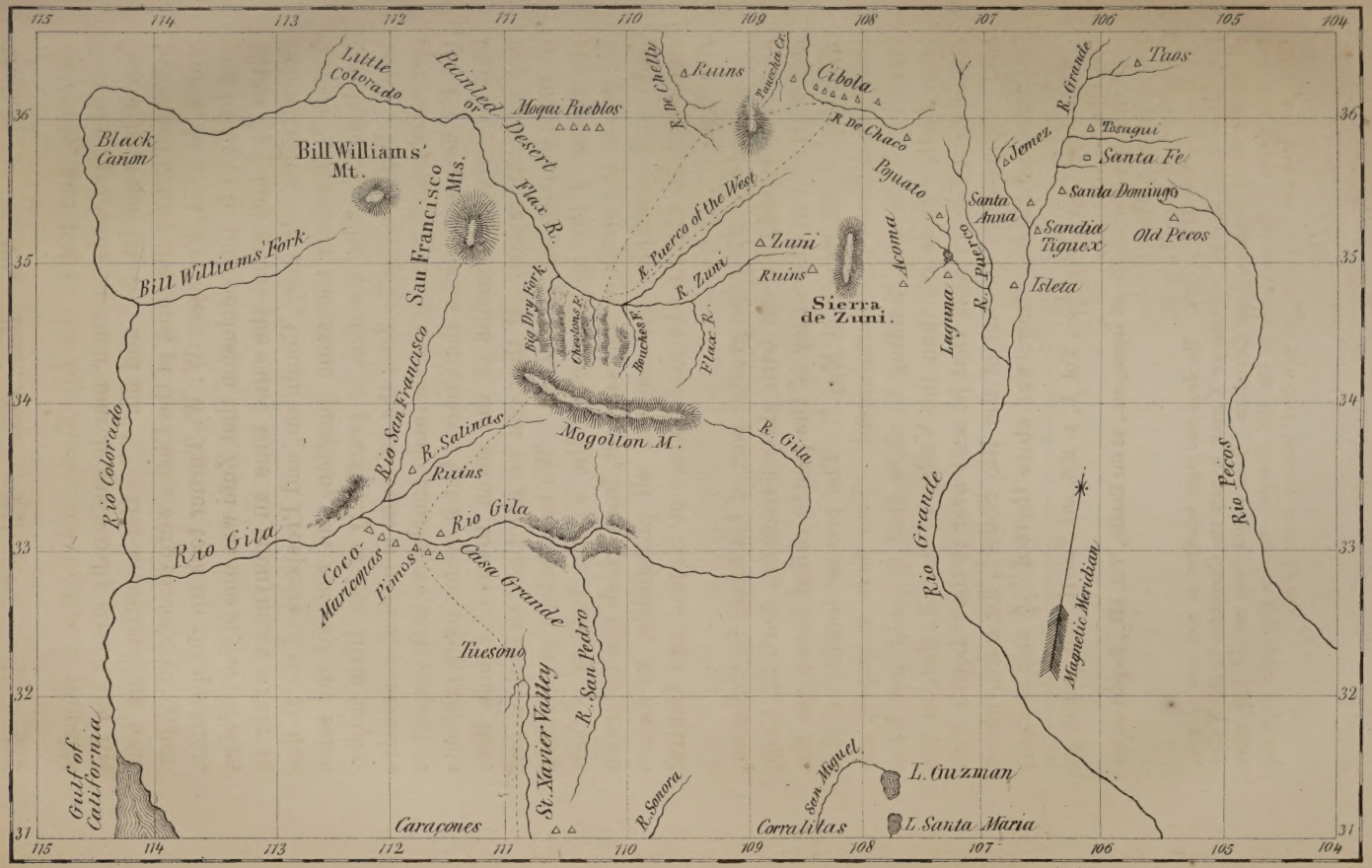
From the light which the architect-

ure of the Village Indians of New Mexico throws upon that of their contemporaries, the Aztecs, it appears extremely probable that the famous palaces of Montezuma, considered as the residences exclusively of an Indian potentate, are purely fictitious, — and, on the contrary, that they were simply great communal houses, like that of Hungo Pavie, and filled with common Indians crowding all their apartments. From what is known of Montezuma's mode of life, and of the necessary constitution of Indian society, it scarcely admits of a doubt that the great house in which he lived was occupied on equal terms by a hundred other families in common with his own, all the individuals of which were joint proprietors of the establishment which their own hands had reared. The communal houses of Mexico were constructed of adobe brick, and probably were inferior to those on the Chaco in architectural design, and in the finish of their apartments. The same principles which entered into and determined the character of this architecture will be found in that of the Village Indians of Chiapa and Yucatan, and will serve equally well for its explanation.

We now return to the expedition of Coronado, for the purpose of tracing, if possible, his route to the "Seven Cities."

In addition to the Relations of Niza and Coronado, there is a third by Pedro de Castañeda, and a fourth by Juan Jaramillo, the last two of which are preserved in the Collections of Ternaux-Compans. Besides these, Gomara devotes some pages of his History to the same subject. In these several Relations the courses and distances and the topography of the country are loosely given; the region was unknown, and communication with the Indians imperfect; it is consequently, perhaps, not singular that a doubt should still rest upon the sites of the "Seven Cities," which were abandoned as soon as they were captured.

Mr. Albert Gallatin devoted some attention to this question, but, after examining the several narratives above named, was unable to arrive at any conclusion with respect to the situation of the seven towns of Cibola. "At present, and as now informed," he remarks, "I can only say that they certainly appear to have been near the sources of a tributary of the great




New Eng. Lith. Steam Ptg. Co. 34 Chauncy St. Boston.

..... Supposed route of Coronado to Cibola. △△ Indian Pueblos.

Colorado, and not of the Rio Norte, and that it is probable that the Spaniards in their march eastwardly struck the Rio Norte between lat. 34° and 35.°"* His investigations were published before the ruins of the Chaco were discovered. Afterwards, in 1854, Professor W. W. Turner took up the question, and inclined to the conclusion that Zuñi was one of the "Seven Cities"; † and about the same time an anonymous writer in Schoolcraft's "History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes," discussed the same question, and reached the same conclusion.‡ The question is practically of but little importance. With respect to Zuñi the evidence is neither conclusive nor satisfactory. It cannot be made conclusive with respect to the Pueblos in ruins on the Chaco; but it seems more probable that they are the remains of the seven towns of Cibŏla than any hitherto named. If they can be identified as such, a fact of some importance is reached. We have before us excellent specimens of the architecture of the Village Indians of New Mexico at the epoch of the conquest, from which can be drawn facts and principles sufficient, in all probability, as before suggested, to explain the architecture of Mexico and Central America.

Coronado, leaving the greater part of his forces in Culiacan, as before stated, set out with sixty horsemen, April 22, 1540, and "arrived at the valley of the people called Caraçones the 26th day of the month of May." The precise locality of this people is difficult of ascertainment. Two facts, however, are stated by Coronado, tending to show that it could not have been farther eastward than the Valley of San Xavier, on the Santa Cruz River: first, that he sent over to the "Lord's Valley," supposed to be that of the Rio Sonora, for corn, where he "understood that there was store thereof";§ and second,

* See Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc., Vol. I., p. 200, and Vol. II., Introduction, pp. lviii. seqq.

† Explorations for a Railroad Route, etc., to the Pacific, Vol. III.; Report on the Indian Tribes, p. 104.

‡ Schoolcraft, Part IV., p. 21.

§ Hakluyt, Vol. III., p. 374. He does not state whether it was east or west, but that he "sent thither." Professor Turner locates the Caraçones in the Valley of the Rio Casas Grandes, near Corralitos. This would have carried him more than two thirds of the way over to the Rio Grande; whereas Coronado says the Caraçones told him they were but five days' journey from the sea.

"that this Valley of the Caraçones is five days' journey from the Western Sea." * The Indians' day's journey, even then, must be reckoned at forty miles, if from the Valley of San Xavier. Again he says: "The sea," meaning the Gulf of California, "returneth toward the west right over against the Caraçones the space of ten or twelve leagues." † The narrative does not seem to permit a location farther eastward than the valley named.

"I departed from the Caraçones," continues Coronado, "and always kept by the sea-coast as near as I could judge, and in very deed I still found myself the farther off, in such sort, that, when I arrived at Chichilticale, I found myself ten days' journey from the sea." ‡ Chichilticale is supposed to have been situated upon the Gila, above the mouth of the Salinas, or Salt River, and near the present villages of the Pimos. § A comparison of the narratives tends to show that it was either upon the Gila, or directly north upon the Salinas. From this place they entered a desert region, and after some days became entangled in "inaccessible mountains," to which description the Mogollon Mountains, and the intermediate barren plains, answer satisfactorily. It may seem singular, that Coronado, who must have crossed the Gila, does not mention this river; but it is an inconsiderable stream above the mouth of the Salinas, and fordable at all points. Mr. Bartlett, in his "Personal Narrative,"

* Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 374.

† Ibid., p. 375.

‡ Ibid. He further says: "The Indians of Chichilticale say, that, if at any time they go to the sea for fish, and other things that they carry, they go traversing, and are ten days' journey in going thither. And I am of opinion that the information which the Indians give me should be true."

§ With respect to this place Mr. Gallatin observes, that "at some distance beyond Suya, on the edge of the mountains, and of what was called the Desert of Civola, there was an ancient ruin, consisting of a large, roofless house, constructed with red earth, and which appeared to have been formerly fortified. It was called by the Spaniards Chichilti-cal (from the Mexican word *calli*, house), and had been long inhabited by a people that came from Civola." (*Trans. Am. Ethn. Soc.*, Vol. II., Introduction, p. lxix.) There is no ruin on the Gila, at the present time, that answers to this description. The *Casa Grande* about ten miles above the Pimo village has been described, with a ground-plan and elevation, both by Colonel Emory and Captain Johnston (*U. S. Senate Ex. Doc.* No. 41, 1848, pp. 83 and 598), the latter of whom says, "The house was built of a sort of white earth and pebbles, probably containing lime." It is also described by Bartlett (*Personal Narrative*, Vol. II. p. 274).

remarks, that "the quantity of water passing down the Salinas is more than double that of the Gila, which only becomes a respectable river after it receives the waters of the former." * From Coronado's omission to mention the Gila, it seems probable that he crossed it above the Salinas. With respect to the desert plains between the Gila, the Salinas, and the Mogollon Mountains, Mr. Bartlett, who visited a *Casa Grande* on the Salinas about thirty-five miles above its mouth, and traversed the plains thence due south to the villages of the Pimos, observes: "We journeyed rapidly over the plain, which was a portion of the great plateau or desert. It was a perfect level, without an undulation." †

"I rested myself," continues Coronado, "two days in Chichilticale, and, to have done well, I should have stayed longer. . . . . I entered the confines of the desert country on St. John's Eve [June 23], and to refresh our former travails the first days we found no grass, but worser way of mountains and bad passages than we had passed already; and the horses, being tired, were greatly molested therewith, so that in this last desert we lost more horses than we had lost before; and some of my Indians, which were our friends, died, and one Spaniard, whose name was Spinosa, and two negroes, which died with eating certain herbs for lack of victuals. From this place . . . . it is most wicked way, at least thirty leagues and more, because they are inaccessible mountains. But after we had passed these thirty leagues, we found fresh rivers, and grass like that of Castile, and specially of that sort which we call *Scaramoio*, many nut-trees and mulberry-trees, but the nut-trees differ from those of Spain in the leaf; and there was flax, but chiefly near the banks of a certain river, which, therefore, we called El Rio del Lino, — that is to say, the River of Flax. We found no Indians at all for a day's travel; but afterward four Indians came out unto us in peaceable manner." ‡

There seems to be little doubt that Coronado had now reached the Little Colorado, which is still known upon the maps under the alternative name of Flax River. Before crossing the "inaccessible mountains," he had spoken of "valleys," but of no

* Personal Narrative, Vol. II. p. 244.
† Ibid., p. 248.
‡ Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 375.

river, because the streams were small in volume. Neither on his supposed route, nor on any possible route from the south into New Mexico east of the Salinas, or in New Mexico itself, west of the Rio Grande, is there any stream which possesses the characteristics of a river, such as would arrest the attention of an explorer, except the Little Colorado. This river, east of the San Francisco Mountains, is fifty yards wide and five feet deep, and has a broad valley.* If, then, we put together the desert plain between the Gila and Salinas, the Mogollon Mountains, the three streams which flow from them northward, the "fresh rivers" of the Relation, and the Little Colorado, which drew from Coronado a name, it seems quite satisfactorily proved that he is thus traced to a point somewhere on this river, and probably below the mouth of the Rio Puerco of the West, which rises, like the Puerco of the East, quite near the ruins in the Valley of the Chaco. It is more than thirty leagues from the Gila to the Little Colorado, but about that distance from a point on the Salinas due north of the Pimo villages.

When he reached the point indicated, the Pueblo of Zuñi would be about one hundred miles east, the Moqui Pueblos about a hundred miles north, and the Pueblos of the Chaco about two hundred miles northeast.

The relative distances of these places are immaterial, since he was moving upon the Pueblos known as Cibola; but it is

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* Lieutenant Ives, who encamped upon this river at a point southwest of the Moqui Pueblos, remarks: "The wide valley of Flax River could be recognized a long way off by the line of cotton-woods that skirt the banks of the stream. The river is smaller than the Colorado, but at this season [May 2], when the water is becoming high, much resembles the other at its low stage. There are the same swift current, chocolate-colored water, shoals, snags, sand-bars, and evidences of a constantly shifting channel. The width opposite to camp is about fifty yards, and the depth five or six feet. . . . . The bottom lands are, in places, several miles wide."— *Report upon the Colorado River of the West*, p. 115.

A species of flax (*Linum perenne*, Linn.) is found over the table-lands of New Mexico, as well as in the valleys. It has not been noticed in particular in the Valley of the Little Colorado by American explorers; but it is mentioned by Antonio de Espejo, who was upon this river in 1583, having travelled west from Zuñi seventy-three leagues, reaching the river near the San Francisco Mountains. "Hereabout they found two rivers of a reasonable bigness, upon the banks whereof grew many vines bearing excellent grapes, and great groves of walnut-trees, and much flax like that of Castile." — Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 395.

proper to inquire whether there are any Pueblos near Zuñi, existing or in ruins, that would answer to the "Seven Cities." Old Zuñi, the remains of which still exist, was situated upon a mesa elevation or table of sandstone rock, very difficult of access, and about two miles east of the present town. Neither of the seven towns of Cibola is described as thus situated. The present Zuñi, if it then existed, would answer in all respects save one: it consists of several great houses grouped together, and these are constructed of adobe brick, and of stone imbedded in mud mortar and plastered over, and not of stone in the sense of the Relations. About fourteen miles east of Zuñi there is a Pueblo in ruins, "built of flat stones cemented by mud mortar," originally two stories high, and constructed on a rectangle. "This Pueblo," says Simpson, "like those on the Chaco, ranges about north and south, but in the details of its masonry it is far inferior." * Two miles east of this were two other Pueblos in ruins, "of elliptical shape, and approximating a thousand feet in circuit. . . . . They were built of stone and mud mortar." Thirty miles east of Zuñi, upon the summit of Inscription Rock, are two other Pueblos in ruins; but their situation and distance exclude them from consideration as the possible remains of either of the towns of Cibola. Neither of these will fully meet Coronado's description, namely, "great houses of stone," "of three, or four, or five lofts high." It is proper, however, to state in this connection, that Antonio de Espejo, in 1583, visited Zuñi, and called it Cibola. "Twenty-four leagues from hence [Acoma], toward the west, they came to a certain province called by the inhabitants themselves *Zuny*, and by the Spaniards *Cibola*, containing great numbers of Indians; in which province Francisco Vasquez de Coronado had been, and had erected many crosses and other tokens of Christianity, which remained as yet standing." † It is possible that this statement of Espejo may have influenced the conclusion of Professor Turner, one of the first and most critical of American scholars; but it is not necessarily conclusive. Crosses were erected by these adventurers wherever they went, and finding them at a particular place

* Journal, p. 117.

† Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 394.

simply disclosed the fact of a visitation. The Spaniards withdrew from the country in 1542, and it was forty years before it was revisited, and still longer before attempts were made for its settlement. It was called Cibola by the Spaniards, says Espejo, — but not by Spaniards then in the country. If he believed he had found in Zuñi the Cibola of the expedition, he would use the language cited, still leaving it doubtful whether or not he was mistaken in fact. The statement, however, has weight.

About the same distance northward, as before remarked, were the seven Moqui Pueblos, if they then existed. They are situated within and along an extent of twenty-five miles. It is probable that some of them are as old as Coronado's expedition. They agree in number, and in the general character of the edifices, with those described, but not in situation. They are neither in a valley nor upon any stream, but upon mesa elevations, and upon the verge of deep, precipitous ravines. The nearest river is the Little Colorado, and there is no flowing stream of any volume within miles of the Pueblos. For water they depend upon springs, and upon reservoirs in the adjacent cañons. It cannot, therefore, be supposed that they were the towns of Cibola.*

* Lieutenant Ives, with his command, visited these Pueblos in 1858. "We learned," he observes, "that there were seven towns, — that the name of that which we were visiting was Mooshahneh. A second smaller town was half a mile distant; two miles westward was a third, which had been seen from camp the evening before. Five or six miles to the northeast a bluff was pointed out as the location of three others; and we were informed that the last of the seven, Oraybe, was still further distant, on the trail towards the great river. From these heights, the ascent to which is so difficult, and so easily defended, the Moquis can overlook the surrounding country, and descry, at a vast distance, the approach of strangers. The towns themselves would be almost impregnable to an Indian assault. Each Pueblo is built around a rectangular court, in which we suppose are the springs that furnish the supply to the reservoirs. The exterior walls, which are of stone, have no openings, and would have to be scaled or battered down before access could be gained to the interior. The successive stories are set back, one behind the other. The lower rooms are reached through trap-doors from the first landing. The houses are three rooms deep, and open upon the interior court. The arrangement is as strong and compact as could well be devised, but, as the court is common, and the landings are separated by no partitions, it involves a certain community of residence." (*Report upon the Colorado*, p. 122.) In these Pueblos they ascended from the ground to the first terrace by means of ladders, but to those above by means of narrow stone steps, constructed in the projecting partition walls. One of the rooms de-

In the narrative of Coronado but few particulars are found respecting the route from Flax River to Cibola, or the time consumed, and nothing decisive. The Relation of Jaramillo, which was written some years after the event, and therefore not of equal value with that of Coronado, is more specific, and speaks definitely of courses and distances. "Taking, I think, a northeast direction," he says, "we reached, in three days, if I remember right, a river [the Gila or Salinas ?] to which we gave the name of Saint John, because we arrived there on the feast of that Saint. Leaving this stream, and taking a more northerly course, we passed through a very mountainous country, and came to another river, which we called *de las Balsas*, because we crossed it on rafts, as it was very much swollen. I believe we were two days in going from one river to the other. I speak thus doubtfully because it is so long since we made the journey that I may be mistaken as to the time, though not as to the other details of the expedition. We next came to another stream, which we called *de la Barranca* (of the Ravine).* It was two short days' journey from the one to the other. Our direction was towards the northeast. We arrived next at a river which we called *Rio Frio*, from the coldness of the water: this occupied a day's march. After leaving this river, we crossed a forest of pines, at the end of which we found fresh streams. At the end of another day's march, a Spaniard, named Espinosa, and two other soldiers, died of poison, having eaten some herbs to relieve their hunger.† After two days more, always in the same direction, — that is, towards the northeast, — we came to another stream, which we called *Vermejo*. We here saw one or two Indians, who we afterwards found came from the first village of Cibola. From the place where we met them,

scribed was fifteen feet long by ten wide, with adobe walls, and roofed in the same manner as those described in the Pueblos Bonito and Chetho Kette.

* Between Bouche's and Chevelon's Forks, the Little Colorado is confined in places between rocky barriers. "The river here runs through a deep and rocky cañon, which we skirted, and crossed below it to the south bank, finding the ground much broken by ravines, which were only visible when we came directly upon them." — *Report of an Expedition down the Zuñi and Colorado Rivers, in* 1851, by Captain L. Sitgreaves, p. 7. (U. S. Senate Ex. Doc. No. 59, 32d Congress, 2d Sess., 1853.)

† Coronado speaks of these events as occurring before they crossed the mountains.

we in two days arrived at their village."* It would require thirty-five miles per day to reach Cibola in the six days named by Jaramillo, if the Barranca and Flax Rivers are identical, and the number of days is correctly stated, — and twenty-five miles per day, if the Balsas and Flax Rivers are the same. Castañeda's narrative contributes very little information with respect to the route from Chichilticale † to Cibola. "They set out from this place," he remarks, "and entered the desert; at the end of fifteen days they arrived within eight leagues of Cibola, on the banks of a river which they named *Rio Vermejo*, on account of its turbid and red water." ‡

Before Coronado reached the first of the "Seven Cities," he was met by a small force to dispute his advance; but it was soon dispersed, and he at once attacked the place. The Indians retired to the terraced roofs, and defended themselves for a time with spirit, using the bow and arrow, and also stones, which they threw down from the walls upon the assailants. Coronado was twice unhorsed, and came near losing his life. About two hundred warriors, as Castañeda states, defended the place. It was soon forced to surrender, after which the remaining towns submitted without further resistance.

In his Relation to the Viceroy, which is dated "from the Province of Cibola," August 3, 1540, Coronado describes his conquest, and intimates his disappointment in the following language.

"It remaineth now to certify your Honor of the seven cities, and of the kingdoms and provinces whereof the Father Provincial made report unto your Lordship. And, to be brief, I can assure your Honor he said the truth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite contrary, saving only the names of the cities, and great houses of stone; for although they be not wrought with turqueses, nor with lime, nor bricks, yet are they very excellent good houses, of three, or four, or five lofts high,

* Ternaux-Compans, Vol. IX. p. 368.

† Coronado, he says, "was above all afflicted to see that this Chichilticale, of which they had said so much, was reduced to a house in ruins and without a roof, but which yet appeared to have been fortified. One could clearly see that this house, constructed of red earth, was the work of a civilized people, who had come from a distance." — Ternaux-Compans, Vol. IX. p. 40.

‡ Ibid., p. 41.

wherein are good lodgings and fair chambers, with ladders instead of stairs, and certain cellars under the ground, very good and paved, which are made for winter, — they are in manner like stoves; and the ladders which they have for their houses are all in a manner movable and portable, which are taken away and set down when they please; and they are made of two pieces of wood, with their steps, as ours be. The seven cities are seven small towns, all made with these kind of houses that I speak of; and they stand all within four leagues together, and they are all called the Kingdom of Cibola, and every one of them have their particular name, and none of them is called Cibola, but all together they are called Cibola. And this town, which I call a city, I have named Granada, as well because it is somewhat like unto it, as also in remembrance of your Lordship. In this town where I now remain there may be some two hundred houses, all compassed with walls; and I think, that, with the rest of the houses which are not so walled, they may be together five hundred. There is another town near this, which is one of the seven, and it is somewhat bigger than this, and another of the same bigness that this is of, and the other four are somewhat less;* and I send them all painted unto your Lordship with the voyage. And the parchment wherein the picture is was found here with other parchments. The people of this town seem unto me of a reasonable stature, and witty, yet they seem not to be such as they should be, of that judgment and wit to build these houses in such sort as they are. . . . . They have no cotton-wool growing, because the country is cold, yet they wear mantles thereof, as your Honor may see by the shew thereof; and true it is that there was found in their houses certain yarn made of cotton-wool. They wear their hair on their heads like those of Mexico, and they are well nurtured and conditioned.† . . . . The country is all plain, and is on

* Supposing that he wrote his Relation at the Pueblo Bonito, the relative sizes of the several Pueblos would agree with this statement. In exterior development Pueblo Bonito is 1,300 feet, Chetho Kette is 1,300 feet, and Peñasca Blanca is 1,700 feet.

† Coronado continues: "And they have turqueses, I think good quantity, which, with the rest of the goods which they had, except their corn, they had conveyed away before I came thither; for I found no women there, nor no youth under fifteen years old, nor no old folks above sixty, saving two or three old folks, who stayed be-

no side mountainous: albeit there are some hilly and bad passages. There are small store of fowls; the cause whereof is the cold, and because the mountains are not near. Here is no great store of wood, because they have wood for their fuel sufficient, four leagues off, from a wood of small cedars. . . . . They have most excellent salt in kernel, which they fetch from a certain lake a day's journey from hence. They have no knowledge among them of the North Sea, nor of the Western Sea, neither can I tell your Lordship to which we be nearest.* . . . . There is game of deer, ounces, and very great stags [elk], and all men are of opinion that there are some bigger than that beast which your Lordship bestowed upon me. . . . . They travel eight days' journey unto certain plains lying toward the North Sea. In this country there are certain skins, well dressed; and they dress them and paint them where they kill their oxen [buffalo]; for so they say themselves." †

On the fourth day after the capture of Cibola, Coronado further says, "They set in order all their goods and substance, their women and children, and fled to the hills, leaving their

hind to govern all the rest of the youth and men of war. . . . . We found here Guinea cocks [turkeys] but few. The Indians tell me in all these seven cities that they eat them not, but that they keep them only for their feathers. I believe them not, for they are excellent good, and greater than those of Mexico. . . . . The snow and cold are wont to be great, for so say the inhabitants of the country; and it is very likely so to be, both in respect of the manner of the country, and by the fashion of their houses, and their furs and other things which this people have to defend them from cold. There is no kind of fruit, nor trees of fruit." — HAKLUYT, Vol. III. p. 377.

* He further says: "Here are many sorts of beasts, as bears, tigers, lions, porkespicks, and certain sheep [*Ovis montana*] as big as an horse, with very great horns and little tails. I have seen their horns so big that it is a wonder to behold their greatness. Here are also wild goats [antelopes], whose heads likewise I have seen, and the paws of bears, and the skins of wild boars." — HAKLUYT, Vol. III. p. 378.

† Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 377. Jaramillo thus describes the towns of Cibola: "This province contains five other small villages, all the houses of which are roofed in terraces, and the walls built of stone and earth. The climate is cold, as we could see from the way the houses were built, and the stove-rooms [*Estufas*]. They had hardly provisions enough for themselves; what they had consisted of maize, beans, and squashes. The villages are distant from one another a league or more, extending over a surface of six leagues. The soil is very sandy, and covered with grass. Most of the forests are fir. The Indians clothe themselves with deer-skins, very well prepared. They have also buffalo-skins tanned, in which they wrap themselves." — TERNAUX-COMPANS, Vol. IX. p. 369.

towns as it were abandoned, wherein remained very few of them. . . . . And even to this present they keep in their strongholds their women and children, and all the goods which they have." *

It will be observed that the phrases "great houses of stone," and "good houses of three, or four, or five lofts high," not only describe the Pueblos on the Chaco in apt language, but there are no other Pueblos in New Mexico, exclusively of stone, of which we have knowledge, except those of the Moquis, certain others in ruins on the Little Colorado, and in the Cañon de Chelly. There is an apparent difficulty in the narrative, in the reference made to the number of houses; but it is evident, I think, that Coronado meant apartments or sections, treating each great house as a block of houses, and expressing a doubt of their "judgment and wit to build these houses in such sort as they are." If any doubt remained, it is entirely removed by the fact that all the Pueblo houses in New Mexico, whether occupied or in ruins, are great edifices constructed like these on the communal principle, and that two hundred such houses grouped in one town were an utter impossibility. They would make a city of a hundred thousand inhabitants. The houses not walled must refer to detached buildings, to which Simpson makes occasional reference in connection with the edifices on the Chaco.

Coronado's description of the country around Cibola corresponds very well to that near these ruins. "The country," he remarks, "is all plain, and on no side mountainous, albeit there are some hilly and bad passages." From the Rio Grande westward to the longitude of the Mogollon Mountains, the country is a mesa or table-land formation, with low wooded sierras rising in places; but westward of this line it is mountainous, and furrowed with numerous ravines and cañons. The table-lands are dry, barren plains, the fertile lands being confined to the valleys, in and near which all the Indian Pueblos are found.

Coronado wrote his Relation at Cibola while the events were recent. It is candid and sensible, without exaggeration, and confined to the prominent facts. It may be trusted implicitly as

* Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 379.

to its truthfulness, and it inspires regret that he did not make a final relation of the remaining events of the expedition. That of Castañeda, on the contrary, was written twenty years afterwards, and, although he accompanied the expedition, his rambling and contradictory narrative is of but little value for critical purposes. Jaramillo also wrote his Relation some time after the return of the expedition, but his narrative is coherent, and his facts are definitely stated. Among other things, he remarks, that "all the water-courses that we fell in with, whether brook or river, as far as that of Cibola, and I believe for one or two days' journey beyond, flow in the direction of the South Sea [the Pacific]; farther on they take the direction of the North Sea" (the Atlantic).* This tends to show that Cibola was situated on a tributary of the Colorado, which gathers all the waters of New Mexico west of the Rio Grande, and also that it was situated quite near the dividing ridge. It has elsewhere been shown that it was but ten miles from the Cañon de Torrejon, on the Puerco, a tributary of the Rio Grande, to the Rio de Chaco, an affluent of the Colorado, and but twenty-three miles to the first Pueblo. In this respect the sites of the ruins on the Chaco are in close agreement with the description of the situations of the towns of Cibola. Castañeda, after speaking of the seven villages, and the character of the houses, remarks that "the valley is very narrow, between precipitous mountains,"† which, in the light of Coronado's declaration, that "the country is all plain, and on no side mountainous," may perhaps have reference to the encompassing walls of the cañon.

Another fact mentioned by Coronado is of great significance, namely: that it was eight days' journey from Cibola to the buffalo ranges, in the direction of the North Sea. "They travel eight days' journey," he says, "unto certain plains lying toward the North Sea. In this country there are certain skins [buffalo robes], well dressed; and they dress them and paint them where they kill their oxen [buffaloes]; for so they say themselves." It is well known that the whole of New Mexico is without the buffalo ranges, as its table-lands are destitute of the necessary vegetation. They terminate on its eastern and northeastern

* Ternaux-Compans, Vol. IX. p. 370.

† Ibid., p. 164. "C'est une vallée très-étroite entre des montagnes escarpées."

confines. Eight days' journey, nearly east, of thirty miles each, would carry the Indian hunter from the Valley of the Chaco into the buffalo plains. From Zuñi it would be impossible to reach them, in any direction, in more than twice that space of time, and in doing it they must cross the Valley of the Rio Grande, then well peopled, and not improbably with hostile nations. It appears from the Relation of Marcos de Niza that the Indians of the Gila and south of it obtained their buffalo robes from Cibola, which was a place of traffic for this article. He found the Pintados, south of the Gila, wearing ox-hides which they had obtained from Cibola. "I inquired," he observes, "how and by what means they obtained these things. They told me, by their service, and by the sweat of their brows, and that they went unto the first city of the province, which is called Cevola, and that they served them in tilling their ground, and in other businesses, and that they give them hides of oxen, which they have in those places, and turqueses, for their service." * It may be proper also to add, that *Cibola* is the Spanish word for the "Mexican bull," or buffalo. The Southern Indians undoubtedly gave the name "Cibola" to the Spaniards, which, it seems probable, meant, in their language, the people or country of the buffalo. These several facts point to a far northern as well as far eastern position for the towns of Cibola.

From Cibola Coronado went to the province of Tiguex, which contained twelve or fifteen villages, and was, without doubt, in the Valley of the Rio Grande, but precisely where is by no means clear. A portion of the force went thence to Cicuye, supposed to be Old Pecos, the ruins of which yet remain; and thence northeast several days' journey into the plains, where "they met with a new kind of oxen, wild and fierce, whereof the first day they killed fourscore, which sufficed the army with flesh. . . . . All that way and plains are as full of crook-backed oxen as the mountain Serena, in Spain, is of sheep." † From Castañeda's Relation it is probable that they reached and crossed the Canadian River. They returned to Tiguex, where, in December, they were joined by the remainder of the army, which came from Culiacan to Cibola, and thence to Tiguex. Here they spent the winter of 1540–41.

* Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 368.

† Gomara, History of the West Indies, quoted by Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 381.

If either of the three relators had stated what course they took in going from Cibola to Tiguex, it would probably have solved the question of the situation of Cibola; but, singularly enough, they all fail in this particular. Jaramillo says: "From the first village of Cibola we proceeded to another of the same province, which was only about a short day's journey from Tiguex. According to our mode of travelling it should be reckoned a nine days' journey. Between Cibola and Tiguex, at the distance of one or two days' journey, is a village situated in a very strong position, on a rock with sides cut perpendicularly. It is called Tutahaco. . . . . When we arrived at Tiguex, we found on the borders of the river of Cibola, extending over a surface of about twenty leagues, fifteen villages, composed of houses with terraced roofs, not constructed of stone, but of earth, and resembling walls of mud and straw." * Castañeda traces the route of two small divisions of Coronado's forces from Cibola to Tiguex, but without throwing any light upon the direction they went, unless Acuco, the Tutahaco of Jaramillo, can be identified. It was supposed, both by Gallatin and Turner, to be the modern Acoma. Castañeda observes, that "there arrived at Cibola some Indians from a village situated seventy leagues towards the east, in a province called Cicuye." Alvarado was sent with a detachment to this place. In "five days after, they arrived at a village called Acuco, which is built upon a rock. . . . . Three days from there Alvarado and his companions arrived at a province called Tiguex. . . . . Thence in five days he arrived at Cicuye." † It appears that Acuco lay between Cibola and Tiguex, and the latter province between Acuco and Cicuye. There are reasonable grounds for believing that Cicuye and Old Pecos are identical. It will also be observed that it is "towards the east," though not due east, from the ruins of the Chaco. A difficulty, however, is presented, and a strong one, in the near approach of the Acuco of the expedition, as described, to the Acoma of the present day. It is the chief support of the claim of Zuñi to be one of the seven towns of Cibola, although far from conclu-

* Ternaux-Compans, Vol. IX. p. 370.

† Ibid., pp. 67 – 71.

sive.* There are other Pueblos similarly situated, and still others may yet be discovered answering as closely as Acoma.

At present there are no Indian Pueblos on the Rio Grande below Isleta; they are all found between this locality and Taos, on the north. There were probably villages below at the time of the expedition, but not for any great distance. After enumerating the provinces captured, and the number of villages in each, Castañeda states that "Tiguex is the central point," (*Tiguex est le point central*), † and Braba, identified as Taos, the most northern. To give full

* "This village" (Acuco), says Castañeda, "was very strong, because there was only one approach to it. It is elevated upon a rock cut perpendicularly on all the other sides, and so high that an arquebuse-ball would hardly reach the top. It could be got at only by a stairway cut by hand, which began at the base of the rock, and conducted to the village. For the first two hundred steps, this stairway was sufficiently broad; there were then a hundred steps much narrower. At the top of the stairway there still remained a height of about three fathoms, to be climbed by placing the feet in holes dug into the rock, in which one could hardly insert his toes; it was then necessary to hold on with the hands. At the summit there was a great heap of huge stones, which they could, without exposing themselves, roll down upon those who attempted to ascend, so that no army, however strong, could force this passage. There was on top sufficient ground to sow and store away a great quantity of maize, and cisterns for water and snow." (Ternaux-Compans, Vol. IX. p. 69.) Acoma is situated upon the summit of a flat rock. It has but one passage-way by which access can be gained to the summit, but this is ascendable by both man and beast. Lieutenant J. W. Abert has described Acoma, with engravings showing the rock, and also the passage-way. He remarks: "High on a lofty rock of sandstone, such as I have described, sits the city of Acoma. On the northern side of the rock the rude Boreal blasts have heaped up the sand, so as to form a practical ascent for some distance; the rest of the way is through solid rock. At one place a singular opening or narrow way is formed between a huge square tower of rock and the perpendicular face of the cliff. Then the road winds round like a spiral stairway, and the Indians have, in some way, fixed logs of wood in the rock, radiating from a vertical axis like steps; these afford foothold to man and beast in clambering up. . . . . At last we reached the top of the rock, which was nearly level, and contains about sixty acres. Here we saw a large church, and several continuous blocks of buildings, containing sixty or seventy houses in each block. (The wall at the side that faced outwards was unbroken, and had no windows until near the top; the houses were three stories high.) In front, each story retreated back as it ascended, so as to leave a platform along the whole front of the story; these platforms are guarded by parapet walls about three feet high. In order to gain admittance, you ascend to the second story by means of ladders; the next story is gained by the same means; but to reach the *azotea*, or roof, the partition walls on the platform that separates the quarters of different families have been formed into steps. This makes quite a narrow staircase, as the walls are not more than one foot in width." — *Report*, p. 470. (U. S. Senate Ex. Doc. No. 41, 30th Congress, 1st Sess., 1848.)

† Ternaux-Compans, Vol. IX. p. 182.

effect to this language, it would seem that Tiguex must be located even farther north than it is placed upon the map. In the absence of any declaration from Coronado, it is difficult to form a satisfactory opinion of any portion of the route after they left Cibola, except that they undoubtedly reached the Rio Grande and the buffalo plains northeast from Cicuye.

Concerning the return of the expedition to Mexico but few particulars are given, and these are by Gomara and Castañeda. The former remarks, that "in the end of March, of the year 1542, Francis Vasquez fell from his horse in Tiguex, and with the fall fell out of his wits, and became mad, which some took to be for grief, and others thought it to be but counterfeited; for they were much offended with him, because he peopled not the country. . . . . It grieved Don Antonio de Mendoza very much that the army returned home; for he had spent about threescore thousand pesos of gold in the enterprise, and owed a great part thereof still. Many sought to have dwelt there; but Francis Vasquez de Coronado, which was rich, and lately married to a fair wife, would not consent, saying that they could not maintain nor defend themselves in so poor a country, and so far from succor." * According to Castañeda, the army went in the spring from Tiguex to Cibola, and thence home by the route they came. "When the army arrived at Cibola," he observes, "it rested, to prepare itself for entering the desert; for this is the last inhabited point." † Thus ended this memorable expedition, remarkable for the immense distances traversed (over four thousand miles), for the discoveries made, and for the small amount of injuries inflicted upon the harmless, yet intelligent aborigines, who had accomplished so much in this unfruitful region of barren wastes and rainless skies.

Upon the evidence contained in these several narratives, and with our present knowledge of New Mexico, the sites of the seven towns of Cibola cannot be determined with certainty. It is a question of probabilities; and those which seem the strongest in favor of the ruins on the Chaco are the following.

* Gomara, History of the West Indies, quoted in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 381.

† Ternaux-Compans, Vol. IX. p. 216. Castañeda makes a mistake of a year, when he says it returned in 1543.

First, they are superior, architecturally, to any Pueblos in New Mexico, now existing or in ruins, and agree in number, and in proximity to each other, with the towns of Cibola, as described. Secondly, they are upon an affluent of the Colorado, and within "one or two days' journey" of the waters which flow into the Gulf of Mexico. In other words, they are near the summit of the watershed of the two oceans, where Jaramillo distinctly states Cibola was situated. From the sources of the Rio Zuñi, on the other hand, to the nearest tributary of the Rio Grande, it is seventy-five miles, with the Sierra of Zuñi between. Thirdly, they are within eight days' journey of the buffalo ranges, the nearest of which are upon the northeastern confines of New Mexico. Cibola was said to be thus situated. Moreover, the name *Cibola* implies the buffalo country. We are also told, by Friar Marcos, that the Indians south of the Gila trafficked with the Cibolans for ox-hides, which he found them wearing. Zuñi, the only known place showing a probability that it was one of the seven towns, is too far distant from the buffalo ranges to answer to this portion of the narrative. Lastly, the evidence, collectively, favors a far northern as well as far eastern position for Cibola. The people of Cibola knew nothing of either ocean. This could hardly have been true of the people of Zuñi with respect to the Pacific, or at least the Gulf of California. Coronado himself was in doubt as to which sea was nearest, and seems to have been conscious of the widening of the continent upon both sides of him. It was also a cold region.

Our knowledge of the minute geography of New Mexico is still very imperfect, because it is confined to the bare lines of the several expeditions that have traversed the country. There are considerable areas that have not been explored, and it is not improbable that other Pueblos in ruins will yet be discovered, some of which may claim recognition as the remains of the "Seven Cities."

Whether the ruins of the Chaco and the towns of Cibola are identical or not, they are presumptively as old as the expedition. We recover in them fair and instructive specimens of the architecture of the Village Indians of North

America at the epoch of the discovery of Mexico, which preceded the expedition of Coronado but twenty years. We find in these great edifices an original, indigenous, and distinctive architecture, which is still fully illustrated by existing edifices in New Mexico, of Indian construction. With a knowledge of the principles and design of this architecture, we possess the means of explaining the architecture of Mexico, Chiapa, and Yucatan. Presumptively, it is one system, founded upon the same social, civil, and economic ideas, but finding its highest development at Uxmal, Chichen-Itza, and Palenque. All this can be made evident by a comparison of structures.

It is no part of my present purpose to take up the theory of this Northern architecture, and with it attempt an explanation of that of Mexico and Central America. This would require a treatise. It is not merely probable, but it scarcely admits of a doubt, that every essential principle embodied in the house architecture of Mexico and Yucatan can now be found in the structures of the Village Indians of New Mexico. With respect to the celebrated Pueblo of Mexico, enough is definitely known to show that the edifices were large; that they were constructed of adobe brick, and of stone imbedded in mud mortar; that some of them consisted of a main building and two wings, occupying three sides of a court which opened on a causeway; that the stories retreated in the terrace form; and that the apartments were narrow, and many of them small. But there was this difference: the great houses in Mexico were entered in the first story from the ground, for which the reason is obvious. Mexico appears to have been surrounded by shallow, artificial ponds, which answered as an exterior defence.* The edifices which opened upon a par-

* It may be conjectured that the water surrounding Mexico was held there by means of dikes and causeways, and that the supply of water was obtained by damming Lakes Xochimilco and Chalco. These lakes at present are a little less than five feet higher than the Plaza of Mexico, which, in turn, is about six feet higher than the present level of Lake Tezcuco. By means of dams and dikes, with both of which the Aztecs were familiar, this result might have been attained. All the writers upon the Conquest agree in stating that the waters around Mexico were sweet, whilst those in Lake Tezcuco, which has no outlet, were brackish. The fact can only be explained in this way. This is, substantially, the conclusion of Mr. Robert A. Wilson, whose work on the Conquest of Mexico, notwithstanding its excesses, has running through it a vein of truth.

ticular causeway would be defended, not at the open courts, but out upon the causeway. These had sluices through them, over which bridges were thrown, and which, in an emergency, could be taken up. When we are gravely told that Cortés and his followers were invited by Montezuma to occupy a vacant *palace* of his late father, we are much impressed with the surroundings of the Indian potentate. This *palace* was constructed on three sides of a court opening upon the main causeway, and had a terraced roof. A glance at the edifices on the Chaco tends to unravel the marvel, and to show how it was that Cortés and his five hundred men could find ample accommodations in a single house constructed on the aboriginal American model. And when it is found to be wholly unnecessary to call it a palace in order to account for its size, it leads to an ungracious suspicion that one of the great communal houses of the Aztecs was emptied of its inhabitants to make room for the unwelcome intruders.

There are certain ideas embodied in this architecture which need development. The primary idea may be that of defence; but this harmonizes with another, scarcely secondary, namely, that of communism in living, restricted to groups of persons mutually related. I am not prepared to furnish evidence of the fact, or to assert how far communism was the law of social life in the entire body of the American aborigines. To a certain extent, it was and is inseparable from their mode of life, whether they be Village or Roving Indians. They hunt and fish in parties, and divide the proceeds equally, whoever kills the game or takes the fish; and they cultivate the soil much on the same principle. Several families of relatives not only share their stores in common, but practise a regulated hospitality with their co-villagers, which tends to distribute to all while a portion remains to any. Hunger and destitution are not known at one end of a Pueblo house or Indian village, while abundance prevails at the other. This great fact, of a tendency to communism in living, embodied itself in their architecture, and serves for its elucidation. It is revealed in the long bark house of the Iroquois, designed for twenty families of related persons; in the polygonal lodge of the Minnitarees, Mandans, and Archarees, designed for several families; in the

long round-roofed lodges of the Virginia Indians, designed for large households; in the long houses of the Columbia River Indians, each large enough to accommodate an entire band; and not less clearly in the great edifices of the Village Indians of New Mexico, Mexico, and Central America. Those of Chiapa and Yucatan are as clearly communal houses as those on the Chaco. When we would understand the "Palace of Palenque" and the "Governor's House at Uxmal" as the exclusive residences of Indian potentates, they become utterly unintelligible in the light of our advancing knowledge of Indian character and Indian institutions. But as Pueblo houses, embodying the defensive, the social, and the communal principles, we can understand how they could have been erected and so elaborately and laboriously finished. It is evident that they were the work of the people, constructing for themselves, to gratify their tastes, and to minister to their comfort and protection. The Indian idea of government, and of the authority of chiefs, was never developed far enough in the direction of autocracy to render the erection of such edifices possible by enforced labor for the benefit of a privileged class. It is the charm of all these edifices, that they were raised by the Indians, with willing hands, for their own use, and then occupied by them in all their apartments on terms of entire equality. And it is greatly creditable to the Indian mind, that, whilst substantially in the Stone Age, or at most between that and the Age of Bronze, they had developed the capacity to plan and rear edifices of such architectural design and imposing magnitude.

When America was first discovered, in its several regions, the aborigines were found in two dissimilar conditions. First were the strictly Village Indians, depending almost exclusively upon agriculture for subsistence: such were the nations of New Mexico, Mexico, and Central America. Second, the Roving Indians, depending upon fish and game: such were the Indians of the Valley of the Columbia, of the Hudson's Bay Territory, of Canada, and of all other parts of North America where agriculture was unknown. Between these, and connecting the extremes by insensible gradations, were the partially Village and partially Roving Indians, such as the Iroquois, the New England and Virginia Indians, the Creeks, Cherokees,

Mandans and Minnitarees, and the Chichemecs of Mexico. The warlike weapons, arts, usages and customs, dances, architecture, and form of government, all alike bear the impress of a common mind, and reveal, in their wide range, the successive stages of development of the same original conceptions. Our first mistake consisted in overrating the intelligence and advancement of the Village Indians, and our second in underrating the intelligence and progress of the Roving Indians, whence resulted a third, that of detaching the one from the other as different stocks. The Roving Indians, and those in the intermediate stages, always held the preponderating power in North America, and furnished the migrating bands which replenished the continent with inhabitants. It is a singular fact, that the Village Indians, who first became possessed of corn, the great American cereal, and of the art of cultivation, did not rise to supremacy over the continent. With their increased and more stable means of subsistence, it might have been expected that they would extend their power, and spread their migrating populations over the most valuable areas, to the gradual displacement of the barbarous nations. When brought to the ultimate test, — that of warfare, — they were the inferior division. Their civilization, such as it was, did not enable them to advance, either in their weapons or in the art of war, beyond the Roving or partially Village Indians. Beside this, their civil institutions were not developed far enough to realize the idea of a state, or of a government resting upon defined authority. An oligarchy of chiefs in council was the ultimate stage to which they had attained when the government embraced several confederated nations. Whilst the Village Indians developed a very respectable and a very considerable civilization, the partially Village Indians were not so far behind them as to leave a chasm between. The Iroquois, in intelligence, in the useful arts, and in their civil institutions, will compare not unfavorably with the Aztecs, although the difference between them in other particulars is very sensible.

The tribal organization deserves a moment's notice, from its intimate connection with the theory of government of the aborigines. Its prevalence is so general at the present time as to render it probable that it was originally universal amongst

them.* Their political system unfolds from this starting-point, and gives the following series. First, the Tribe, which is the unit of organization. All its members are *consanguinei*, bearing a common tribal name, and are under the government of one or more chiefs of the same descent. In course of time it may be subdivided, until the number of tribes is increased to six or ten, and in some cases even to seventeen, but still speaking the same dialect. Secondly, the Nation, which is an assemblage of several tribes, intermingled throughout by marriage, all speaking the same dialect, and under the joint government of the chiefs of the several tribes. This is the second stage of their political organization. It is founded upon dialect, whence dialect and nation are substantially equivalent terms. In this fact we find the reason why such small bands are dignified with the name of *Nation*, and why the term *Tribe* to indicate an assemblage of tribes is inadmissible. Thirdly, the Confederacy of Nations, composed of two or more nations speaking dialects

* Nearly all the nations east of the Mississippi, as well as north of the St. Lawrence and the chain of Lakes, were tribally organized. West of the former river the Dakotas are an exception; but inasmuch as their nearest congeners, the Lower Missouri nations, are now subdivided into tribes, it is probable that the Dakotas were originally so likewise. The Minnitarees, Mandans, and Crows (Ab-sar-o-kas) are also tribally organized. This organization is wanting among the Indians of the Valley of the Columbia, but reappears among the nations of the Northwest Coast. The Moqui Pueblo Indians are divided into tribes (Deer, Sand, Water, Bear, Hare, Prairie Wolf, Rattlesnake, and Tobacco); but whether the remaining Village Indians of New Mexico are thus subdivided I am unable to state. The Aztecs were also divided into tribes. A tribe is a group of *consanguinei*, with descent limited either to the male or to the female line. Where descent is limited to the male line, the tribe would consist of a supposed male ancestor and his children, together with the descendants of his sons in the male line forever. It would include this ancestor and his children, the children of his sons, and all the children of his lineal male descendants, — whilst the children of the daughters of this ancestor, and all the children of his female descendants, would be transferred to the tribes of their respective fathers. Where descent is limited to the female line, the tribe would consist of a supposed female ancestor and her children, together with the descendants of her daughters in the female line forever. It would include the children of this ancestor, the children of her daughters, and all the children of her lineal female descendants, — whilst the children of the sons of this ancestor, and all the children of her male descendants, would be transferred to the tribes of their respective mothers. Modifications of this form of the tribe may have existed, but this is the substance of the institution. No man can marry a woman of his own tribe, whether descent is in the male or female line. All its members are consanguineal. This prohibition is a fundamental characteristic of the tribal organization. The knowledge of a common tribal descent is preserved by a tribal name.

of the same stock-language. It arises from the division of one nation into several, followed by the formation of new dialects. Each nation would have the same tribes as subdivisions of an original nation. The confederacy of nations, which is rendered possible by a common language, is the third stage of their political organization. It is founded upon language as distinguished from dialect. This was the last, and also the highest stage to which the institutions of the North American Indians ever attained. Illustrations are found in the Iroquois confederacy of six nations, the Creek confederacy of six, the Powhatan confederacy of several, the Ottawa confederacy of three, the Dakota League of the Seven Council-fires, the Aztec confederacy of three, to which may probably be added the Cibolan confederacy of seven nations. In contrast with this is our political series, of which the unit is the Town, founded upon territory, — giving, in the ascending scale, the Town, the County, the State, and the United States, each in turn resting on an increasing territorial area, circumscribed by metes and bounds. The Indian series, consisting of the Tribe, the Nation, and the Confederacy of Nations, is founded, respectively, upon consanguinity, dialect, and stock-language. The tribe is governed by its chiefs, the nation by the chiefs of the several tribes, and the confederacy by the chiefs of the several nations. Such a government is an oligarchy, as the powers of the chiefs are joint, and their authority is equal. A council is the instrument of government. The growth and development of the idea of government amongst the American aborigines commenced with the tribe and ended with the confederacy. Whether in any instance they had advanced beyond the oligarchical form, into even the incipient stages of monarchy, must be held to be extremely doubtful. When other nations were subdued, and were required to pay tribute, the people were necessarily left to the government of their own chiefs, and to practise their own usages and customs. Neither absorption nor homogeneity followed conquest, nor common laws and language, — but simply military subordination, to be cast off at the first opportunity. Empires and emperors, in any correct use of these terms, can scarcely be said to have existed amongst the aborigines of any part of North America. The Indian political system admitted of "Head Chiefs," but

not with powers overmastering those of their associate chiefs, or to the exclusion of more chiefs than one; for the ultimate power, as before stated, rested in a council.

When the romantic features of the discovery and conquest of Mexico, which made such a powerful impression upon the writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which have not yet lost their influence, shall become softened down by our increasing knowledge of Indian character, arts, and institutions, it will be possible to reconstruct, from existing materials, a rational history of this interesting people. If the author of the volume, whoever he may be, will entitle his work "A History of the Aztec Confederacy," and, after explaining the political relations of the three nations of which it was composed, and the functions of the council by which it was governed, will then introduce Montezuma as the head chief of the Aztecs, one of the three confederated peoples, the reader will be certain to start with a tolerably correct impression. No harm will be done to truth, if the great lords, with many vassals and large landed estates, and the little lords, with few vassals and small landed estates, are introduced as plain Indian chiefs, innocent of all knowledge both of estates and vassals. Besides this, it is not improbable that the palaces and most of the temples will ultimately resolve themselves into plain communal houses, like those now standing in the picturesque and beautiful Valley of the Chaco, roofless and deserted. With these, and a number of similar changes, the future student of aboriginal history will not be led to deceptive conclusions by the glitter of inappropriate terms. Such a history is due to the memory of the Aztecs, and to a right estimate of the Indian family.

Lewis H. Morgan.

## Art. IV. — The Sanitary and Physiological Relations of Tobacco.

There is a substance belonging to the vegetable kingdom of Nature for which man has so strong an appetite that one of the first things he does, on emerging from the lowest depths of barbarism, or becoming acquainted with its virtues, if already civilized, is to provide himself with it, if he can. In vain he is told it is poisonous to him and his future progeny; in vain are abuse and ridicule heaped upon him; in vain he is censured and punished; in vain he is cursed as an obstinate wretch, whose persistence in wrong-doing puts him in danger of losing his soul. With a total disregard to his pocket, his body, his morals, his salvation, he smokes, chews, or snuffs his tobacco, and smiles benignantly, but defiantly, at the enemies whose efforts have done so little to thwart him in his pursuit of pleasure.

It is certainly true that the great majority of those who have inveighed against the use of tobacco belong to that class of persistent reformers who deem it their duty to attack every habit or custom which results from civilization. To them the refinements of life are an evidence of man's degeneracy. They hold up the barbarian as the highest type of the genus *homo*. They speak of his well-developed form, his great powers of endurance, his simple and guileless nature, his capacity for mental improvement, even though his mind be "rude and untutored." In all this they show themselves as deficient in anthropological knowledge as they are ignorant of the scientific relations of the tobacco question.

Again, they appeal to statistics. They visit the alms-houses, prisons, and insane asylums, and, by a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* process of reasoning, have no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that the use of tobacco makes paupers, criminals, and lunatics. Of course, no one pretends to doubt that a man may injure himself by tobacco, as he may by cheese or crackers. The skilful reformer, therefore, does not waste his powder upon excess, but brings his heaviest guns to bear on the question of moderate use. It would, of course, be equally

easy to show, by a similar course of procedure and reasoning, that eating potatoes — no, not potatoes, for they, too, have been attacked, but bread and milk — predisposes to poverty, crime, and insanity.

Then, occasionally, some physician or surgeon, ignorant of Oesterlen and his "Medical Logic," comes upon the field, and relates how a patient of his had a cancer of the tongue or lip, and how, after many fruitless endeavors to determine the cause, it was finally ascertained that he had long been in the habit of smoking. Another traces a large majority of his cases of amaurosis to the use of tobacco; a third finds that the "weed" produces softening of the brain and paralysis, even when indulged in with moderation; and a fourth is sure that a general deterioration of the powers of life is the result of a few daily whiffs of a pipe or cigar.

Whilst it is doubtless true that the excessive use of tobacco may occasionally give rise to disease, it has never been shown that this substance, when used with becoming moderation, causes any serious derangement of the mental or physical organization. There are, doubtless, individuals who cannot smoke a mild cigar without having their nervous system unstrung for several days; but the existence of such persons proves nothing against tobacco that cannot by similar facts be alleged against many articles of food and drink which to ninety-nine men and women out of a hundred are agreeable and wholesome. There are people who cannot eat shell-fish, or sea-bass, or strawberries, without the indulgence being followed by a cutaneous eruption, a headache, or some other disturbance of the physical organism. There is no accounting for idiosyncrasies; what is pleasant and beneficial to one man is distasteful and injurious to another; and therefore the fact that some persons cannot use tobacco ever so temperately without suffering inconvenience is certainly no argument against moderate indulgence on the part of others in whom no deleterious action is produced.

Those who, at the present day, decry the use of tobacco are generally drinkers of tea or coffee, which they imbibe unconscious that they are obeying the same instinct that prompts others to smoke. They forget, too, if they ever knew, that

these substances have received quite as bad a name from superficial observers as the one to which they are so inimical. Thus, tea is asserted to possess the power of drying up the juices, to bring on a premature old age, and to predispose to attacks of neuralgia. Coffee has the reputation, among some, of destroying the virile power, of producing paralysis, and of causing a gradual, but certain, emaciation. Though there is probably no foundation for these statements, it is assuredly proved, by the experience of every physician in active practice, that there are as many persons to whom tea and coffee are injurious as there are persons who are harmed by the moderate use of tobacco.

It is very commonly the case that those who engage in the crusade against tobacco are skilful in making assertions and artful in drawing inferences, so that they impose upon the general public, which rarely takes the trouble to inquire into the truth or falsity of dogmatic statements enforced in strong language, or to examine carefully the arguments brought forward. But for one accustomed to think, to believe no allegation in science without the proof, and to sift thoroughly every question submitted to his judgment, there is something ludicrous in the exhibition of incorrect assertions, bad reasoning, and deplorable ignorance, which is to be found in some recent strictures upon the moderate use of tobacco. To take up, *seriatim*, these fallacies, and to show the absurdity of all the statements made, would not be worth the trouble. Without, therefore, replying to any particular diatribe, it is proposed to point out as briefly as possible the sanitary and physiological relations of a substance which for more than three hundred years has played no unimportant part in the physical and intellectual development of mankind.

Many of the older authors who wrote upon medicine denounced tobacco as a substance capable, even when moderately used, of inflicting great injury upon the system. Thus, Van Helmont declared that he had examined the stomach of a smoker which had been colored brown by the fumes of tobacco. Hoffmann contended that those who were addicted to indulgence in tobacco suffered from pains in the chest, were subject to delirium, nightmare, convulsions, etc., and that

after death, on making examination of their bodies, he had almost always found the lungs blackened by the smoke, and dried like flesh subjected to heat. He also states, that, having one day opened the cranium of an executed criminal who had been a great smoker, he had found the brain blackened. Parrius, in making the dissection of the body of a young man, found the brain covered with a black soot, which he attributed to inflammation. Those, however, who had known the man declared that he had always been healthy, but had been addicted to the use of tobacco; whereupon Parrius changed his opinion, being now sure that the substance was derived from the smoke which had been inhaled. Bonetus asserted that many *post-mortem* examinations had convinced him of the evil effects of tobacco on the lungs and brain; and Paulli thought that the smoke dried the lungs and produced marasmus.

Sovereigns, actuated, perhaps, by a desire to protect their subjects from the supposed deleterious effects of tobacco, wrote against it, and occasionally went so far as to inflict severe punishment on those who used it. The Shah Abbas of Persia cut off the nose and lips of any one caught smoking; and the Sultan Amurath IV. of Turkey, under the impression that tobacco would make his subjects impotent, prohibited its use under pain of death. But all was of no avail. The habit became fully established among the Turks; and, as regards the Persians, a traveller, writing sixty years after the death of the Shah Abbas, says: "The mania for smoking is general in Persia. Every one transacts his business with his pipe in his mouth. In the colleges the professors and students smoke whilst occupied with their duties. The people would rather go without their food than their smoke. During their Lent, or *Ramadan*, they are obliged to go eighteen hours without eating. The first thing with which they break their fast is tobacco." The Sultan Mahomet IV. ordained, among other cruel punishments, that every person found smoking should have his nose pierced with his pipe. The Czar Michael Fedorovitch condemned all smokers to the bastinado, and occasionally cut off the nose of an obstinate offender. James I. of England denounced the use of the weed

in severe terms. Pope Urban VIII. issued a bull against the practices of smoking and snuffing in church, and thundered with all the artillery of the Vatican against those who thus desecrated the holy edifices. Clement XI., however, revoked this bull, except as regarded St. Peter's. And as an evidence of the firm hold which tobacco has obtained upon the most elevated personages of the earth, it may be mentioned that the present Holy Father — certainly as worthy an occupant of the chair of St. Peter as any of his predecessors — takes his snuff even in the great basilica.*

In spite of all opposition, the use of tobacco continued to extend, and occasionally a writer, bolder than others, urged its claims to favorable consideration. Thus, Willis declared that it enabled men to endure great fatigue, and that accordingly it was especially beneficial to soldiers. During the conquest of Holland, Louvois made more effort to get tobacco for his troops than to supply them with food. Péron asserted, that, when travelling in desert places, he felt neither hunger nor fatigue after having chewed a little tobacco.

The first question to which we propose to direct attention is that relating to the general sanitary effects of tobacco upon the human system. Ramazzini, in 1713, made some observations which were among the first that have any appearance of exactness. In his *De Morbis Artificum Diatriba*, he makes the statement that those who work in tobacco factories are subject to violent pains in the head, nausea, and constant sneezing. Patissier, † who translated his work into French, declares that they are, in general, thin, yellow, and asthmatic. He admits, however, that many are not injuriously affected, and, on the authority of Fourcroy, states that the workmen in the tobacco factory at Cette, in Languedoc, in no way suffer; on the contrary, they are less subject than the other inhabitants of Cette to the putrid fevers which prevail in that city during the spring.

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* For a short, but interesting, account of the persecutions to which the votaries of tobacco have been subjected, the reader is referred to *Histoire du Tabac: ses Persécutions*, par C. Barbier, Deuxième Édition, Paris, 1861. Most of the statements in the text have been derived from this source.

† Traité des Maladies des Artisans, etc., Paris, 1822, p. 202.

M. Pointe * made some careful observations on the health of men working in a tobacco factory at Lyons. They were five hundred in number, and, though employed in various ways, were all of them in continual contact with tobacco. He found them especially liable to pulmonary consumption, diseases of the eyes, boils, and scurvy. On the other hand, they were exempt to a considerable extent from intermittent fever and scrofula, to which the inhabitants of Lyons are very subject. The latter affection is particularly prevalent among the operatives in the silk factories. The workmen in the tobacco factory were not affected with trembling or other disorder of the nervous system.

Thackrah † states, that, although tobacco manufacturers are exposed to a strong narcotic odor, and in the storing department to a high temperature, they appear to be healthy. But perhaps the most thorough researches relative to the influence of the tobacco manufacture on health are those carried on several years ago by Parent-Duchâtelet. ‡ This eminent hygienist, after a very careful series of investigations, arrived at the conclusion that the workers in tobacco are as healthy in appearance, and in fact, as other laborers. He ascertained that they in a short time become accustomed to the effect of tobacco inhalations and to the constant contact with this substance; they do not become liable to any special diseases, and they live as long as other people.

The reports of the officials attached to the government manufactories of tobacco in France are said by Lévy § to confirm this opinion. The documents on the subject, for the year 1842, show, first, that the workmen have not been affected with any disease that could properly be attributed to tobacco; second, that the tobacco appears to have acted as a preserva-

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* Observations sur les Maladies auxquelles sont sujets les Ouvriers employés à la Manufacture Royale de Tabac de Lyon. Lyon, 1828.

† The Effects of the Principal Arts, Trades, and Professions, etc., on Health and Longevity. American Edition, Philadelphia, 1831, p. 47.

‡ Mémoire sur les véritables Influences que le Tabac peut avoir sur la Santé des Ouvriers occupés aux différentes Préparations qu'on les fait subir (Ann. d'Hyg. publ. et de Méd. lég., Tom. I., p. 169).

§ Traité d'Hygiène publique et privée. Quatrième Édition, Tom. II., Paris, 1862, p. 926.

tive against some diseases, and particularly as a preventive of the typhoid fever at Lyons, dysentery at Morlaix, and the sweating fever at Tonneins.

The observations of Melier* lead to conclusions the opposite of those arrived at by Parent-Duchâtelet; but his results must, in part at least, be attributed to the fact that other causes than mere contact with tobacco have, since Parent-Duchâtelet's researches, been in operation in the factories. Thus, we find that the processes necessary to the preparation of the cured leaves extend over eighteen or twenty months, and that during this period the workmen are exposed: first, to the effects of severe muscular exertion; second, to an atmosphere charged with a fine and acrid dust; third, to moisture and cold; fourth, to emanations from the fresh and humid plant; fifth, to stronger emanations and to gas developed by high temperature; sixth, to the emanations and gases developed by fermentation; seventh, to similar exhalations accompanied by the dust of the tobacco; eighth, to the dust alone.

Subjected to the action of such causes, it would be no matter for surprise, if disorder of the system should occur in all cases. But notwithstanding the inhalation of solid particles of tobacco into the lungs, the respiration of an atmosphere loaded with ammoniacal gas, and exposure to excessive moisture and heat, the workmen become in a measure acclimated, and forget the unfavorable circumstances which surround them. They take no precautions to avoid actual contact with the tobacco. They eat in the factories without washing their hands; and, as if not sufficiently saturated with tobacco, smoke or chew it whilst engaged in their labors. Gradually, however, the unfavorable hygienic conditions do their work, and the men become pale and cachectic. That these ill effects are not due to tobacco, however, is established by the researches of Parent-Duchâtelet already cited, and by the fact that Boudet has never been able to find nicotine in the blood of the most degenerate of the workmen. As to longevity, Ruef found in a factory having one hundred and twenty-three workmen five

* De la Santé des Ouvriers employés dans les Manufactures de Tabac (Bulletin de l'Académie de Médecine, Tom. X. p. 569).

above the age of seventy-two, and of these, four had worked at the business all their lives. It would appear also to be certainly established that the manufacture of tobacco has a tendency to exempt from certain fevers, dysentery, rheumatism, neuralgia, itch, and pulmonary consumption. So far, therefore, as Melier's investigations go, the balance does not appear to be very much, if at all, against tobacco.

In 1843, M. le Vicomte Siméon,* director-general of the tobacco manufacture of France, published a work which discusses to some extent all the questions connected with the influence of the various processes on the health of the workmen. His conclusions are: 1st, That the hygiene of the tobacco-workers is excellent; 2d, That, during the year 1842 (to which alone the report refers), there was no particular disease prevalent among the workmen which could be attributed to tobacco; 3d, That this substance, far from being hurtful, has acted as a preservative from attacks of epidemics, of sweating fever, typhoid fever, and dysentery; 4th, That the neighborhood of a tobacco factory is an excellent place of residence for those affected with pulmonary consumption.

With the view, however, of more fully satisfying myself in relation to the matter under consideration, I have recently visited the tobacco manufactory of M. Pierre Lorillard, who was kind enough to afford me every facility for making the fullest investigations. In this factory, probably the largest in the world, all the operations necessary to the preparation of smoking and chewing tobacco and snuff are carried on. Over three hundred men and women are employed, and many of them have been at the business since they were children. They are in constant contact with the tobacco, in some form or other, during the whole time they are at work.

In the curing-room they handle the leaves in a wet state, and for a great portion of the time have their hands and arms dipped in strong infusions of tobacco. The temperature of this room is kept at about 80° Fahr., and the odor is very strong. All the operatives were of healthy appearance, and apparently suffered no inconvenience from their labor.

* Rapport à M. le Ministre du Commerce (Ann. d'Hyg. et de Méd. lég. Tom. XXX. p. 243).

In the stemming-room women are employed. They handle the wet leaves after they have left the curing-room, and strip off their stems. They were all healthy, and several of them were possessed of far more ruddy complexions than are commonly seen in our streets. Here the odor of the tobacco was very strong.

In the cutting-room not only are the workmen exposed to the emanations from the tobacco, and to actual contact with it, but the atmosphere is pervaded with particles of powdered licorice, which is here sprinkled over the leaves. All were of strong, healthy appearance.

In the drying-room the temperature is maintained at about 100° Fahr. The atmosphere was certainly very oppressive, and was decidedly ammoniacal. The workmen do not stay in this room, but they are there very often during the day. One of them, a remarkably strong, well-built, and healthy man, informed me that he had worked at the business over thirty-five years.

In the snuff-room were two men who had worked, one of them sixteen, and the other forty-two years. The latter stated that he had never taken a dose of medicine in his life. All the operatives were of healthy appearance.

The next room visited was in a cellar. Here the snuff is packed in bladders. Three men were employed at this work. The atmosphere was literally loaded with tobacco in fine powder. No miller was ever more thoroughly covered with flour than were these men with tobacco-dust. It was in their hair, their eyes, their ears, their mouths, and entered the lungs with every inspiration. One of them had worked seventeen years. He was large, well-formed, and of remarkably healthy appearance. Another was sixty-three years old, and had been forty-five years engaged in this work. His face was covered with tobacco-dust, his nostrils were full of it, and even his teeth and gums showed its presence in large quantity. In answer to my inquiries, he informed me that he had always enjoyed good health, but occasionally had nervous twitchings of his face. It is impossible to conceive of any situation in which greater exposure to the influence of tobacco could exist than in this room.

All the operatives were cheerful and intelligent, and I did not see one who appeared to suffer any ill effects from his labor, unless the old man in the snuff-packing room be an exception. Not only do they handle the tobacco, inhale it, eat it, and steep their hands in an infusion of it, during their work, but they chew, smoke, and snuff it for pleasure, almost without exception.

The superintendent, a very intelligent man, had worked at the business many years, had never suffered any inconvenience from it, nor heard of any diseases being induced in those who had made the tobacco manufacture their employment.

Nor when we come to inquire into the sanitary condition of those who use tobacco with discretion, for the real or supposed pleasure they derive from it, do we find any evidence that it produces mental or physical disease. The number of persons who smoke, chew, or snuff is so vast that a man who does not do one or another is an exception. Certainly, if tobacco were capable of inducing actual disease, or even of lessening the vital powers, when used in moderation, we should not be in doubt on the subject. That it may cause disorder of the system, when used in excess, no hygienist or physiologist will deny; but that it possesses any pre-eminence in this respect over tea, coffee, pepper, mustard, salt, or many other substances, is very questionable. Sichel, the eminent French ophthalmic surgeon, has recently written a paper in which he describes a kind of amaurosis produced by the excessive use of tobacco. His principal case was that of a man forty years of age who smoked his pipe continuously all day, and even went so far as to have it well filled near him when he slept, so that he could wake up in the night several times and take a few whiffs. Certainly this is an example of the abuse, not the use, of tobacco. Yet there is no clear connection between the alleged cause and the effect. Sichel's opinion, that few persons can for a long time consume more than twenty grammes of tobacco daily without their vision and their memory becoming enfeebled, is an unfounded statement which makes us look with suspicion upon his other theories. Stellwag,* the most emi-

* A Treatise on Diseases of the Eye, etc. Am. Ed. Translated by Drs. Hackby and Roosa. New York. 1868. p. 668.

nent German authority, in his recent treatise, doubts the existence of tobacco-amaurosis; and the chief and latest English authority, Mr. Soelberg Wells,* is even more emphatic. He says: —

"One argument which has been brought forward to lend special weight to the theory that tobacco may produce amaurosis is, that simple progressive atrophy of the optic nerve occurs far more frequently among men than women. Whilst readily conceding this, I must also call attention to the fact that the causes which may produce amaurosis obtain far more amongst men than women. Thus, the former are, as a rule, exposed to far greater corporeal and mental labor, to greater vicissitudes, and to a greater indulgence in free living of every kind. Moreover, in all probability, the amaurosis is far more due to a combination of such deleterious influences than to the prevalence of one special one, e. g. tobacco; at least, in by far the greater number of cases of amaurosis which I have met with in heavy smokers, the patients readily admitted their indulgence in other excesses. I freely admit the fact that the excessive use of tobacco (but most frequently together with other causes) may produce considerable impairment of vision, and finally, if the habit be not entirely changed, and the use of tobacco, stimulants, etc., given up, even atrophy of the optic nerves. But I cannot, from my own experience, accede to the doctrine that there is anything peculiar in the form of atrophy of the optic nerve which would at once enable us to diagnose the disease as depending upon excessive smoking."

It will be observed that Mr. Wells's remarks are limited to the immoderate use of tobacco, and apply chiefly to its action in connection with excesses of other kinds. The special inquiries which I made of the operatives in Mr. Lorillard's factory, and my inspection of their eyes, failed to show the existence of any case of impaired vision.

The assertion has often been made that the use of tobacco causes insanity. Careful observation shows, however, that this is not correct. Soldiers and sailors, almost without exception, use tobacco in some form or other, and it is well known that they are remarkably exempt from mental disease. Then, too, the fact that women, who, as a rule, do not use tobacco, are as liable to insanity as men who do, is a sufficient answer to this charge.

* A Treatise on the Diseases of the Eye. Am. Ed. Philadelphia. 1869. p. 411.

But even in regard to this point we have some very exact observations. During the past year M. Ducamp * has been examining the government tobacco manufactories of France, and has incidentally touched upon the sanitary relations of the substance in question. Alluding to the statement made by a learned academician, that the increase of insanity in France was due to the enormous consumption of tobacco, M. Ducamp observes, that the learned doctor forgot to deduct forty-seven per cent of the lunatics as being females, and that the probable cause of the increase of insanity is to be found in the abuse of *absinthe*, a liquor which contains seventy-two per cent of alcohol. He then instances the case of the sailors, who by constantly chewing tobacco are more liable to suffer from it than those who smoke, yet the 30,000 sailors manning the fleet show just their normal proportion of lunatics. Among the numerous *employés* of the factories no special maladies are to be observed.

In entering upon the consideration of the physiological effects of tobacco, it may be necessary to say a few words in regard to the functions of the waste and repair of the animal tissues.

Every action of any organ of the body is accompanied with the decomposition of a certain amount of the substance of such organ. Thus, when a muscle contracts, a portion of its tissue is broken up into substances of a lower grade. These enter the blood, and are finally excreted from the body through the emunctories of the skin, lungs, and kidneys. Every pulsation of the heart, every action of any gland, every thought of the brain, involves the disintegration of heart, gland, or brain substance, respectively.

Of course, it needs very little reflection to convince any one, that, if this waste goes on without the production of new matter, a period will be reached at which action is no longer possible. To provide, therefore, for the loss which is continually taking place, we eat food, which undergoes the necessary transformations in the body, and eventually is deposited where it is wanted, whether in the muscles, the glands, the brain, or

* Revue des Deux Mondes, Août 1, 1868. Also, for a short abstract, Quarterly Journal of Psychological Medicine, etc., December, 1868, p. 828.

other organs. The process by which the tissues break up into inorganic matter is called regressive or destructive metamorphosis; that by which new life is formed from the food, progressive metamorphosis. When in an adult person these two processes balance one another, the body undergoes no variation in weight. If the first is in excess, the body is consuming its capital, and loses weight; if the second, the body is "laying up for a rainy day," and gains weight.

Now one of the physiological effects of tobacco is, that it retards the regressive or destructive metamorphosis of the tissues. In other words, it enables an individual to save his body-capital.

Let us suppose a ploughman, who has a certain amount of work to do every day, and a certain amount of food to live upon, and finds, under these circumstances, that he is slowly, but steadily, losing weight. To arrest his downward course, he might, if able, do one of two things, — work less, or eat more. His condition is such, however, that he can do neither. He has his daily work to perform, and he is too poor to get more food. But there is a compensating agent which will relieve him from his difficulty. Let him smoke two or three pipes of tobacco daily, and he will ascertain that he ceases to lose weight, though he has not diminished the amount of his labor or increased the quantity of his food. The tobacco has enabled him to do the same work with a less expenditure of material, and has therefore retarded the destructive metamorphosis of his tissues.

Twelve years ago I undertook upon my own person a series of experiments, with the view of determining, among other things, the influence of tobacco upon the function of destructive metamorphosis. * These investigations were the first of the kind ever made. I have several times since gone over the same ground, and have always obtained analogous results. Previously to that occasion, I had not been in the habit of smoking, or using tobacco in any other form.

The objects in view were: —

* The Physiological Action of Alcohol and Tobacco upon the Human Organism. American Journal of the Medical Sciences, October, 1856. Also, Physiological Memoirs. Philadelphia, 1863. p. 44.

1st, To ascertain the effects of tobacco, when a sufficient quantity of food was digested to maintain the weight of the body.

2d, To determine the influence of tobacco, when the food was insufficient, and when, consequently, the body was losing weight.

During the continuance of the experiments, I lived in the most systematic manner, rising every morning at six o'clock, and going to bed at eleven. I was thus awake seventeen hours, and asleep seven. The seventeen waking hours were thus appropriated: ten to study, of as uniform a character as possible; five to daily duties, recreation, etc.; and two to a uniform system of physical exercises. This plan was rigorously carried out through the whole course of the investigations.

The experiments related to the weight of the body, the quantity of carbonic acid and aqueous vapor expired in respiration, the extent of loss through the intestines and kidneys, and the determination of the amount of urea, uric acid, chlorine, and phosphoric and sulphuric acids excreted. These substances are, as it were, the ashes of the body, being the products of its waste from the performance of its several functions. Besides these special determinations, I observed minutely every circumstance connected with my general health which could reasonably be ascribed to the action of the tobacco.

In the first place, I instituted a standard series of experiments, using just sufficient food to maintain the weight of the body as nearly as possible at a fixed point. During this series of experiments, I made all the determinations above specified. They were continued for five days.

During the next series I lived exactly as during the standard experiments, except that I smoked one hundred and fifty grains of tobacco — nearly two cigars — after each meal, being four hundred and fifty grains a day. This series also lasted five days.

The results were, that the loss by the lungs, kidneys, etc., was lessened, and that the weight of the body had increased .07 of a pound. The exact weights, together with the processes employed, will be found in the paper to which reference has been made.

As I had not been accustomed to the use of tobacco, the general and more obvious effects were exceedingly well marked. There was great nervous excitement, accompanied with irregular action of the muscles, more particularly of the eyelids, mouth, and arms, which lasted for about two hours. The mind, however, was clear, and there was no headache. These sensations were succeeded by a pleasant feeling of ease and contentment, which also lasted about two hours. During the first part of the night there was wakefulness; but this was always followed by a sound sleep, which continued till the hour for rising. The pulse was somewhat increased in frequency; the appetite continued good.

With the object of still further determining the action of tobacco, I was desirous of ascertaining its influence when the amount of food daily taken was not sufficient to maintain the weight of the body. I, therefore, for five days, ate an insufficient quantity of food, so that at the end of this period my weight had fallen from 225.81 pounds to 223.97, showing a total loss of 1.84 pounds, or an average daily of .37 pound.

Under this condition of the system, and still continuing the diminished food, — the exercise and all other factors being unchanged, — I smoked one hundred and fifty grains of tobacco after each meal. The effects were, that the rate at which the body had been losing weight was lessened from the first, and entirely overcome the fourth day, the average daily loss being .09 of a pound against .37 of a pound under the same conditions, except the use of tobacco. The effect upon the excretions was similar to that observed during the first series with tobacco. The general influence, likewise, was about the same.

During the series of experiments immediately preceding, when the food was insufficient to maintain the weight of the body, there had been an almost constant sensation of hunger, and a marked degree of debility. Neither of these conditions existed after the use of the tobacco was begun.

From the whole of the experiments I concluded: —

1st, That tobacco does not materially affect the excretion of carbonic acid through the lungs.

2d, That it lessens the amount of aqueous vapor given off in respiration.

3d, That it diminishes the amount of the intestine excretion.

4th, That it lessens the quantity of the renal excretion, and the amount of its urea and chlorides.

5th, That it increases the amount of free acid, uric acid, and sulphuric and phosphoric acids eliminated through the kidneys.

The general purport of the experiments, therefore, is, that tobacco retards the waste of the tissues, though the fact that it increased the amount of phosphoric acid eliminated would seem to show that the destructive metamorphosis of the nervous tissues was increased. It must be remembered that the amount of tobacco used was large, — amounting, as it did, to six cigars a day. Subsequent experiments which I made, smoking only three cigars daily, one after each meal, showed that the effect of this moderate amount was to decrease the quantity of phosphoric acid excreted from the system. It was ascertained from these, that tobacco in moderation lessens the destruction of the tissues as a whole, and especially diminishes the wear and tear of the nervous system.

The question, therefore, scarcely admits of a doubt, that, other things being equal, a person can do more mental and physical labor, and with less fatigue, under the moderate use of tobacco, than without it. The excessive use may be injurious, just as may be the excessive use of almost any substance taken as food or drink.

Another important physiological effect of tobacco is seen in its action upon the stomach, as increasing the secretion of gastric juice, and thus promoting digestion. It is a well-recognized physiological fact, that a very intimate sympathetic connection exists between the stomach and the salivary glands. A mild sensation of hunger makes the "mouth water," and an increase in the quantity of saliva created is almost invariably attended with an increase in the quantity of gastric juice. This is shown by making a fistula in the stomach of a dog, so that the gastric juice can be collected as soon as it is formed. Now, if any strongly sapid substance — as a piece of tobacco, for instance — be put into the dog's mouth, an increased se-

cretion of saliva takes place, and at the same time gastric juice is formed in large quantity, and pours through the fistula into a vessel placed to receive it. A cigar acts in the same way upon the salivary glands and stomach of a smoker. To smoke after meals is, therefore, a perfectly orthodox physiological act, and is another example of coincidence between instinct and science. Many cases of dyspepsia are cured by this simple means.

Tobacco, by diminishing the destructive metamorphosis of the tissues, enables mankind to support the effects of hunger with less loss of strength, and less bodily and mental fatigue, than would otherwise result. The experience of soldiers and travellers suffices to establish this fact, and is a matter of such popular notoriety that it is scarcely necessary to cite examples. I have frequently noticed the phenomena in my own person.

But the chief influence of tobacco is exerted upon the brain and other parts of the nervous system, and it is mainly to secure this effect that man uses the substance at all. The tendency of civilization is to increase the wear and tear of nerve tissue. New pursuits, new duties, the spread of learning, the discoveries of science, the struggle for wealth and position, the turning of night into day, and hundreds of other factors, act with a power under which many minds go down into darkness, and others are more or less shattered. To avoid the action of these causes is impossible, without a thorough change in the condition of society, and an arrest of the mental development of mankind. Even if we could accomplish either of these ends, it would certainly be undesirable to make the attempt.

But it is assuredly proper for us to look for some means capable of lessening the ill effects which are produced by the labors, the anxieties, the sorrows, the troubles, of which every man who keeps up with the world must expect to bear a large share, and which cannot be altogether avoided by persons of the most quiet pursuits.

Among the substances which man has been led to use in order to bring about this result, tobacco is one of the most efficacious, as it is the least harmful. As a soother to the nervous system, and a promoter of reflection, it acts with a degree

of certainty, and yet of mildness, which places it far above all its congeners. Under its influence the nervous substance, especially that of the brain and sympathetic system, is preserved from the inroads to which it would otherwise be subjected. The ability to comprehend is increased, the judgment is rendered clearer, the power of the will is augmented, and all this without the degree of exhaustion which otherwise follows every prolonged mental effort. The greatest men the world has ever seen used tobacco, and men, both great and commonplace, will continue to use it till they get something better.

But tobacco, to be most advantageous to mankind, should be used with moderation. Like every other good thing, it is a two-edged sword, and, when employed to excess, it often causes neuralgia, indigestion, and more or less derangement of the whole organism. It is wonderful, however, to see how many persons can endure the abuse of tobacco without apparent inconvenience. Those most liable to suffer are youths whose nervous systems are undeveloped, and to whom it is no more suited than pork and beans for an infant's stomach.

Whether, therefore, we regard the use of tobacco in moderation from a sanitary or physiological point of view, we find no grounds for the apprehensions which have been expressed relative to its deleterious influence. On the contrary, it is very certain that the moderate habitual use of the substance in question is often decidedly beneficial, and that many persons become so accustomed to excess, or are so constituted, that they are not injuriously affected, even though they smoke, chew, snuff, and pass the greater part of their lives in an atmosphere saturated with tobacco and its exhalations.

William A. Hammond.

## Art. V. — The Financial Condition of the United States.

The Southern threat of secession, in 1860, found the people of the United States actively engaged in peaceful pursuits, without a thought of strife, and so little prepared for war that unprejudiced spectators could seriously expect to see the whole North overrun by the united and better drilled array of Southern chivalry. The outbreak was so sudden that it was long before all hopes of speedy reconciliation were abandoned. But, that delusion once shaken off, this peaceful people armed itself for the terrible struggle, and suddenly stepped forth, to the startled gaze of all Christendom, the greatest military power of modern times.

A million of men, rushing to arms as by one impulse, might well astonish the slow-moving peoples of older countries. But astonishment soon yielded to a sense of mingled fear and dislike, which, in its turn, was speedily followed by the hope and the prediction that so severe a strain upon our resources must result in rapid exhaustion, and that the nation must succumb to financial disorder and ultimate bankruptcy.

While such were the loud-spoken hopes of our enemies and the whispered fears of our friends, in the midst of discouragements and reverses and disasters, this scattered people of farmers and traders suddenly improvised a system of finance as gigantic as its armies, — a system which, during the whole period of the war, never failed or faltered, but fed the national treasury with a perennial supply, and which furnished during the four years from 1861 to 1865, from domestic sources alone, a sum of money far exceeding any amount ever furnished by the same number of people for any purpose whatsoever.

The sudden rise of the military and financial power of the United States will stand out in history as one of the most remarkable phenomena of the nineteenth century.

Of the military power of the United States the outward evidence has, for a time at least, disappeared. The Union armies have been disbanded. Peace has restored the survivors to their homes, to the plough, the loom, the anvil. Like a vision the army arose, like a vision it has faded from sight

leaving no mark, save in history and in the nation's exultant consciousness of latent strength.

The financial power of the United States has undergone no visible change. Money still flows into the nation's coffers in the full measure of her needs; and her needs are still gigantic. For peace, while disbanding her armies, has not yet paid her national debt. Unlike the army, the debt is not a positive creation. It is simply the evidence of a gigantic destruction. The army, created in a day, in a day could be disbanded. The destruction of years, represented by the debt, can be repaired only by years upon years of production and economy. This national debt is the one great intractable result of our Secession War. It is the one great novel element in our national life. Like a new atmosphere, as we shall try to show, it changes, without our knowledge, the aspect of all things around us. Its influence for final good and evil is still hidden; but the magnitude of that influence impresses itself upon us readily, when we notice the extent to which every question of national policy or social progress depends for its solution upon its relation to our national finances. All thinking men are agreed that the questions which will most prominently and most profitably occupy the minds of political thinkers during the next decade are the financial questions. The importance to which these questions have risen is due solely to the existence of our national debt. No solution to these questions can be found without first clearly comprehending the origin, nature, and influence of the national debt itself.

The total government expenditures since the beginning of 1861 — deducting a comparatively unimportant annual sum for the ordinary expenses of civil administration — represent the cost to the nation of the Secession War. This sum, amounting in round numbers to five thousand millions of dollars, was raised partly from taxes and partly from loans. The national debt represents only the part which was raised by loans; but the cost of the war includes not only the present national debt, but also nearly the whole of the taxes raised since 1861, amounting together, as we have loosely stated it, to five thousand millions of dollars. This sum has been contributed by the people to its government for the purposes of war. What has

the government done with it? It has expended it in paying for the labor of hundreds of thousands of men, whose labor has added nothing to the wealth of the country, has not merely been totally unproductive, but has been specifically devoted to the work of destruction. It has expended it in the purchase of food and clothing for these non-producing men, — in the purchase of arms, which are their destructive tools, and which have no value except as such, and of the ammunition which they have consumed, — in payment of their transportation from place to place. It has expended it in the purchase of thousands upon thousands of horses and mules, taken, like the men, from the pursuits of industry, from production, and which, like the men, have been killed or maimed by wounds, or worn out by fatigue. It has expended it in the construction of immense war vessels, which not only do not produce anything themselves, but require the continuous withdrawal of labor from production in order to keep them in repair, and many of which were entirely destroyed by the enemy or wrecked at sea. Examine closely into the course of government expenditure in whatever direction, we find that every dollar spent by the government for war purposes is spent in the payment of unproductive labor and for the purchase of articles which have been destroyed. In other words, every dollar spent by the government on war is economically a total loss to the nation.

Before pointing out in what manner this fact affects the nature of the national debt, it is necessary to state and answer the objection, that all this money was, in our case, spent at home, — that whatever the government purchased was purchased of its own citizens, — that large profits were realized from their sales, — that production was stimulated thereby, — that business became active, prosperity became general, and wealth increased rapidly. Even granting, what we propose farther on to deny, that prosperity became general, and that wealth increased rapidly, it must be evident, after a moment's reflection, that the nation as a whole cannot have increased in wealth *by means* of profits on articles destroyed; for the profit on any article can bear only a small proportion to its total cost, and if the whole is destroyed, the nation as a body loses the whole cost, while

the producer, as a part of the nation, gains only the small profit. For example, if a gunpowder manufacturer produces one hundred thousand dollars' worth of gunpowder a year, and his brother, a builder, in the same time erects ten houses worth one hundred thousand dollars, and the profit on the two is equal, then in either case the nation is equally enriched to the extent of that profit. But when the gunpowder is consumed, the nation will have been enriched through the manufacturer's labor to the extent of his profit only, while it is impoverished to the extent of his total product. In the other case the nation has been enriched to the same extent by the builder's profit, while his entire product, the houses, remains also, and of itself adds yearly to the profits and consequent wealth of the nation. It cannot need further argument to prove that the objection cited is entirely unfounded, and cannot invalidate or materially qualify the assertion that every dollar spent by the government on war is a total loss to the nation.

The question immediately arises: Is it, then, certain that we have become poorer by the war? It must be evident that we have become poorer, unless we have in other ways added to our wealth more than we have destroyed. We can have added to our wealth only by increased production or diminished consumption, — that is, by increased individual economy. Production, undoubtedly, was exceedingly active during the entire period of the war; but when it is remembered that whole branches of industry lay idle and abandoned for years, in consequence of the war, and that every fifth or sixth man of our able-bodied population was in the field, and hence totally unproductive, — when it is remembered, too, what crowds of men were drawn by the war from pursuits of active production, and turned into unnecessary traders and speculators, army hangers-on, office-holders, and practical idlers of all degrees, and how, in these and in many other ways, a very large proportion of the total producing power of the country ran to waste, it is not safe to assume that the increased activity of those who continued to produce could do more than make up for the lost labor of those who were idle. Indeed, it can be shown that in the leading branches of our national activity production very materially declined; but the pub-

lished data are so incomplete, and hence so open to cavil, that we prefer to rest the assertion on probabilities, instead of supporting it by doubtful figures.

If, then, it cannot be reasonably assumed that we have added to our wealth by increased production, have we added to it by increased individual economy? The whole nation would answer, No! If there is any one subject upon which all men this day agree, it is that the extravagance, the waste, the reckless profusion of individual expenditure during our years of war, has never been surpassed or equalled. It is a fact too universally recognized to admit of doubt. In place of increased individual economy, we have only increased individual extravagance; far from diminishing general consumption, we have only increased waste and destruction. Now, if only greater individual production or lessened individual consumption can have prevented the nation from becoming impoverished by the government expenditure in war, and we find that production has not increased nor consumption declined, we must accept as established the conclusion before arrived at, — that the nation is impoverished to the extent of the government war expenditures.

There is a qualification, however, to this conclusion, which should not pass unnoticed. We had, for many years before the war, been progressing in wealth very rapidly, making large annual savings, and accumulating capital in an ever-increasing ratio. Has our war expenditure, it may be asked, done more than destroy the annual savings during the time of its continuance, — thus only staying the increase of our wealth, without impairing our capital? Our Census Reports show that the increase in wealth of our people between 1850 and 1860 amounted annually to about four hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Supposing that the increase in the earlier years of the decade was less than the average, and in the later years higher than the average, we obtain a fair estimate of five hundred millions of dollars as the annual increase in the years immediately preceding the war. This includes the whole country, South as well as North. Our estimate of the cost of the war refers to the expenses of the North only. Yet even this far exceeds the former annual savings. The cost of the war to the South can

never be ascertained. But when its war expenses are added to those of the North, the amount will be so large that it cannot possibly be gainsaid that the war expenditure of the country far exceeded its former annual savings, or any increased savings that it might have made during the same period of peace, — and that the country not only did not increase, but actually decreased in wealth in consequence of the war, and during its whole continuance.

How is it possible that a nation can go on impoverishing itself without discovering it? How even is it possible that we are poorer after years of great business activity, of unexampled regularity in the employment of all classes of labor at high wages, after years of unvarying general prosperity? Whence this immense development in our national progress, this building of railroads and telegraphs by the thousand miles, this opening up of new territory in every direction, this vast increase in mines, and mills, and factories, and banks, and storehouses, and bridges, and canals, and dwellings, and all other evidences of wealth, if our wealth is really less?

In this country, where production has heretofore been highly profitable, and where, heretofore, habits of economy have more or less generally prevailed, it was estimated by statisticians that the whole people together saved every year about five per cent of their total productions. Living as Americans were in the habit of living in 1860, and working as they then worked, they could, on an average, save five per cent of their total earnings. If they wanted to save more, they were obliged to live less well, to spend less for their food, shelter, clothing, amusement, and the like. But if, in the fervor of patriotism, they had been willing to sacrifice their total annual savings, and devote them to the support of a great national war, they could have paid over to the government five per cent on all their earnings, and have still lived as well as before, and yet not have encroached upon their capital. If, then, at the outbreak of the war, it had been known that it would for several years require an annual expenditure of a sum equal to the whole of the nation's estimated annual surplus, if the people had been willing to raise that sum by submitting to taxation, and if taxation could by any means have been reduced to

the perfection of theory, then the government, by simply taking from each individual of the nation five per cent of his annual earnings, could have provided all necessary means for carrying on the war. At the end of the year, no one would have been either poorer or richer than at the end of the preceding year. Such it would seem, would, at first sight at least, have been the result. But in reality the result would have been different. The desire to accumulate is so strong in the hearts of men that the surrender to the government of the anticipated annual savings would have stimulated each individual still to procure for himself some little profit, some little saving, by increased labor or closer economy. Throughout the country production would have been, to a certain limited extent, increased, and consumption diminished. Many individuals would still have made a saving. The nation at large would still have had a small surplus. The wealth of the country would still have increased. But it is evident that such foresight would be shown only when every one knew beforehand that his annual savings would be required of him.

Unfortunately, few people anticipated the duration or the costliness of the war, while the very threat of disturbance had produced confusion in financial and commercial circles, and had seriously impaired the earnings of the people. Few thought they were able, still fewer were willing, to give their surplus to the support of the war. The idea of raising the necessary funds by taxation, if ever entertained, was quickly abandoned. The needs of the Treasury were too urgent to admit of delay. Borrowing was resorted to, and the national debt was created. We have just seen what would have been the probable effect upon the national wealth of raising the same amount of money by taxation. The actual effect of raising it by loans is as follows.

If the government had to take from the nation by loans a sum equal to the nation's estimated annual surplus, and if loans could be raised with the same theoretical perfection supposed in the case of taxes, the government would then borrow from each individual the actual sum of his annual profit. For this loan the government would, of course, give to each individual a bond for the corresponding amount. This bond is property,

and, where the credit of the government is good, will be worth its face. The holder of this bond, who has lent his annual profit to the government, thus still possesses his annual profit, or at least its equivalent, in the shape of a merchantable security. He has made as large an annual profit as ever, and, although he has invested it in a loan to the government, he has in exchange a bond which is salable, and with which he can buy anything he may want just as well as with ready money. He has loaned his annual profits to the government, and yet has them in hand in a shape almost as good as ready cash. He feels that he has the same sum to invest in improving his property, in extending his business, in enlarging his expenditure, as if he had not loaned his profits to the government

We have seen that whatever the government takes from the people for purposes of war is destroyed. If the amount is obtained by taxation, it is destroyed, and we are all poorer. If the amount is obtained by loans, it is still destroyed, and we are all poorer none the less. But if it is obtained by taxation, we all *know* that we are poorer to that extent. Whereas, if it is obtained by loans, we delude ourselves with the belief that we are as well off as ever. *It is this delusion which is the cause of all that is mysterious and inexplicable in our financial history of the last eight years.*

When we say that the people were saving annually about five per cent of their earnings, we simply say that everything produced in the course of the year was consumed in the course of the year, excepting that small portion. Ninety-five per cent of the labor of the nation is required to feed, and clothe, and shelter, and warm, and instruct, and amuse the whole. Five per cent of the labor of the nation is devoted to the production of permanent and enduring property, such as houses, factories, railroads, or breeding-cattle and seed-corn, in which the annual savings of the whole nation find their investment. The products of all find buyers; the largest proportion is bought for consumption, the smallest proportion for investment; but for every one hundred dollars' worth of property produced there are one hundred dollars ready to buy it. When the government takes five dollars from the people in the shape of taxes,

the people have only ninety-five dollars left wherewith to buy, and the government has the other five, and people and government have together one hundred dollars wherewith to buy one hundred dollars' worth of products. But when the government takes five dollars from the people in the shape of a loan, and gives a bond for it, the people still have one hundred dollars left wherewith to buy, and the government has five dollars besides; and thus people and government together have one hundred and five dollars wherewith to buy one hundred dollars' worth of products.

The effect is magical. Without any cause that can be defined, the demand for almost every kind of product is suddenly increased. Not only are all ordinary buyers in the market the same as usual, but there is a new buyer in the market, whose buying is extraordinary. His wants are urgent, immediate, undisguised. Price with him is no object. His only consideration is quantity and speed. The whole people are in the markets with their usual demand. The supply is, at best, not more than sufficient for their wants. Yet for this supply they have to compete with the most powerful, the most urgent, the most reckless buyer ever known, — the American Government. The consequence is evident, — a sudden, rapid, and continuous rise in the prices of all those things for which the government and the nation are direct competitors, and a slower and more gradual, but equally sure, rise in everything else, whether required by the government or not. Food, clothing, arms, and munitions of war are the first to rise; next machinery, metals, raw material of every kind; then shipping, and other means of transportation, and all their representatives, like railroad stocks; lastly, labor. In time and in degree there may be differences, but all things and all services alike advance in price, steadily, rapidly, irresistibly, under the influence of the mysterious demand arising from the persistent determination of people and government combined to invest one hundred and five dollars in one hundred dollars' worth of products.

Not only did such a rise as we have described apply to the products on hand at the time when the government first began its purchases, and to the products of the coming year, for which

in many cases the government contracted in advance, but it affected more powerfully likewise that upon which every one's production mainly depends, — his capital. The factory whose product, or the house whose rent, or the cow whose calf is suddenly doubled in value, are themselves suddenly doubled in value likewise. Thus this government competition increased largely the value of every one's stock on hand, of every one's future product, of every one's *entire capital;* and this extraordinary increase in value was everywhere, especially in the earlier years of the war, looked upon as the profit of the year, and hence individual prosperity throughout the land seemed unbounded, — at first, incredible. But the pause of incredulity could not maintain itself against the tide of wealth that came rushing in resistlessly upon every one. All hesitancy was drowned in the nation's exultation over its prosperity. The wisest wondered whether, after all, their wisdom had not been folly, — whether the immutable laws of the universe had not for once been evaded, — whether a miracle had not been permitted in favor of this chosen people. "The experience of other nations is not applicable to us." Who does not remember the cry? The warnings from the press or rostrum were merely the hoarse croakings of weak-kneed or disloyal theorists. There was the wealth, the indubitable prosperity, right around us. How could it be gainsaid? But it was, nevertheless, a delusion, a hollow sham, a dream from which we have yet to awake.

The greater this prosperity, the more money the people had to spend, and the greater became the competition between the people and government for the limited and diminishing supply of products. The needs of the government were likewise constantly increasing, from the augmentation of its armies, and the wider area over which the war was carried on. The competition became excited. The advance in prices was fabulous. The increase of individual prosperity became intoxicating. An insane fever of extravagance spread through the land. No destruction was too reckless, no luxury too costly, no folly too wasteful for the diseased cravings of the whilom sober, thrifty citizens of an industrious republic. It was then that gold, which had disappeared from circulation, reappeared on harness and livery, and

in every ostentatious form; that even Russian and English splendor paled before the extravagance of American "milords" upon the continent of Europe; that four-in-hands came into use, and costly club-houses grew up like mushrooms; and that America became the great buyer of all high-priced articles the world over, — drained all Christendom of its diamonds, drank more Champagne than ever grew on French soil, and ran its importation bills from three hundred up to four hundred and fifty millions per annum.

If what precedes is fairly correct, three important facts will become evident to every one: first, that an immense activity in trade during the war period, and a large advance in price of everything that could be bought or sold, can be explained by the debt alone, without reference to the currency; secondly, that it is possible for a people to be rapidly impoverishing itself without discovering it, and that the incurring of such a debt must inevitably produce that result; thirdly, that it is the imperative duty of every good citizen to resist to the utmost all attempts to increase the debt, and to use every endeavor to reduce its amount as rapidly as possible.

We have shown that the property taken from the people by the government for war purposes is utterly destroyed, and that the people are impoverished thereby; that the taking of property from the people in the shape of loans not only prevents them from discovering their loss, but actually deludes them with the belief that their wealth is increased, thus leading to reckless waste at the very moment when the most scrupulous economy is absolutely essential to national well-being. We now propose to show how the real or imaginary advantages derived from the creation of the debt have mainly redounded to the benefit of the few, while its disadvantages have fallen upon the many. Our object is not to urge the wisdom or the folly, the equity or the injustice of the creation of the debt, but simply to explain existing facts by tracing them to their origin.

The first and immediate effect of competition between government and individual for *existing* products was, as we have seen, to cause an advance in their price. The great bulk of all products must at all times be in the hands of the wealthy classes, as distinguished from the laboring classes. An ad-

vance in the price of products already on hand benefits, not the laborer who produced them, but only the capitalist who owns them. It actually injures the laborer; since out of low wages, proportioned to the original low cost of production, he has to buy his share of the products at the advanced price. In this way profits from the first advance in price came out of the pockets of the laboring classes, and went into the pockets of the capitalists. Nor was this all. For the possessor of capital is, in nine cases out of ten, also the possessor of intelligence, especially in relation to business matters, and intelligent men speedily recognized the probability of a further and continued advance in prices, and hence, far from selling at the first rise, held back their products, contracted in advance for the labor and production of the less intelligent, and thus derived the advantage, not only of the natural advance, but of the entire speculative advance also.

Next to the advance in the value of existing products came the advance in the value of capital itself in every form. Houses, factories, ships, railroads, machinery, money, credit, all advanced in value, and the advance went to the owner, justly and rightfully enough, but still to the disadvantage of the tenant paying rent, — of the workman, who received a less proportion of the value of goods manufactured, owing to increased interest on higher valuation of the factory and its machinery, — of travellers, senders of freight, and consumers of all goods transported, — and, lastly, of all borrowers and users of credit.

The value of labor, it is true, gradually increased with everything else. But the advance was slow. The first threat of disturbance at the South had caused an extraordinary depression in business. In many branches labor was almost entirely idle during the winter of 1860–61. Wages were very much depressed, and there was much suffering. The improved demand for labor was met with great alacrity at low rates, and it was only very slowly that workingmen felt and understood the increased cost of living, and demanded and received higher wages. But wages have never since advanced in proportion to the advance in the cost of living. Special Commissioner Wells, in his recent admirable report to the Secretary of the Treasury,

shows, that, whereas the average wages of laboring men in the various manufacturing establishments in the United States have increased only fifty-eight per cent, their average expenditures for a similar style of living have increased seventy-three per cent. In other words, the value of products has increased seventy-three per cent, but the value of the labor producing them has increased only fifty-eight per cent, — showing that capital has received a greater proportion of the returns than formerly, and labor a smaller proportion.

It is not alone by its effect on prices and wages that the creation of the debt has benefited capital and injured labor. The creation itself has been a direct and immediate advantage to capital, in which labor could not possibly share. Without the concentration, the activity, the intelligence of capital, the debt itself would have been an impossibility. Hundreds, nay, thousands, of firms suddenly sprang up all over the country, whose principal, if not whose sole business, was to dispose of government securities. To the skill, the energy, the enterprise of these firms, some of whom will live in history from their association with the finances of the country, the people were at times more deeply indebted than is generally known. Some colossal, many moderate fortunes, attest the profitableness of their labors; nor has their reward been undeserved. But the capital which they used was capital which otherwise would have been productively employed. Its use for the purposes of the debt increased the value of every dollar of capital employed in production. The total profits are only an increase of the burden of the debt. They are not like the profits of labor, a profit on production, a product saved; they are emphatically a profit on destruction, and only add to the general increase of prices, from which, as above shown, capital profits, while labor suffers.

The national debt has proved an exceedingly safe, profitable, and convenient investment for idle capital all over the country. It has paid the owners, on an average, nine per cent annual interest on their original investment, and has furnished capital with an opportunity for employment without sharing any part of the expense attending its management. The tax-payer is taxed to pay not only the interest on the bond, but the

expense and risk of collecting and distributing it. The saying attributed to Mr. Astor, that he is only the managing steward of his own estate, suggests the labor, thought, anxiety, and risk from which the capitalist is relieved who invests his capital in United States bonds. The expense necessary thus to relieve him is borne, not by himself, but by the whole people, who are thus really taxed to pay for the management of rich men's accumulations. There is no injustice, no wrong in this; it is a part of the inducement held out to the capitalist to lend his money to the government; but it is one of the many ways in which the creation of the national debt has tended and still tends to benefit capital at the expense of labor.

Less directly due to the national debt, but arising out of the same circumstances, is the enormous advantage accruing to capital from the national banking system. Through this system the capital invested in a national bank receives actually a double rate of interest at the expense of the general public, — eight per cent average interest on the bonds deposited in the Treasury, and six or seven per cent besides on a similar amount of currency issued. The injury thereby done to labor is not found alone in the fact that it is taxed to pay this double rate of interest; but it consists also, and even more largely, in this other fact, — that the large profit made by a certain amount of capital invested in national banks tends to make all other capital more valuable, tends constantly to give to capital a larger share of the profit on production, and thus to leave a smaller share of profit to labor.

In all these various ways, — by the advance in value of all products in the possession of capitalists, and the increased cost of all articles consumed by labor, — by the increased value of capital itself, and the consequently decreased share of profit on production accruing to labor, — by the rapid increase in the cost of products, and the slow increase in the wages of labor, creating a disadvantage still existing against the latter, — by the profits accruing to capital from the negotiation of the various issues of national debt, all of which profits are paid out of taxes levied upon the whole people, — by the advantage inuring to capital invested in the public funds, of being administered for the owner at the public expense, — by the ex-

traordinary profits realized to capital through investment in the national banks, all of which are paid by the people at large, — in all these various ways, and in numerous other ways besides, the creation and existence of the national debt has constantly tended to give an increased share of all products to capital, and a diminished share of all products to labor.

If we now resume the argument with which we started, we shall arrive at what we must consider a sound view of the financial condition of the country as affected by our late civil war and our national debt. The total property of the people of the United States was by the census of 1860 valued at sixteen thousand millions of dollars, and was increasing at the rate of about five hundred millions of dollars per annum. If production and consumption both continued unaffected, the same proportionate rate of increase could have been fairly anticipated. It is more than probable that during the five years following 1860 production declined, and consumption, by the people alone, increased, and that, therefore, the same proportionate rate of increase has *not* been maintained. But, waiving this consideration, which is not susceptible of positive proof or disproof, and conceding that the proportionate rate of increase would otherwise have continued unchanged, it is certain, beyond contradiction, that, during the period named, the additional consumption or destruction by the government for war purposes far exceeded the increase of former years, and that, therefore, the property of the whole country must have been less in 1865 than in 1860. The effect of obtaining by loans the money needed for the war expenditures of the government has been to place a larger share of the property of the country in the hands of the wealthy, and to leave a smaller share in the hands of the laboring classes. *The total property of the country is less, and of the diminished property more is held by the wealthy, and less by the poor.*

The latter part of this statement, which so far has been established by argument only, is entirely borne out by the general belief. In so grave a state paper as Mr. Wells's Report, already referred to, we find the emphasized statement: *The rich become richer, and the poor poorer.* This statement seems to have met with that general acceptance accorded only

to the happy expression of a recognized fact. It has never, to our knowledge, been seriously questioned. It has been reproduced, day by day, both as argument and illustration, in the ablest public journals of the country, and is certainly entitled to be considered as a fact. It is true that Mr. Wells adduces it only as proof of the evil effects of an inconvertible paper currency; but this in no wise alters its force.

The whole country admits that the poor are poorer. But additional evidence of the fact can easily be obtained by any one desirous of further proof. One need only inquire of the laboring men with whom he comes in casual contact, and he will ascertain that their condition at this moment is far from satisfactory. The renewal of strikes in various branches of trade — which are more likely to increase than to diminish — confirms this view. But there is one instructive proof, not often enough considered, — the rapid development of pauperism and crime. The records of charitable societies, and of the police courts, show an increase beyond belief. Crimes against the person are those which most attract public attention by the violence attending them. These are not, as a general rule, *directly* inspired by want. Hence the connection between want and crime is not readily apparent to unreflecting readers. It does exist even in cases of violence; but crimes against property are largely traceable to want, and they are the great majority of all crimes. Not that the honest mechanic, or the modest sewing-girl, or the faithful messenger-boy will, on the first approach of poverty, suddenly change into a burglar, a wanton, or a thief; but there are many half-idling mechanics, and flirting seamstresses, and tricky errand-boys, who, through favorable family or other influences, are kept moderately honest by moderate prosperity. It is these that recruit the ranks of crime and vice under the temptation of poverty. Certainly, never in the history of the country have the representatives of crime and vice been increasing so rapidly as now: painful evidence of declining prosperity among our laboring classes.

Against the truth of the statement that the poor are poorer, it is only asserted that the deposits in savings-banks continue to increase. The assertion is not conclusive. In the first

place, the number of depositors is very small indeed, compared to the total laboring population; so that certain classes, like house servants, directly dependent upon the wealthy, might still be prosperous while others suffered. Again, many deposit in savings-banks only while accumulating savings to be subsequently employed in their business; the failure to draw and use this money is often a positive evidence that a declining business affords no employment for it. Once more, it is notorious that the cheap administration of savings-banks, which are managed like semi-charitable institutions, and their freedom from taxation, are a great inducement to people of even considerable means to deposit their funds with them. The sums to be accepted from individuals are limited, and the number of accounts that reach that limit is constantly increasing. For all these reasons, no great weight is to be attached to the argument drawn from increasing deposits in savings-banks; and as this is the only evidence known to us in opposition to all other facts, we must accept the harmony we have found to exist between facts, probabilities, and general belief, as conclusive on the point, that the poor are poorer.

That the rich are richer no one seems to deny. The colossal fortunes accumulated during the last ten years, not here and there only, but in almost every State and every city, — the extraordinary number of people, throughout the length and breadth of the land, who live in new and expensive dwellings, who support carriages and livery servants, who buy costly paintings and diamonds and plate, who own large amounts of government bonds, and bank and railroad stocks, and immense blocks of real estate, — these go to prove that the number of rich people has very much increased.

We thus find that the latter part of our conclusion — namely, that more property is held by the wealthy and less by the poor — is easily reconcilable with facts, and is indeed generally accepted. It is to the first part of our conclusion — namely, that the total property of the country is less — that exception is most likely to be taken. All will admit that the rich are richer, and the poor poorer. The doubtful question is, Are the rich enriched to the extent of the total loss of the poor? or is the total property of the country really less?

Not until the next census is taken will it be possible to answer this question in a manner at all authoritative. There are, however, some facts of great weight which can be adduced in support of the conclusion arrived at by reasoning alone. The separate States of the Union publish annually, or less frequently, the returns of assessors upon which the State taxes are levied. Tax returns are proverbially untrustworthy; but the untrustworthiness will be about the same in one year as in another, so that for the purposes of comparison among themselves they may be accepted as correct. The year 1866 is the last of which we have moderately complete returns. These show, that, out of twenty-one States, only two can boast of an even nominal increase in the property valuation per head of their inhabitants; the great agricultural States of the Northwest, unscathed by actual war, all show a decline in property valuation, while the decline in the Southern States, for four years swept by fire and sword, is immense. Of all the States of which the data are accessible, only one — Minnesota — shows at the same time an increase of average wealth and a diminution of State debt. Minnesota's average wealth has increased from $207 to $229, and its State debt decreased from $15 to $10 per head. The increase of average wealth in New York is from $372 to $433, but the State debt shows an almost equal increase from $88 to $135. Iowa, Michigan, and Wisconsin all show a moderate, but decided, decrease in wealth, and increase in State debt. Illinois, the most prosperous and progressive of the Western States, shows a decline in wealth from $214 to $183, and a slight decrease in debt. The four last-named States, far removed from the theatre of war, producing mainly articles the value of which has largely increased during the last six years, have yet undergone a process of impoverishment which has reduced the average wealth of each individual of their total population, in spite of inflation and high prices, from $285 *in coin*, in 1860, to $259 *in currency*, in 1866, and increased the average burden of State indebtedness for each individual from three dollars to four.

The relative correctness of these valuations is indorsed in various instances by actual count of the property itself. Commercial statistics, the reports of the Agricultural Bureau at

Washington, and the reports of separate States leave no doubt that the number of our two most valuable domestic animals, the cow and the horse, has not increased in proportion to population in the Eastern and Northwestern States, and has largely decreased in the Border and Southern States. Our cotton and tobacco crops have been much smaller than formerly; and our great breadstuff crops have not, until within the last two years, been anything like an average. Our shipping, before the war the greatest commercial marine of the world, has been driven from the ocean; many of the vessels were destroyed, and others sold to foreigners, and the proceeds invested in government bonds.

With facts like these before us, where are we to look for the evidences of increased wealth? There are undoubtedly ostensible evidences in abundance, otherwise the belief in our prosperity would be impossible. But it will appear that these evidences are deceptive. There is an immense increase in the production of copper, and iron, and coal, and a corresponding, or even larger, increase in the value of copper, and iron, and coal mines, and of the various costly establishments in which these products are manufactured into articles of use. It may seem preposterous, but it is nevertheless true, that, far from enriching the country, these industries are actually impoverishing it; that the country is poorer through almost every ton of iron or copper which it produces. The enormous increase in the iron and copper production has become possible only by means of heavy protective tariffs. The effect of these tariffs is to tax heavily every consumer of iron, or of anything made by the aid of iron, in order to pay back to the iron-manufacturer the money which he loses on his manufacture. The extreme protectionists do not claim that iron can be made here in the quantities and qualities in which it is now made, except at a loss. It is on this very ground that they claim protection. Iron, nevertheless, continues to be made, and the loss continues to be incurred. Only the manufacturers have succeeded in persuading Congress to tax the whole people so as to pay them back the loss they make, and a handsome profit besides. The manufacture goes on at a loss; the manufacturer makes a profit. Both this loss and profit are a loss to the

whole country. The iron interests have of late been extraordinarily prosperous. Over five thousand miles of railway, to be built this year, are projected; and the supplying of those now in progress with rails, and spikes, and car-wheels, and axles, and locomotives, and other iron-work, keeps the mines, and furnaces, and rolling-mills, and machine-shops, and coal-mines, and coal-trains, all in full occupation, while the supply is scarcely equal to the demand. In 1837 it was demonstrated that there was not iron enough in the country to supply the demand for three months, and before the three months were out, iron could hardly be given away, and almost every dealer and manufacturer was bankrupt. What would become of the hundreds of millions of wealth now represented by the iron and coal interests, if returning sense among our people should demand any approach to free-trade principles in the revision of our tariff, or if, from some of the causes about to be referred to, any stoppage should come to the enormous railroad extension now going on? Hundreds of millions of what is called wealth — in reality, nothing but a capitalized annual tax upon a deluded people — would be swept out of existence the moment the truth of free trade principles came to be recognized. Can enormous establishments, no matter for what purpose erected, ever be rightly called wealth, when the whole country has to be taxed for their maintenance? Is the increase of such establishments an increase of wealth? Is it not rather an increase of poverty? Can any increase of them offset a decrease in the supply of bread and meat?

The writers on agricultural statistics, while admitting the diminished stock of horses and neat cattle, point with pride to the enormous increase in the number of sheep now in the country, and the corresponding increase in the annual production of wool, together with the large increase in woollen manufactures. Sheep-raising was, no doubt, at one time, very profitable. The sudden cutting off of the cotton supply, the necessary substitution of wool in many articles of apparel, not only with us, but all the world over, and the extraordinary demand for coarse woollen cloths and blankets for army use, created and maintained a demand for wool, which the whole world could not supply without an advance in price. At this

advance it was possible in the Northwestern States to produce wool at a profit, and the raising of sheep was begun with an energy, activity, and intelligence that only our people are capable of. The number of sheep in the country has probably trebled since 1860. The capital invested in woollen manufactures has probably quadrupled. This array of rapidly increased wealth is imposing. But what is the truth? As soon as other wool-producing countries experienced the increased demand arising from our war and the absence of cotton, they, like ourselves, increased their production, and, being more favorably situated for raising wool than ourselves, they increased its production as rapidly as we did, and were soon able again to undersell us. Then, of course, our wool-growers and wool-spinners appealed to Congress for protection; and in order to protect them from losing the money which must inevitably be lost by somebody through the carrying on of an unprofitable industry, Congress agreed to tax the whole people sufficiently to make up the loss to the wool-men, and pay them a profit besides. Even under this unjust procedure, the wool-men are not prosperous. South America, the Cape, and Australia, all over-producing under the stimulus of the excited demand of 1862 – 64, can still undersell us, and German and Belgian weavers can still export to us their cloths and make a profit, while our manufactures languish. Can we call this an increase of wealth? Can we offset against our diminished cotton crops the unprofitable woollen-mills, that run only by levying an unjust tax upon the people? Can the sheep, browsing at the nation's expense on the pastures of Michigan, compensate us for the white sails of our merchantmen driven from the seas?

The large increase in the railroads of the country is put forward as another evidence of increased wealth. It is true that there is no better addition to national wealth than that of a well-constructed railway, which pays a reasonable dividend on its cost. But of how large a proportion of the nine thousand miles added to our railway system between 1861 and 1867 can this be said? How many of them will pay expenses? How many of them were built to supply a legitimate want? How many of the 36,000 miles in operation at the

close of 1867 had ever paid regular dividends? Why, it is notorious that the great bulk of the roads in the United States never did, and never will, pay expenses. They are unquestionably an aid, a highly valuable accessory, to the production and distribution of wealth; but in estimating value, the advantages derived from the road are already included in the increased value of all property near it, and thus, unless a road actually pays expenses and dividends, it cannot fairly be considered wealth. Unfortunately, most of the roads recently built never did and never will pay a dividend. Many of them never were intended to do this; were, on the contrary, started mainly with a view to enrich their builders and designers at the expense of a confiding public.

We have examined at as great length as our space will permit the leading evidences of increased national wealth, without finding any adequate offset to the indubitable evidences of *decreased* wealth before presented. We find our assertion, derived solely from the nature of the case, that the nation *is* poorer, confirmed, and, as we think, strongly confirmed, by the facts examined. It only remains for us to indicate more fully how the fact that we are poorer is compatible with the all but universal, all but invincible, belief in our increased wealth.

In the beginning of this article we have explained the delusion resulting from government loans. Whatever the government takes from the people is destroyed. If it takes from each of us our proportionate share of the national expenditures in the shape of taxes, and destroys it, we know that we are to that extent poorer. If it takes our share of the expenses in the shape of a loan, the property taken is destroyed, and we are poorer just the same; but as we get a bond in exchange for the money loaned, and as that bond is property, it becomes almost impossible to understand that we are not just as rich as before. But why is that bond considered property? It can neither be eaten nor drunk, nor worn, nor used as an ornament, nor will it help to produce anything of the value of one single dollar. The only reason why it is considered property is because it pays interest. Now who pays this interest? Of course, the people. If taxes are rightly levied, we all pay our share in proportion to

our means. If loans were divided up in the same way, we should all have loaned about the same amount that we should have been taxed. If we are now taxed in the same way to levy the interest on the debt, is it not evident that each of us will be taxed precisely the same amount that he receives back in interest? If, in 1861, the government had needed $100 from every citizen, and had taxed every one to that amount, every one would have been $100 poorer; but that would have ended the matter. But if the government had borrowed $100 from every citizen, every one would still have been $100 poorer; only he would have held a government bond for that amount, which would produce him $6 interest per annum. But before the government could pay him that interest, it would have to raise it by taxation, and the expense of raising it, with all the wasteful machinery of administration and collection, with all the fraud and mismanagement, would swell the amount to be raised to $7, at least. If taxes are rightly levied, every citizen will then have to pay $7 annual taxes towards the expenses of the debt, and as soon as he has paid his $7 taxes, the government will pay him back $6 of it as interest on his bond. In other words, the citizen who pays $100 in taxes loses his money, and knows that the transaction is ended. The citizen who lends the government $100 loses his money likewise, but receives in exchange a bond, which entitles him to the privilege of receiving, to the end of time, $6 annual interest, on condition of paying $7 annual taxes. Of course, loans being voluntary, the amount loaned by individuals is as various as possible, and hence no one is in reality taxed $7, in order to receive $6, in interest. But the fact is, that for every $6, paid for interest on a bond, somebody has to be taxed $7, and that the bond has no value whatsoever, save and except as it entitles the holder to tax some one else for the annual interest. To the individual, this bond is good enough property; in a national sense it is no property at all. Yet of this kind of property we to-day own over two thousand millions of dollars, and count it up complacently in estimating our wealth, and live accordingly. To this sum should be added a large, but indefinite, amount for increase of the debts of the separate States, the effect of which is precisely the

same as that of government debt, and the evidences of which are held as property in precisely the same way as national bonds. No portion of these debts is represented by any property now in existence. They are simply owed by the people of the United States and of the separate States. But when the people count up their wealth at the end of the year, do they deduct the amount of these debts from their total property? Does each individual, in estimating his wealth, deduct his share of the national debt, or the debt of his State?

We have shown that the effect of a government loan is to advance the price of all products. If there were no speculation, it would advance prices in precisely the same proportion that the amount borrowed bears to the nation's annual product. If the nation's annual product is 100, and the government borrows 5, prices of all products combined will advance just 5 per cent. There *is* speculation, and speculation in this case will tend to advance the price still higher. But leaving speculation aside, the advance of all products will be about equal to the amount borrowed by the government. The total amount borrowed by the government may be set down at three thousand millions of dollars, or twenty per cent of the total property valuation of the United States in 1860. The whole of this property has advanced in price fully twenty per cent since then, without being worth one dollar more, since it does not raise more products of any kind than it did in 1860. This fictitious advance in price, amounting to over three thousand millions of dollars, we are all counting as wealth, and living accordingly.

We have thus already accounted for over five thousand millions of property, which individuals and classes of this people to-day believe themselves possessed of, but which are in no true sense of the word property, which add nothing whatever to our national wealth. To these should be added the immense fictitious value given to coal-beds, and iron-mines, and copper deposits, and rolling-mills, and woollen factories, and other property of various kinds, by tariff protection. The fabulous profits realized by some of these industries have trebled and quadrupled the nominal value of the capital invested in them, and this nominal value is to-day

taken by the owners, and by every one else, as the correct measure of their wealth. Precisely the same is the case with the millions of railroad stock issued during the last few years to represent "capitalized earnings," and "improvements paid for out of traffic receipts," and "losses or profits of the directors in stock speculation." Some leading lines of railways have, no doubt, actually improved in value through increased traffic and better management; but the bulk of the additions to railroad stocks and steamship stocks are unquestionably sheer fabrications, representing nothing tangible, and, while adding large amounts to the nominal wealth of individuals, yet do not increase the real wealth of the country by one single dollar. It is impossible to tell, even approximately, the amount of this fictitious wealth, but with the figures already given it will not seem exaggerated to estimate it at over six thousand millions of dollars, or not far from one half of the total property valuation of the whole country in 1860. The figures are not given for their own sake; they are too much the result of loose estimates to have any practical value; but it is only when we can put the result of such an investigation into figures of even remote correctness that it becomes readily intelligible. It is for this purpose only that the figures are offered.

The final result of our inquiry is, then, as follows: The nominal wealth of the country is largely increased, the real wealth of the country is diminished; the whole of the nominal wealth, and a larger share than formerly of the real wealth, is in the possession of the wealthy; the poor are poorer in everything.

The social changes growing out of this change in financial condition are already developing themselves. Immense concentration of capital produces great concentration of business, with corresponding economy of management, diminution of profits, and advantage to buyers, but with destruction to smaller competitors, and the forcing down of the lower classes to still lower depths. Concentration of capital makes possible great public works controlled by single individuals, and raises private men to positions of power and influence, in which they can corrupt courts and legislatures and overawe the public.

J. B. Hodgskin.

## Art. VI. — The Spanish Revolution.

When the Spanish Revolution broke out, the world was taken by surprise. Yet, when Queen Isabella was transferred from the pleasant watering-place of San Sebastian to the other side of the Pyrenees, people thought it the most natural thing possible, and only wondered that the event had not happened before. The saying that "nothing succeeds so well as success" thus had another illustration.

There is a school of politicians — or shall we rather say of shallow talkers? — who, though utterly ignorant of the real springs of action, are never at a loss to understand the absolute necessity of certain successful achievements, whilst they are equally ready to dismiss, with a supercilious toss of the head and a deprecatory motion of the hand, the "sheer folly," as they call it, of other enterprises, which "had not the ghost of a chance," — albeit the fact may be that triumph was almost within grasp, and defeat only the result of some calamity impossible to foresee. These are the men who slavishly worship Victory, and mercilessly rail at the stoutest hearts and coolest heads, when an undertaking has failed. Politicians of the true stamp, warriors who have learned by dear-bought experience how often the best combinations are foiled by an accident or an unexpected defection, pass by such critics, not caring to reason with them. Those who know something of the negotiations which preceded the *pronunciamiento* at Cadiz are aware of the greatness of the difficulties which had to be vanquished before that "Party Compact" was brought about which insured success as against the reigning dynasty. They are aware of the closeness of the game which had to be played, even after that compact was formed, in order to neutralize the reactionary portion of the army. And they understand, moreover, from the peculiar condition of Spain, as well as from the character of revolutionary movements in general, that the question as to the establishment of a republic, or a return to the monarchical system under some new form, will not be solved simply in accordance with what is called "the ripeness of a nation" for this or that form of government, — seeing that it is

generally possible, when once the popular forces are set adrift, to fashion out of them different political structures, according to the strength of the initiative displayed by various parties, or even individuals.

That the Spanish rising was carefully prepared, in the beginning of the year 1868, by men who knew how to make use of the peculiar state of political parties in the Peninsula, admits of no doubt. On repeated occasions within the last few years, the insurrectionary attempts of some "Progressist" section, or of some dashing general of advanced Liberal opinions, had failed. The same ill success had attended the movements of the Democratic party, though of late it had rapidly and largely increased in all the more important towns, the capital included. In this condition of affairs Government had always the best of it. Narvaez and Gonzales Bravo, not to speak of the fine trio, "Father Claret, Sor Patrocinio, and Señor Marfori," were powerful only because their antagonists were split up by rivalries, partly also by differences of principle. The men of the so-called "Liberal Union" disagreed with the "Progresistas," — the "Progresistas" with the "Democrats"; and to make confusion worse confounded, a new party had risen up, striving to obliterate the very boundaries of the country by the establishment of an "Iberian Realm," — that is to say, the fusion of Portugal with Spain, under the House of Coburg-Braganza. So that, in fact, there were moderate Liberals, clinging to the Bourbon dynasty, — advanced Liberals, some of them afraid of any dynastic change, whilst others looked to some foreign prince, say, the Duke of Montpensier, — then "Democrats," that is, in Spanish party nomenclature, Republicans, — and lastly, adherents to the idea of an "Iberian Union."

This state of things enabled the Crown and the Camarilla to hold their own against successive comers. As each party, or fragment of a party, rose on its own account, it was easily sent back into nothingness, the popular element at large refusing to support these disjointed movements, and thus placing them practically at the mercy of the despotic ruler.

It must be owned that a great deal of responsibility in this matter attached to the unbending rigidity with which some of the military leaders who acted apparently in the Liberal inter-

est were wont to regard their own immediate circle as the whole political world of the country. I know, on positive testimony, that, as late as the beginning of the year 1868, several attempts at bringing about concert of action between those whose evident advantage it would have been not to fight the common adversary single-handed remained utterly without result. Neither Serrano nor Prim, nor others of that stamp, were then ready for a general union. The infatuation thus displayed was extraordinary, as any one not bereft of foresight must have seen that continued isolation could only produce an endless round of abortive attempts. But the infatuation existed, owing to the harsh pride of sectional leaders and the fierce narrowness of military cliques. The Spaniards, it ought to be remembered, had until then been accustomed to work by strict party and even clique machinery, and their spirit had always had a strong dash of jealous rivalry with the "next-door neighbor." This frequently gave them their impetus, but in course of time, with the increasing number of sections, it proved the main source of their weakness against the Crown.

Those who had in vain endeavored to break the strange spell under which the majority of the military lay at last resolved to work a cure by temporarily increasing the evil. Being informed of a new conspiracy, in what was supposed to be the Montpensier interest, they purposely created a void around it. They knew that it would thus necessarily fail, and they calculated on its failure. They hoped that the very magnitude of the evil would prove its own remedy: and so it did.

I may be allowed here to refer to the communication made by a Spanish leader, who has been frequently heard of since, to a few trusty Republican friends in London, in the early part of 1868. "In a few months," he said, "a number of our generals will most probably be arrested, — among them even Marshal Serrano, Duke de la Torre, whose former personal relations with the Queen are notorious. A new military movement, in the constitutional sense, is on foot. We have nothing to do with it; we bide our time. Prim is not our man. But you will see that *in a few months after that movement shall have been crushed there will be another movement, of greater importance, in the Democratic sense. Our great towns are prepared*

*for that.*" He then went on to give more details, developing the whole plan as to the agencies to be employed, and even the probable time of the outbreak, — all of which was subsequently verified in the most marvellous manner. I well remember the doubts which prevailed at the time in the small circle of exiles above alluded to. But it all turned out correct. I may the more properly allude to this astounding prediction, as the words I have quoted were published in England two months before the successful revolution of September, — of course unheeded by the reading public, who considered it a wild speculation or windy braggadocio. I do not recollect a similar instance of exact political prophecy, except in the case of a confidential communication referring to the Sicilian insurrection of 1860, which ended in the expulsion of the Bourbons from Naples.

It may at once be added here, that in July last, immediately after the suppression of the Montpensier movement, or what was believed to be his movement, it became known on good authority to a few proscribed leaders in London that a secret convention had been negotiated between the Courts of Paris and Madrid, according to which, in the emergency of a war on the Rhine, Queen Isabella was to send an army corps to Rome, so as to enable Louis Napoleon to withdraw his troops from there, and to strengthen his aggressive force in the direction of Germany. When first announced, this news was received with some incredulity; but soon the foreign correspondents of several English, German, and Italian papers, of high standing, made explicit statements to the same effect. It was believed, even, that the intended exchange of royal and imperial visits at Biarritz and San Sebastian had been arranged for the purpose of placing the final seal upon the convention. By a most dramatic coincidence, the report of the insurrection at Cadiz arrived at the Spanish watering-place the very moment when Queen Isabella had ordered her carriage for her intended drive beyond the Pyrenees. That the news should have thus come in the nick of time has, perhaps, saved the French ruler from great embarrassment; for it will be remembered, that, after Isabella had been compelled to fly, she spoke of Louis Napoleon as her "august ally," which was clearly a reminder, though a fruitless one, as to what he was expected to do in the

interest of one whose services he himself had claimed in the Roman affair.

But to return to the causes which produced the decisive fusion, or rather coalition, of parties against the reigning dynasty. It was the transportation of a number of generals to the Canary Islands, and the expulsion of the Queen's own sister and her husband from Spanish territory, that opened the eyes of the most infatuated to the necessity of a combination of forces. The wanton severity with which Gonzales Bravo treated moderate men, equally with the most thorough-going Republicans, helped the latter in a great measure to bring the chiefs of the army over to the anti-dynastic view. Gonzales Bravo was a renegade from the popular cause. Formerly a Radical, he showed, after his defection, the exaggerated zeal and severity that usually characterize renegades, in his dealings with those whom he suspected of being adversaries of Government. He combined an absolutist *régime* of the sabre, after the fashion of his predecessor,—who "died in peace with all his enemies, because he had shot them all,"—with an extraordinary subserviency to the Jesuit Camarilla. He out-Narvaezed Narvaez. He seemed ready to attempt even that *coup d'état* in the priestly interest, which the miracle-working nun, who had been branded and punished as an impostor by a royal court of justice, had for a long time labored for, in conjunction with that strange clerical personage whose known life begins with the theft of a mule and a participation in the Carlist rising, and who afterwards rose to the dignity of Father Confessor to the Queen.

To abolish by an illegal royal ordinance the "Secularization Law," which the Cortes, some fourteen years before, had carried out against the Roman Church, was the aim of this Jesuit intrigue. It was an undertaking against which all the Liberal parties of the country, even the most timid and time-serving sections of them, were united in sentiment. The very men of the miscalled "Liberal Union" would not tolerate such a *régime* any longer. Pliant by character, they surely had not entertained a thought, until then, of overthrowing the Government. Office-seeking had been the main occupation of most of them. Nor had the Progressists, at least the dynastic

wing of that party, dreamt of a change in the reigning house, ill-requited as they had frequently been by the Court for the valuable services they had rendered it in difficult circumstances. But now a change occurred; and that it did occur in so radical a manner as we have seen is mainly the merit of the Democratic or Republican party.

The military leaders would have been glad to use the Republicans simply as food for powder, and to conspire among themselves with regard to the future constitution of the country. But the Republicans, together with a few of the Progressists, insisted, as a condition of their co-operation, on the previous adoption of a programme composed of three parts: "OVERTHROW OF THE BOURBON DYNASTY; proclamation of the SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE; UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND CONSTITUENT CORTES, as a means of establishing the future form of government." Under this banner, if borne in front of the various parties that intended attacking the Court, the Republicans declared themselves ready to make common cause with whosoever chose to take the field. There were long and laborious negotiations on the subject. Men came and went, approaching this and that leader, and conveying intelligence and propositions to quarters which outsiders might have thought could not possibly be reached. The time, doubtless, has not yet come for clearing up the whole procedure. Much remains shrouded in mystery, and will, perhaps, never be fully known. One thing is certain, namely: that General Prim, at that time, allowed assurances to be given in his name, in a Democratic sense. It was through a military friend, at present occupying one of the highest positions in the army, and who always had cultivated Republican connections, that this was done. Prim himself is supposed to have, in years gone by, — a long, long time ago, it is true, — formed part of a *venta*, or revolutionary lodge; and this fact was brought to recollection when it may have appeared likely to serve a purpose. It was said, then, that the General had returned to his early Democratic ideas, that he was ready to play a part in the people's interest. His friend added, in a moment of excitement, a Brutus-like asseveration and conditional threat; so that even Republican politicians, who had watched the career

of many a prominent man, and who were not easily deceived by assurances, entertained strong hopes of Prim's honest intention to act the part of a Washington. I may add, however, that there were one or two who continued to entertain strong misgivings as to the "Democratic tendencies" to which the Count of Reus was said to have returned.

The result of frequent conferences was, that the different sections of the Liberal and Democratic parties at last agreed to advance in parallel lines against the Bourbon throne, under the common programme of an appeal to the nation. Those who have in any way followed the details of the Revolution will have observed that in the first speeches of the several leaders, in their manifestoes and proclamations, in the decrees of the Revolutionary Juntas of all the towns that "pronounced," one after another, in the newspapers wherever the press had become free, the three magic phrases, "Overthrow of the Bourbon Dynasty," — "National Sovereignty," — "Universal Suffrage and Constituent Cortes," always appeared in identical terms. There was such a sameness of expression, that, after the first few days, it almost palled on the ear. But the different parties required from each other these public pledges as a confirmation of the compact entered into. The ear was fatigued that the cause might gain.

It was understood by those who had been parties to the agreement, that the leaders, on account of the great influence which they would wield by means of the army and navy, should refrain from expressing their individual views with regard to the future form of government. The Juntas, which in many towns were composed of uncompromising Democrats, strictly kept the Party Compact: they never went beyond the general formulas. It was reserved to the most prominent military leader — to a man who, from his calling, might have been expected to be most punctilious in matters of honor and good faith — to be the first to break through the convention by the public announcement of his desire to return to the monarchical system. This act of his was the more reprehensible, as the Provisional Government, or rather Ministry, had been formed solely in consequence of a transfer of power to Marshal Serrano by the "Superior Revolutionary Junta" of Madrid, —

a body which had started into existence several days before the arrival of the army in the capital. In that Junta the question was discussed as to whether it would not be advisable to keep the army altogether away from Madrid, lest its leaders should attempt, by its aid, to press heavily upon the decision of the nation. It would probably have been wise to frame a decree to the effect that the troops must not approach within a certain distance. The new political programme which had been adopted by the United Leaders fully warranted such a course; for it could not reasonably be supposed that all the influential men of the army had been able, within so short a space of time, to imbue themselves with the new principles. It is a fact, that, at first, only one half of the troops made common cause with the anti-dynastic revolution: the other half either opposed it by force of arms, or kept up a sulky attitude. For revolutionary purposes, even this state of things was more than sufficient: for, whenever an army is divided within itself, the civic element has ample room for the display of its energy. In the programme of the Republican party of Spain the "Abolition of the Standing Army" was known to be a prominent article. In its place a Civic Militia was to be established,—not on the Swiss principle, which proclaims the liability of all able-bodied men to service, but on the volunteer system. Perhaps it was impossible, in the face of the services rendered by a large portion of the troops, or rather of the officers in command, to go at once to the length of disbanding the army; but, at any rate, it would have been prudent to exempt the capital from their presence until the new form of government had been decided upon.

With a view to conciliation, the Superior Revolutionary Junta refrained from a resolution of this character. Even the discussion which had taken place, and which has been brought to the knowledge of the writer, was not mentioned in public, lest it should offend military susceptibilities.

It was a fault to act in this over-considerate manner. It emboldened the leaders of the army to pursue a policy of their own. In the nature of things, nothing else could be expected. When men wield substantial power, only very few, of a nobler mould of character, can resist the temptation placed in their

way. The political school in which Serrano, Prim, and the other military leaders had been trained, was not one to ingrain in them a respect for the civic principle; the more need was there to restrict their action, not merely by paper programmes, but by wise provisions in reference to the exercise of actual power.

It will be remembered that the various feelers which the Provisional Ministry had put out in reference to a monarchical solution, and the plan attributed to it, of endeavoring to bring about such an issue by a so-called *plébiscite*, without a full and mature discussion in a Constituent National Assembly, induced the Superior Junta of Madrid, before it dissolved, to issue a strong protest against such a scheme. But no sooner had the Junta ceased to exist than the Provisional Ministers published a long manifesto, carefully prepared beforehand, in which, whilst acknowledging, as they could not but do, that "eloquent voices, invested with much authority," had declared for the Republican system, they nevertheless recommended a return to the monarchical *régime*. They added, that, "if the Provisional Government should deceive itself in its calculations, and if the decision of the Spanish people should be unfavorable to the adoption of the monarchical form, the Provisional Government would respect the wishes which the nation, freely consulted in the exercise of its sovereignty, should have expressed."

Adherents of the monarchical principle have described this manifesto as a proof of the moderation and the faithful stewardship of the men in power. Yet, in reality, the Provisional Government of Spain have done nothing more nor less than that which the Provisional Government of the French Revolution of February, 1848, did, — only with this difference, that the Spanish Ministers expressed their monarchical leanings at a time when no popular demonstrations had yet taken place except in a Republican sense, whilst the French revolutionary ministers could only be induced with great difficulty to comply with the Republican desires of the people of Paris. I may be permitted to make a short digression here, in order to prove this point. It contains material, I believe, for an interesting historical parallel.

The current notion is, that the members of the French Provisional Government "proclaimed the Republic" without hesitation. In reality, however, they debated for a long time the question whether anything of that kind should be done, and they at last agreed on a form of words which left the whole matter open for the decision of the electors. I have before me an exact copy of the original of that remarkable document, which, to judge from the handwriting, was drawn up by Lamartine. The document, written at first in haste, amidst great commotion, has a great many erasures, alterations, blots, and so forth. The passage which bears on the point mentioned runs thus: "Although the Provisional Government acts exclusively in the name of the French people, and although it [inclines] towards the Republican form of government, neither the people of Paris nor the Provisional Government pretend to substitute their own opinion for that of the citizens at large, who shall be consulted on the definitive form of government to be proclaimed by the sovereignty of the people." In the French text: "*Bien que le Gouvernement provisoire agisse uniquement au nom du peuple Français, et qu'il . . . . . pour le Gouvernement Républicain, ni le peuple de Paris ni le Gouvernement provisoire ne prétendent substituer leur opinion à l'opinion des citoyens, qui seront consultés sur la forme définitive du Gouvernement, que proclamera la souveraineté du peuple.*"

At the place marked with dots, there is, in the original, a large blot. One may fancy the reading there to be the word "*faveur.*" In the margin there is the word "*conviction.*" All this shows how vacillating and doubtful the majority of the Provisional Government originally were in their views. The masses outside were indignant at this hesitation. The exclamation, "Treachery!" was heard; and armed men penetrated furiously into the assembly-room. Nevertheless, the draught of the manifesto was sent to the *Moniteur* in the form just described. Ledru-Rollin and Flocon, who had energetically demanded the proclamation of a Republic, refused their signatures. When the proof-sheet came back from the printing-office, the debate about the passage alluded to was reopened. It was settled by M. Crémieux taking up a pen

and writing the shorter phrase: "Government desires the Republic, provided ratification be given by the people, who shall be consulted immediately." (*Le Gouvernement veut la République, sauf ratification par le peuple, qui sera immédiatement consulté.*)

It was in this manner that thorough-going Republicans acted, of whom many held the opinion that the Sovereignty of the People is impossible without a Republic;—in other words, that the Republic, the principle of popular sovereignty once adopted, is paramount to the mere numerical majority; considering that otherwise the generation which exercises its sovereignty would commit political suicide, as well as a wrong against the freedom of subsequent generations. But the Spanish ministers, contrary to the spirit of the demonstrations until then made, "proclaimed a Monarchy,"—provided a ratification should be given by the people.

Now all this may seem to be of small importance to those who assume that in every nation there is a clearly defined majority, which it is only necessary to determine by a direct appeal. Such a state of things may exist in an old-established community, in which the political education of the masses is of long standing, as, for instance, in free Switzerland, or in a young country, like the United States of America, which has made rapid strides through the enjoyment of almost absolute liberty. But in countries in which the buttresses of an ancient royal or aristocratical government are still left standing, though the superstructure may have decayed or been demolished, matters are somewhat different. In nations of that kind it is generally possible to effect, alternately, contradictory political changes and solutions. Thus it was that England, for nearly a hundred years, could be tossed about between the most antagonistic systems. If we take the year 1640 as the starting-point of the Revolution, and 1746, the year of the Battle of Culloden, as a settlement for the hundred years following, we find that England passed from Stuart despotism into a Republic, from the Republic into the Restoration, from the Restoration into a new Revolution, until at last that constitutional *régime* was founded which is at present on the road to demoralization. The changes were sudden and abrupt, and

the English, who now pride themselves on being the steadiest people in the world, had at that time on the Continent the reputation of being the most volatile and fickle. I believe it is a great mistake to suppose that "the changing temper of the nation" was always the cause of those transformations, — that is to say, taking the nation as a unit, or as a clearly pronounced majority. Vast political changes are usually not brought about by majorities. On both sides, active, organized minorities are of chief account, — whilst the masses are mainly floating material, with general tendencies, no doubt, one way or the other, though in some cases with scarcely any tendencies at all. On the question of Constitutional Monarchy or Republic, a great number of people, utterly unused to political reasoning, have often no definite notions whatever; and it quite depends on circumstances, or incidental events, or the strategy of far-seeing leaders, as to whether the one or the other form of government shall issue from the boiling caldron of popular commotion. Hence it is not immaterial what attitude the chiefs of the movement, who are in possession of the substance of power, take up on those great questions; for their inclination, even if moderately shown, may turn the balance.

Let us consider France, a country which has passed through three popular revolutions since the end of the last century. France is in the main an agricultural country. Nearly three fourths of its population live in villages and hamlets, the remainder in the towns. The bulk of that agricultural population cannot, in spite of the exercise of suffrage which they have had since 1848, be said to be an active political element. They follow the impulse given to them, for the time being, by the Central Government. The only exception to this is to be found in the French Provinces of German origin, in Alsace and Lorraine, where education stands highest, and in certain Departments which are in proximity to the Helvetian Republic. It is in the towns that political parties, properly speaking, are organized. There Orleanism and Republicanism (the latter with its two main sections, the so-called "Blue" and "Red" parties, — that is, middle-class and socialist republicanism) are established as distinct parties. Legit-

imism is wellnigh extirpated. It exists only among *ci-devant* coteries, among the old aristocracy and a portion of the higher clergy. Real living forces it has none; but if — say, by the aid of a foreign invasion — it could for a while re-obtain the mastery, it might make use of at least a part of the agricultural class, provided it disclaimed all intention of infringing on the changes which have been brought about to the advantage of the peasantry by the first Revolution. That is the only point on which the peasantry are tenacious, and with good reason.

Thus it will be seen that the majority of the French nation are, politically, an inert mass. The towns are the real leaven. Universal suffrage places, however, the government of the country at the disposal of the agricultural masses, at least in outward form and appearance; and he who knows how to make use of that scattered, unintelligent, but numerous class may succeed, as Louis Napoleon has succeeded, in getting the better of the intellect and the superior industry of the nation. It was through a surprise effected in the great towns by means of that army which is almost exclusively composed of peasants, and by previous bribery of the officers, that the Chief Magistrate of the Republic overturned the free commonwealth.

What I have just said is to the point in Spanish affairs. If every muleteer and peasant had been polled under Isabella II. on the question of the continuance of the Bourbon dynasty, that dynasty might have continued to this day. It is not in the nature of a despotism which crushes the intellect of a nation to produce a majority of clear-headed men; else despotism would not be that bane to mankind which it undoubtedly is. The leaders of the Spanish Revolution, without waiting for the verdict of the majority, declared the Bourbon dynasty deposed; and that declaration they assume to be final. Having done so, they might have gone a step farther, and added, that it is the natural, imprescriptible right of freemen not to be ruled by a family which transmits the right of governing its "subjects," as the right of owning estates, goods, and chattels is transmitted in private life. Had the Liberal Unionists and the Progressists thus joined hands with the Democrats on the question of popular self-government, Spain would have pro-

ceeded smoothly enough on the road of revolution. The old ruling house being ejected by common consent or acquiescence, and no new monarchical candidate being yet in the field, whilst, fortunately, even the agricultural class in Spain is accustomed to self-administration in communal affairs, matters would soon have assumed a perfectly quiet aspect, and Spain would have settled down into the status of a larger Switzerland, to which even now it has great resemblance in many respects. But it appears that the military leaders — Prim, before all, who evidently wishes to play a game of his own — hope to make use of the political inertness of the agricultural class, whilst holding the army (one half of which, as I said, had to be beaten, intimidated, or coaxed into submission to the Revolutionary cause) as a rod over the towns. This crafty policy has already borne its evil fruits. In the very town in which the *pronunciamiento* of the present Revolution began, the forces of two contending parties have been placed in hostile, sanguinary conflict with each other.

The question will, of course, be raised here, "Are the Spaniards ripe for a Republic?" That question may be answered by a counter-question: "If they are not ripe for that, how should they be able to create a new constitutional monarchy out of the political Nothing, — a constitutional monarchy in which the people are, after all, supposed to govern themselves, whilst the sovereign is regarded as a mere 'crowned cipher'?" But it will, perhaps, be said: "The Spaniards are a monarchical people." To this we may object, that the classes which have made the Revolution have, at any rate, not shown themselves very fanatically monarchical with regard to a special dynasty, namely, that of the House of Bourbon; and if a nation once goes to that length, surely the royalist sentiment cannot any longer be strong in the abstract. The feeling of loyalty towards a ruling house is a matter of long growth. That feeling once shaken, or entirely uprooted, the field becomes tolerably clear for a new form of government. History proves this in numerous instances. Examples may be found on both sides of the ocean.

In its provincial and communal constitution, Spain has, moreover, preserved in a great degree the basis of self-govern-

ment. Royal and priestly absolutism, though weighing heavily on the nation, has not been able utterly to destroy the federative and semi-republican spirit, which has found expression in the particular ground-laws of various provinces in the *fueros* and the *ayuntamientos*. "If you observe the Constitution, you are our rightful ruler; if not, not." This maxim, formerly enacted and respected as a State law, has for centuries tacitly maintained its hold on the minds of large numbers of the Spanish people. Here we have at once a good substratum of democratic institutions.

In more recent times — that is to say, within the last ten or twelve years — the old historical principle of self-government has received additional support through a Republican Propaganda actively carried on among the younger men of the learned classes, the students and young professors, as well as among the working-people and a considerable section of the middle class of the larger towns. There is no doubt that Barcelona, Seville, Valencia, Malaga, Cadiz, Granada, Saragossa, Valladolid, Cordova, Murcia, Xerez, Reus, Ferrol, in fact all the chief towns, are in the main republicanized. The same holds good even with regard to a portion of the middle and nearly the entire working class of Madrid. Barcelona, after the capital, the most important and most populous town, and, on account of its being the centre of Spanish industry, even more important in some respects than Madrid itself, is thoroughly Republican. The Junta there was in vastly the majority composed of Republicans. Were it not, that, through the influx of French workingmen into Barcelona, a kind of split has already been introduced between the "Blue" Republican and the "Socialist" element, — a split by no means warranted by the general situation and development of Spain, — Republicanism would be even stronger in the towns than it already undoubtedly is.

As to the country people, they would, in general, readily follow a republican impulse given from the cities, if such a government were once installed. To the agricultural mind, the Court has always been a far distant entity, whose doings little affected, if they did at all affect, the laborious life of the peasantry. As long as communal self-government is ex-

tended, or even respected, in its sphere of action, the peasantry of Spain would be content with what is going on in the capital and the towns. In some provinces — just as in France, or in Germany — the very peasantry of Spain are imbued with a crude, but effective, kind of republican notions. The provinces in the northeast of Spain have enjoyed a semi-democratic self-government — often encroached upon, but as often fought for and recovered — even under the Houses of Austria and Bourbon; and in that part of the country, as well as in not a few districts of the South, it may be said that the population at large, towns-people and villagers, would fall in easily enough with the system that prevails in Switzerland.

I say, "in Switzerland"; for that example is, in the case of Spain, more to the point than the example of the United States of America. In physical geography, Spain has great resemblance to the Helvetic Confederacy, in so far as it is laid out in a mountain structure which strongly separates one part of the country from another, and offers mighty barriers to the spirit of centralization. There is the Cantabrian range, which forms a long line from west to east, with numerous transverse ridges stretching down to the Bay of Biscay, and with its summits here and there reaching above the snow line. There is the great mountain range whose sierras divide Leon and Old Castile from New Castile and Estremadura, and whose labyrinthine valleys are imbedded among gigantic masses of rocky formations. There is the Andalusian range, and, in the far south, the Nevada range, with some of its peaks rising to the altitude of eleven thousand feet. Besides these parallel ranges, there are, in the northeast, other mountain systems laid out in opposite directions; so that, from this cause alone, there may be said to exist "different Spains," — a phrase, it is known, common among the natives themselves. Add to this that the means of communication are yet somewhat scanty, and it will be easily understood, that, of necessity, there is a strong tendency to local and provincial self-rule, and that the spirit of Federation, rather than of strict Union, prevails.

It is a feature of the Republican party in Spain; but in the monarchical parties, so far as they are not upholders of absolutism, this Federalist trait is equally to be observed. When the

history of the nation is taken into account, this circumstance will not create any wonder. The kingdom was made up of various realms, each of which preserved much of its ancient laws and habits. In race, also, the Spaniards bear the strong impress of different origins. Whilst in the impenetrable fastnesses of the North the descendants of the Celt-Iberians (themselves the mixed progeny of a conquered and a conquering people) have preserved their peculiarities and their speech, which has no relation whatever to the Romanic idiom of Spain, the large residue of the nation has been successively influenced, governed, physically changed, by Carthaginians, Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, Germans (Vandals, Sueves, Alans, Goths), Arabs, and Moors. There are parts in which the Gothic infusion is distinctly marked in the energetic features of the population, others in which the Arab and Moorish blood courses darkly through fiery veins. In speech, also, the Spanish populations, that is to say, the bulk of the popular classes of the various provinces, differ strongly. So that, altogether, it is but wise on the part of the Republicans — so long as these distinctive traits are so vivid, and the nation has not been brought closely together by better means of intercommunication — to keep to the Federative principle, without, of course, setting up any doctrine of State sovereignty which would destroy the cohesion of the Commonwealth and provoke internecine feuds.

Perhaps, therefore, it would be more correct to say that the Spanish Republicans wish to establish National Freedom and Union under a system of extensive provincial autonomy. Different nations have different wants. It will not do to "shear them all over the same comb," as the German saying has it. The peculiar circumstances of a case must be taken into consideration; upon them it will depend whether a larger or a smaller amount of provincial autonomy is possible and desirable. The doctrine of Federalism, or of stricter Union, — for Centralization, on the mechanical, bureaucratic pattern, may at once be discarded as outside of all Republican theory, — is nothing in itself. Either has its value only in so far as it meets the requirements of a particular case, which has to be studied before the application is made. If that is done, it will

be found that an absolute theory, one way or the other, mostly fails, and that there may be circumstances in which the principle of National Union can be so blended with provincial or communal autonomy, or what others would call "Federalism," that it is preferable not to quarrel over a name, but simply to concert wise measures.

Logically speaking, the Spaniards, after having tried hard to liberalize the Bourbons and to keep them to the observance of the Constitutional *régime*, which has, in outward form, existed for the last fifty-six years, are now driven, after the expulsion of the House of Bourbon, to stand on their own feet, and to do without the costly, oppressive, and, at best, superfluous, monarchical machinery. It would probably require greater ingenuity, though of a very sterile nature, to establish a new royalty than to let things find their republican level. And why, one may ask, should people rack their brains to create that which, on the very theory of Constitutionalism, is to be a mere empty form? An empty one, but a dear one! This the Spaniards know too well from experience; for the War of Succession in favor of Isabella cost alone four billion reals! Had Isabella turned out the most excellent of sovereigns, the question would still have been, why such enormous sums, from which vast masses of the people could have reaped benefit as regards education or other help in life, should thus be squandered for the sake of a hollow, unmeaning pageantry.

I will not allude here otherwise than by a passing remark to the fact of much communal property, and property of charitable institutions, having had to be confiscated in order to stop the gaps created by the financial mismanagement of the Crown, — nor to the fact of the very climate of large parts of Spain having deteriorated in consequence of a wholesale, unscientific system of disforesting, from which the monarchical *régime* mainly had the financial advantage. A fine, extensive, naturally fertile country, a very "Garden of the Hesperides," has thus been kept back in its development, and is at present quite underpopulated. It has not more than sixteen million inhabitants. At the time of the Moors it was said to have already had twenty millions. Tarragona, Granada, Seville, at present with populations respectively of twenty thousand, sixty-five

thousand, and one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, are alleged to have then had each between two hundred and fifty and four hundred thousand. This may be an exaggeration; still, it is impossible not to feel that royal maladministration, under the House of Austria as under that of Bourbon, is the chief cause of the decrease in Spanish prosperity.

Fortunately, the Spaniards have made great progress in ridding themselves of that priestly influence which, together with royal despotism, had crippled their energies in so deplorable a manner. Within the last thirty-four years they have effected two great revolutions, — irrespective of the one which has led to the ejection of the Bourbons, — at once in a political and in a religious sense. Massive blows were struck against the Popish hierarchy by the revolutions of 1834 and 1854. At the same time a new educational system was introduced, which the Court and the Jesuit Camarilla no doubt did their best, or worst, to hamper in every conceivable way, but which yet has conduced to the imbuing of the rising generation with progressive ideas. It is just this young generation, which has grown up in the schools since 1854, that leans decidedly towards the "Democratic," or Republican, party. The men at present in power know it well. Hence, when they proclaimed Universal Suffrage, — which they certainly did not do from any wish to benefit the Republican cause, — they fixed the age of twenty-five as the legal age at which the exercise of electoral rights should begin. Now the men between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five in Spain are notoriously, in their vast majority, of the Republican stamp; those of the towns most certainly, and many in the country as well, since the better education of the last fourteen years has spread the light to some extent among the rising generation of villagers. But it suits the generals better to take away the suffrage from that class of young men, though by the Constitution of 1812 the men of twenty-one years of age had it, and to put those young men into the ranks of the army, with strict "Articles of War" as a means of overawing them.

What Orense, the patriarch of the Republican party, who has for forty years agitated in the people's cause, — what Castelar, Garrido, General Pierrad, Pi y Margall, and the other popular

leaders aim at, is perfectly clear and comprehensible. Their programme is before the world: they wish to establish Spanish freedom under a constitution similar to that which the Swiss enjoy. The programme is so framed that no room is left for the overbearing ambition of a single man. They would have a National Assembly, from which the executive should be chosen, — the executive to remain constantly responsible to the representatives of the people. The Swiss have it so. It is, in my opinion, the true republican form; whilst that other procedure, which places a President, elected by the community at large, in almost natural antagonism to the legislative assembly, is but too apt to lead to such deplorable issues as we have seen in France in 1851, and as have brought even the United States to a conflict between Congress and him who ought to be simply the executor of the laws. Opinions on this point will, of course, differ. But it must be conceded on all hands that the men who propose such a constitution — and it is one, be it observed, that has proved effective in checking undue personal ambition in Switzerland — cannot be accused of harboring egotistical designs.

General Prim, on his part, is a dark figure in Spanish politics. Some who have watched him believe that he exhibited such hot haste in writing his "monarchical" letter to the *Gaulois* — a Paris paper of no standing, but which yet he dubbed "the *Moniteur* of the Spanish Revolution"! — from a twofold motive. Knowing that the Republican party hold principles irreconcilable with great personal ambition, Prim is supposed to have hung out the monarchical flag either with a view of gathering around his own person the reactionary and Conservative-Liberal elements, or, if he himself could not attain to supreme power, of recommending himself, by such a course, to the future king, as the man who by his boldness had opened the royal path, and who therefore would have to be rewarded with a vested premiership. This may seem harsh judgment; but it is nevertheless one which is now heard often enough throughout Spain. All the measures taken by Prim in the latter part of 1868 savor of a policy of usurpation, and are suspiciously suggestive of designs against civil liberty. The repeated demands of various municipalities to have the

troops distributed all over the country, both as a help and a means of security, were uniformly met by Prim with a refusal. He massed the troops near Madrid, thus keeping them from contact with the inhabitants of the more democratic towns, and holding them in readiness for an emergency, — that is to say, for the case of a great blow having to be struck.

At the same time attempts were made to disarm the popular classes, to gain over their trusted leaders, to take away from the civic militia positions which, in case of a governmental *coup*, would be of importance. About forty-seven thousand guns were taken from the arsenals by the people of Madrid on the day of the *pronunciamiento*, — these arms being handed over to their present owners by the then Revolutionary Junta, as a means of upholding the civic cause until the institution of a regular government by the Constituent Cortes. After a short time the Provisional Ministers endeavored to get back these arms by offers of money; and when this plan failed, they established "National Workshops," to which those only were admitted who gave up their arms. Since this scheme also had little effect, the Ministers attempted to provoke risings of the poorer classes by suddenly reducing the wages of the workmen employed by the municipality of Madrid. It is a policy such as led, in Paris, to the terrible street-battle of June, 1848, which raged for three days, when a misguided, suffering mass, secretly instigated, at least in part, by Bonapartist, Orleanist, and Legitimist agents, but partly also led by men who had the Republican cause at heart, was put down by measures of sanguinary severity, from which the mind turns away with sorrow. In the inquiry subsequently held on the events of June, it came out, by the testimony of honest men, that this terrible insurrection had been artfully instigated by a wicked conspiracy of Reactionists, among whom the hand of Louis Napoleon himself was afterwards traced.* I do not mean to say that the main elements of that insurrection were of a reactionary character: far from it. But such was the Macchiavellian art which had provoked it, that the Republican cause received a deep wound from those frightful events, and

* See the letter of Napoleon Louis Bonaparte, dated London, June 22, 1848, to General Rapatel, in Louis Blanc's *Révélations Historiques*, Tom. II. p. 180.

after a short dictatorship of Cavaignac, the man of Strasbourg and Boulogne was raised to power by a strange combination of parties, all of which were in the end duped by him whom they had hoped to use as a mere temporary instrument.

Months have elapsed, during which it has been pretty well proved that Spain can enjoy tranquillity and freedom in a kingless state. If now the harmony at first prevailing has been disturbed, it is owing to illicit machinations on the part of those who, by previous party compact, were to be simple guardians of the public peace until the meeting of the national assembly, and who agreed meanwhile to refrain from endeavoring to exert any pressure upon public opinion, but who, unfortunately, have become faithless to this understanding. Nevertheless, the Republican leaders continue to cherish firm hopes as to the eventual issue. If they should deceive themselves for the time being, — if that should happen which manifestly goes against the grain of the best intellectual forces of the nation, — if a freedom-loving, industrious citizen class should for the moment be bowed down under a system of government founded upon violence, intrigue, and political incapacity, it may safely be predicted that the new monarchy thus established would be constantly attacked, undermined, assailed openly and secretly in every way, until things should come round to a different solution. The responsibility for all this misery would then have to be laid at the door of a few men, who, from narrow views or ambitious selfishness, had not been able to rise to the height of the situation, and who, instead of following the glorious example of Washington, only played the part of Monk, — coming, however, two centuries too late.

Revolutions, if prolonged, are apt to assume a kaleidoscopic character, the successive images being of a startling kind; and prediction as to what will happen next thus becomes difficult. Under ordinary circumstances, parties generally move in clearly marked grooves; but in days of sudden change and turmoil it is frequently individual energy that determines action, while alliances the most unexpected are often formed, arising from the feverish eagerness of men to seize or resume

power which in an unguarded moment appears to come within their grasp. All this would seem to apply with double force to the case of Spain, where for many years past there have been such sudden "ups and downs" of revolutionary enterprises, — enterprises, it is true, which until lately had aimed only at ministerial changes, whilst the events of September were heralded by a programme having the overthrow of the dynasty for its object.

The reader will, however, perceive that the previous portion of this article, which was written in the middle of December, has given, so far, an accurate survey of the general position. In continuation, I may first refer to the result of the elections for the Municipal Councils. The Provisional Ministers at Madrid, feeling their way towards a monarchical solution, thought it best to begin by a reactionary move on a smaller scale, in order to test public opinion. They therefore, after having coaxed the Revolutionary Juntas, or local provisional governments, into voluntary dissolution, proceeded to decree the abolition of the revolutionary *Ayuntamientos*, or Municipal Councils. It was necessary, they said, to constitute such communal authorities in a regular manner; and in order to insure full freedom of election, they reappointed the municipal councils which had existed under Queen Isabella. It was under the influence of these latter that the people were to choose their town representatives. It was hoped, of course, among the scheming monarchical politicians, that demonstrations in their interest would be the consequence.

What has been the result? In the large cities all over Spain the Republicans obtained the victory. Madrid alone formed an exception. In Madrid Government influence was necessarily stronger; yet even there a mystery remains unsolved. On the voting registers of that city the names of some seventy-six thousand electors are inscribed. Of these, fifty-two thousand are known to have taken out their so-called "papers of identification," the production of which is necessary, in order that the voter may make his claim at the poll valid. Now the official record of votes showed only twenty-seven thousand names, of which the majority was reckoned on the side of the "Monarchical" ticket. The question is, What

had become of the remaining twenty-five thousand voters who had already taken the trouble of asking for their papers of identification? In a country which had for a long time enjoyed a regular constitutional life, that question would by this time have been fully investigated by some popular committee. But in Spain, though the civic sentiment is very strong, great perfection has not yet been attained in the use of the machinery of public meetings, deputations, committees, and the like.

Republican candidates, at any rate, came out triumphant from the municipal elections in Barcelona, Seville, Valencia, Malaga, Granada, Cadiz, Xerez, Saragossa, and a great number of other large towns. As was expected, the Republican party proved strongest in the South and the East; less strong in the Northwest and the Centre. But as the first-named parts of the country have the densest population, and are, moreover, most advanced in industry, the result is even more favorable than it seems to be.

Also in a majority of the smaller towns there was a preponderance of Republican votes. In the smallest, only, the two parties were either balanced, or those opposed to a Republic were victorious. Had not the Government, whilst proclaiming universal suffrage, refused to confer the right of voting upon the men between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-five, who had possessed it under the Constitution of 1812, the result of the elections for the *Ayuntamientos* would undoubtedly have been even more favorable to the Republican cause. By this rule nearly six hundred and fifty thousand men of the younger generation were disfranchised, the vast majority of whom may be said to incline towards the advanced popular party, owing to the better educational system introduced some fifteen years ago, of which they have had the first benefit.

I have mentioned the Constitution of 1812. Perhaps it may be well to say a few words here concerning its character, in order to dispel the illusion which prevails very generally, that the Spaniards are now for the first time rising to a conception of representative government.

"That Constitution," says Garrido, a stanch Republican, in his excellent work on "Contemporary Spain," has been justly called the Monarchical Constitution of the Latin race, which

adopted it as the revolutionary banner in Portugal, in Sicily, in Naples, in Sardinia, — proclaiming it, in 1821, in those various states, where it was only put down, as in Spain, by the European reaction of Absolutism. That Constitution remained the watchword of the Liberals until the French Revolution of 1848, which gave to Democracy the Republican banner."

I will not stop to inquire into the correctness of that much used and much abused expression, "the Latin race." Ethnologists, and those who are versed in the science of language, know, that, though the Italians, French, Spaniards, and Portuguese all speak idioms which may be described as daughters of the Latin, yet these nations are very dissimilar in descent, and have, in the course of history, been differently moulded by the incoming of other tribes. Had Garrido used the expression, "the Romanic-speaking nations," he would have been more accurate. — But to return to the political question.

The Constitution of 1812 was the fruit of independent national exertion. It was matured during the struggle for the overthrow of a foreign master, and whilst a Spanish king was held captive by the invader. Its provisions remind us, in large measure, of the early constitutions of Spanish kingdoms which bore a representative character, arising partly from a democratic source, partly from what may be called an "aristocratic parliamentarism," in a good sense. The following are the chief provisions of the Charter of 1812.

*The Nation is sovereign.* It cannot be the patrimony of any individual or family. It frames, itself, the laws necessary for its own well-being. It delegates to the King the executive power. The King is irresponsible, but he can neither contract marriage nor leave the territory of Spain without the authorization of the Cortes. The latter reserve to themselves the right and power of deciding questions of succession, of deposing the King in case of incapacity, and of determining the kind of education to be given to the heir presumptive. The King's civil list is fixed annually. He appoints the ministers; he declares war; he concludes treaties of peace, though he cannot ratify them without the previous approbation of the Cortes. He cannot levy imposts without the Cortes. His decrees are incapable of execution until countersigned by a responsible

minister. The King has only a suspensory veto. A law three times voted by the Cortes has legal force without his sanction. He can dissolve the Cortes; but they meet in their own right once a year, and must continue in session at least three months. During their prorogation or dissolution, a standing Parliamentary Committee watches over the observance of the laws. That Committee is authorized also to convoke the Cortes, if it judges the country to be in danger.

Furthermore, the Cortes together with the King form the legislative power; but there is only a *single* chamber. Every Spaniard of the age of *twenty-one* is a primary elector. The members of the Cortes must be at least twenty-five years of age. By the organic electoral law every Spaniard who after 1830 shall be unable to read and write is deprived of the right of voting. The King takes an oath to observe the Constitution. If he breaks it, the people are no longer held to obey him. The right of insurrection, in case of a despotic act of the ruler, was thus formally acknowledged, in accordance with the well-known ancient formula of the Constitution of Aragon.

That Constitution of 1812, so large in its spirit, and more liberal than any of the then existing constitutions of the other countries of the Old World, England not excepted, was, in the words of Garrido, "discussed and proclaimed with a majestic calmness by the legislators at Cadiz, amidst the sound of hostile cannon thundering at their gates, and whilst a people in arms drove the army of Napoleon, until then victorious throughout Europe, back toward the frontier."

I need not dwell here upon the treachery with which Ferdinand VII., after having re-obtained, through the exertions of the nation, a crown that had fallen from his head, requited the donors by declaring all the acts of the Cortes unlawful, abolishing the liberal Constitution, restoring the Jesuit establishments, banishing, imprisoning, transporting, and executing those who defended the new fundamental law, — in a word, by running riot in despotic ingratitude.

The Charter of 1812 remained, nevertheless, the symbol of the advanced popular party, so far as this had not begun to turn definitely towards the principle of government for and by the people, that is, Republicanism. Under the watchword of

the "Constitution of 1812," Riego rose in 1820, taking as his opportunity the disinclination felt by the troops to be shipped for America, there to reduce former Spanish colonies once more under the Bourbon rule. That movement of Riego's, it will be remembered, succeeded for a time. The King had to take the oath to the people's cherished Charter. The press was freed from its worst shackles. A National Guard was intrusted with the protection of the re-acquired liberties. A general amnesty was proclaimed, and at Valencia alone some fourteen hundred prisoners for political or anti-Romanist offences were released. The tribunal of the Inquisition fell. The property of the unholy Fraternity was confiscated and added to the Desamortisation Fund of the State. Together with entailed estates, religious orders and monasteries were abolished, with the exception of fourteen establishments of monks. A tax likewise was laid upon the tithes of the clergy.

It is reckoned that there were at that time some one hundred and forty-eight thousand clericals of all kinds, whose property amounted to eighteen milliards and seven hundred and fifty million reals. No wonder the Roman Church exerted all its power to get rid once more of this obnoxious order of things.

Shall I recount how, on the restoration of the Constitution of 1812, so-called "Apostolical Juntas" — that is, reactionary committees composed of priests in alliance with robbers and smugglers — were set up on the frontiers of Portugal and France, where they endeavored to organize rebellions under the Popish and Absolutist banner, "in the name of the captive King"? Shall I bring to recollection how, in consequence of the resolutions of the Congress of Monarchs at Verona, a reactionary movement was at last carried out, in 1823 – 24, by a French army of invasion, under the command of the Duc d'Angoulême, when a clique of priests and "serviles," ultra-royalists or *manalos*, joined to the lowest and most ignorant rabble, destroyed the work achieved by the Liberals, and indulged in such horrible acts of barbarity against the latter that even the French invaders stood aghast? In 1824, in the single month of August, six hundred executions for political offences took place. In September of the same year there were eight hundred more victims. In October, an additional twelve hun-

dred were sacrificed. That "White Terror" cut deep into the flesh of the Liberal party.

Together with the Constitution of 1812, the Liberal law concerning the *Ayuntamientos*, which had been introduced just previously to the reactionary French invasion of 1823, was also overthrown, or at least greatly modified. As I have referred to the recent municipal elections, on account of their having been in some sort a prototype of the subsequent political elections, it may be useful to give some details of the measure of 1823, taking as a guide the account given by Garrido.

According to him, local self-government, such as was decreed, or rather restored, in Spain by the law of February 3, 1823, concerning the *Ayuntamientos*, confers upon the communes and the provinces an extraordinary degree of autonomy. The *Ayuntamiento*, or municipal representation, votes the budget and ordains the expenses for all matters within its district. Its sessions are public, and are announced beforehand. There is an obligatory session every week in the communes of one thousand inhabitants, or less; two sessions in those whose population numbers two thousand or upward. The *Alcalde*, or Mayor, is chosen for one year. The Councillors (*Regidores*) are annually renewed to the extent of one half of their number. The Councillors and the Provincial Deputies are re-eligible only after a lapse of four years. Of the *Ayuntamiento*, and of the Provincial Deputation, which holds some control over it, no individual of the clergy, and no man holding an office which is dependent on the central government, can be a member.

The law referred to establishes the principle of the inviolability of the private dwellings of the citizens. Those dwellings cannot be entered by Government officials, except in the presence and with the consent of the *Alcalde*. The *Ayuntamiento* draws up the voting registers; it forms preparatory commissions in the matter of state elections; it enlists men for the army, the navy, and the militia. The *Alcalde* may call out the militia, if he judges it necessary, whilst the chiefs of that body are not allowed to do so without his permission.

The Provisional Deputation is an authority superior to the *Ayuntamiento*. To it the provisional budgets are submitted.

It decides with regard to public works within the province. To the Deputation and the *Ayuntamientos* together belongs the duty of denouncing to the national parliament any acts contrary to the Constitution. The Minister may suspend an *Alcalde* and an *Ayuntamiento*, on condition of submitting the matter to the Cortes, who give their final decision without appeal. In case of a suspension, the supplementary *Alcalde* and Councillors, who are returned for that emergency at each municipal election, take the places which have temporarily become vacant.

The "Political Chief," or provincial governor, represents the state at large to the Deputation, of which he is chairman; but he has no other powers than those which the Deputation confers upon him; and he is bound to execute the decisions of that body. Finally, the *Alcaldes* and their adjuncts exercise the function of justices of the peace. No cause can be brought before the ordinary tribunals, unless the complainant has previously presented himself before the *Alcalde*, who administers justice gratuitously.

It will thus be seen that the basis of local administration in Spain was sound; and though later governments of successful military adventurers frequently tampered with the municipal constitution, the substance of communal self-government was generally preserved through good and evil times. The healthful influence thereby exercised on the political life of the nation is clearly traceable.

Beaten down by superior foreign force in 1824, the Liberal party regained some strength after the French Revolution of 1830, an event which had the effect of temporarily bringing England and France — now both constitutional powers — more closely together. The "Quadruple Alliance," formed between them and the two states of the Iberian Peninsula, was the expression of that new order of things, as regards foreign relations. In the mean time, whilst the struggle between the "Carlists" and the "Christinos" was fiercely raging on dynastic grounds, efforts were made by the Liberals to recover the constitutional privileges which had been lost under Ferdinand VII. The *Estatuto Real* of 1834 was the first step in that direction. It was said by the Moderate party to "keep

the proper middle course between Absolutism and Democratic extravagance"; but, in fact, it was far behind even the French *Charte*, which placed representative government on a basis so narrow as to become a mere clique affair. The right of suffrage, under the Constitution of 1834, was of the most restricted character. The deputies were denied all initiative. An upper house was formed, nominated by the Crown, and having an hereditary character. The censorship of the press was left in force.

All these were measures that necessarily offended the better class of Liberals. Hence a division arose between what were now called the *Moderados* (Conservative Constitutionalists) and the *Progresistas* (Liberal Constitutionalists), — a division that had already threatened to break out some fourteen years before, but which was smoothed over for a time in consequence of the catastrophe of 1823, and the subsquent ten years of exile which many Liberal leaders, both *Moderados* (Conservatives) and so-called *Exaltados* (Radicals), had been compelled to undergo.

The Constitution of 1834 did not prove a practicable one. After two years of incessant risings, it fell by a *coup de main* successfully carried out at La Granja by a regiment that had been gained over to the advanced Liberal cause, the Queen Regent being surprised in the dead of night and compelled to acknowledge once more the Constitution of 1812. The national assembly, now convoked, adopted, however, a modified project, which in many respects showed a considerable deviation from the Charter of Cadiz, in the name of which so many gallant men had sacrificed their lives. A Senate, or upper chamber, was introduced. The House of Deputies was elected on a property qualification which disfranchised a number of those who had enjoyed the suffrage under the Constitution of 1812. The members of the Senate, elected on a higher property qualification, were returned for nine years; those of the second chamber for three. Each electoral college had to present to the Crown three candidates for the Senate, and the Crown thereupon made its selection. The right of veto and of dissolving the Cortes was, moreover, conferred upon the Crown. The best part of that Constitution, which, with all its defects,

was still one of the most liberal at that time in existence on the Continent, consisted in the restoration of the privileges of the *Ayuntamientos*. The Court yielded an unwilling assent, waiting eagerly for the first opportunity to overthrow even that modified charter.

It would lead me too far to record the successive changes in the composition of ministries and in the provisions of the Constitution, — changes always brought about, more or less, by military agency in connection with popular risings. Sometimes there was an approach made anew towards the principles of national sovereignty, as enunciated in the great Charter of 1812. Sometimes the fundamental law, as elaborated under ministers like Narvaez, after the overthrow and flight of Espartero in 1843, was nothing but a thin disguise of arbitrary royal power. Thus, in the Constitution of 1845, the expression of national sovereignty was struck out; the National Guard was abolished; the right of the Cortes to convene under certain circumstances without a previous decree of the Crown was declared null and void; trial by jury for press offences was replaced by judicial proceedings before a royal court of justice; the organization of the Senate was remodelled after the pattern of the French House of Peers; the sovereign was declared independent of the Cortes in the contraction of marriage; and the right of parliament to give a decision on questions of princely minority and dynastic succession was entirely abolished.

In all those struggles — and here I come back to what I stated in my reference to the recent elections for the *Ayuntamientos* — it generally turned out that the people resented far more deeply any encroachments on their municipal privileges than on the strictly political parts of the Constitution. In this lay the weakness, but also the unfailing source of strength, of the party of progress, and of those who aimed at a democratic transformation. The municipal privileges being of a mixed communal and political character, the tenacity with which all classes of the people clung to them continually aided in obliterating the evil effects of the defeat which Liberalism had repeatedly suffered in the larger state contests. No wonder that those who hold power at present in Madrid began their reac

tionary game by feeling their way on the *Ayuntamiento* question, whilst attempting at the same time to break the spirit of the great towns by insurrections artfully fostered in the manner that was practised at Paris, in June, 1848.

The *cosas de España* are proverbially peculiar. Hence it has happened that the victory gained by Government arms over the Republicans at Cadiz, as well as at Malaga, and the disarmament carried out in several of the larger cities of the South, has by no means had the expected result of cowing the Democratic party. The political elections which followed those for the *Ayuntamientos* have proved this. Any one not given to illusions must have seen from the beginning, that, in a country just issuing from an oppressive rule, and in which the provisional revolutionary power was still held by men with more or less openly avowed monarchical views, in a country the bulk of whose population consists of a peasantry that had for a considerable time been politically disfranchised, it would be impossible to bring together, by universal suffrage, a clear Republican majority of deputies. All that Prim, Serrano, Olozaga, and the other leaders were able to do to the disadvantage of the Democratic party they have done. In the South their agents accused the adherents of Republicanism of being "Communists," or masked tools of the ex-Queen. In the North they raised the cry of an impending "Carlist" insurrection, which was to break out under Democratic guise. Now in times of revolution people generally become credulous to an extraordinary degree, the weaker characters being unable to preserve coolness of judgment after the sudden shock they have received by a violent change that unsettles a well-known existing order.

The fact of the elections having, however, resulted in the return of some seventy or eighty deputies of clearly Republican tendencies renders it probable, that, under a different composition of the Provisional Government, the Democratic cause would have had a far larger representation in the Cortes. Still, as it is, the presence of nearly eighty men of that stamp in the National Constituent Assembly is a phenomenon not to be underrated, when we remember that they mainly represent the best intellectual forces, as well as the most advanced

industry of the country. The Republicans know, moreover, full well, that, if only the leaders of the army could make up their mind to let the *de facto* Republican state of things, which has existed during nearly five months, be constitutionally fixed, even the so-called monarchical majority of the new Cortes would not offer an objection, and that the country at large would be equally satisfied. It is only under the fostering care of Serrano, Prim, and Olozaga, that the agricultural mind, combined with the military element, could give Spain the phantom of a new King. The consciousness of this fact confers upon the Democratic party greater influence than it would seem to possess from its numbers.

Irrespective of the uncompromising Republicans, there are reckoned to be in the new Cortes upwards of thirty "Democrats" of that moderate or trimming type to which belongs Señor Rivero, since his defection from the simple Republican flag by which he formerly stood. It may be safely said, that, if his party could be brought back to the Republican connection, some of the more advanced "Progressists" would follow in their wake. In that case, the prospects of the American or Swiss party, if I may call it so, would immediately brighten. The "Progressists" themselves reach the number of about one hundred and twenty; but they are split up, as regards the monarchical programme, by the same divisions as are known to exist among the provisional leaders, who have different princely candidates *in petto*. Then there are the "Liberal Unionists," mainly Monarchists of the Montpensier party, numbering about seventy; and, lastly, some twenty-five "Carlists" and "Neo-Catholics," that is, priestly fanatics.

It was between the moderate Democratic and the Republican candidates that the choice for the office of President of the Constituent Cortes lay. The moderate Democrat was elected by a large majority, though his own party, as has been shown, is numerically wellnigh the smallest. This proves that the Monarchists, in spite of their alleged overwhelming influence, considered it necessary to conciliate a parliamentary and political section, which, if joined once more to its former associates, would practically command the situation. It is one more proof that in epochs of revolution a comparatively small

number of men may sometimes turn the balance of a nation's future. This may be a humiliating confession; but wherever a people have not had the advantage of enjoying free political institutions for some time, there the initiative of energetic minorities, answering to larger currents of general, yet ill-defined tendencies, will always be able to achieve startling successes.

It is difficult to prove clearly, but I believe there is good ground for assuming, that the artful scheme by which the people of Cadiz, Malaga, and other towns, were driven into open, but ill-organized insurrection, or brought to the verge of an untimely rising, was in connection with a crafty plan which had in view the introduction of a Montpensier monarchy by a military *coup d'état*, to be carried out before the elections for the Constituent Cortes had taken place. That plan, to my knowledge, is attributed to Marshal Serrano and his *entourage* by men who do not lightly give an opinion on such matters. If this statement, which comes from a very good source, is well founded, it would form a curious commentary upon the exclamation made by the same soldier at the opening of the Cortes, when, to the cry of "Long live the Republic!" he replied: "To-day only one cry ought to be uttered: 'Long live the Sovereignty of the Constituent Cortes!'"

Men of his stamp cannot, however, be expected to be overnice and very consistent in their utterances. That *beau sabreur*, one of the early paramours of the Queen, has already served many causes. At first an adherent of Espartero, it was he who, in 1843, chiefly contributed to the downfall of that well-meaning, but somewhat irresolute and cunctatorial Progressist leader. To describe the various political changes Serrano afterwards went through would tax the patience of both writer and reader. On what is the talk of all Spain, whenever his name is mentioned in connection with the royal family, I will not dwell. The irony of circumstances has placed this same man at the head of a government which is founded on the distinct programme of the expulsion of all members of the House of Bourbon.

Of Prim it is believed that he favors the candidature of the Duke of Aosta, King Victor Emmanuel's second son. I have

had the contents of a letter to that effect communicated to me, which may be said to have been inspired by Prim himself. I should not be astonished, however, if General Prim had some more ambitious project than that of becoming the *major-domo* of a half-witted young prince. Prim is evidently of that material out of which usurpers are made in troublous times. Having risen from the lowest ranks, he aims high, — if that ambition can be called "high" which has no nobler object than to exalt one's own person. The origin of Prim, strange as it may sound, is not certainly known. It has been gravely put forth by painstaking writers in encyclopædias of considerable authority, that Prim is a German by birth, the son of a certain Julius Prüss, a tax-collector at Klötze, in the Prussian Altmark, — that he was born in 1811 at Tangermünde, — became a deserter from the army, — and then, changing his name to Prim, enlisted in Spain. At any rate, there is some obscurity in regard to his early life. Once in the ranks of the Spanish army, he soon distinguished himself by bravery. From 1842, we see him in turn a military leader, — a deputy in the Cortes, — a political prisoner and exile, — Captain-General of Porto Rico, where he aided in suppressing a negro rising in some of the Danish possessions, which brought him the rank and pay of a Danish general, — then, during the Crimean War, for a short time in Turkey, — afterwards in Mexico, — more recently the leader of an unsuccessful insurrection, which, however, made his name more prominent, until he has turned up in this last revolution as the most prominent figure. He, too, has served many causes. Certainly it was not always for true liberalism and human rights that he drew his sword, whatever may be his personal valor and his popularity with the army. His ambition being known to be very great, some of the more diplomatic Democrats thought they might gain him over to their cause by holding out to him the prospect of the office of President. The negotiations necessarily failed; and perhaps it is as well that it should have been so. Prim, as the accepted leader of the Democratic party, would be even more dangerous to the cause of freedom than as the opponent of Republicanism. The history of the French Republic of 1848 may suggest a parallel.

However, both Prim and Serrano are too fond of their aristocratic titles and other court frippery not to have shown their preference for a monarchical *régime* at an early stage of the present revolution. They are well aware, too, that one of the first results of a Republic in Spain would be the abolition of the standing army, and the introduction of a militia system, which would cut the ground, as it were, from under the feet of military pretenders. Now to Prim the army is everything; hence he would never accept a programme such as the Republican leaders insist on. This consideration alone suffices to make such an alliance impossible, except on the tacit understanding that Prim may break any pledge, as he has violated the party compact formed between the Liberal Unionists, the Progressists, and the Republicans, before September last.

A few words remain to be said upon the ghastly occurrence at Burgos, which was due to clerical fanaticism. This revolution had begun, so far as the people were concerned, in a very mild manner, — no deeds of revenge, or even of severe justice, having been done by those who had suffered so long under a galling yoke. It was reserved to priestly fanatics to startle the world by a hideous act of inhuman bloodshed. The clergy in Spain look with an evil eye upon the growing spirit of enlightenment. The principle of religious equality, which has for the first time made its appearance in Spain in the present revolution, is distasteful to them in the extreme. Confiscations of Church property, decrees restricting the number of conventual establishments, and of the clerical order in general, there have been many during the present century. Each Liberal movement grappled with that important question. Still, even the Constitution of 1812 proclaimed the Roman Catholic religion the State religion, not containing a word of toleration for other creeds. It was only in 1854, when the privileges of the clergy were so much restricted, that the law was abolished which enabled Government to practise persecution against those who professed a religion different from that of the state.

The Revolution of September, 1868, placed the religious question on a broader ground. The watchword of the advanced popular party now became: "Equality of Right for all

Creeds!" Legally, matters are not yet settled in that respect; but practically, the restrictions hitherto existing have been given up by those in power, on account of the strength with which the Liberal current has set in. All this is a sore grievance to the monkish fraternity; and they seem to have thought that it was time to give the "godless revolutionists," who would do away with all religious persecution, a serious warning. The effect of that outrage at Burgos will, however, be little to the advantage of Ultramontanist reaction. In a political sense, the Spanish Revolution may yet undergo many shocks and counter-shocks, but one thing is certain: that the days are gone by, when Spain, with all its successive Liberal risings, and with all the curbs that had latterly been placed upon the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy, could still be said to be in toleration of other creeds far behind Turkey.

KARL BLIND.

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ART. VII.—1. *The First Principles of Observational Seismology.* By R. MALLET. 2 vols. Royal 8vo. London. 1862.

2. *Untersuchungen über das Phänomen der Erdbeben in der Schweiz.* Von G. H. OTTO VOLGER. 3 Theile. Gotha. 1857.

3. *Volcanoes and Earthquakes.* By MM. ZURCHER and MARGOLLÉ. 8vo. Philadelphia and London. 1869.

THE titles placed at the head of this article indicate three as characteristic books as could be selected from among the mass of publications devoted either to earthquakes alone or to earthquakes and volcanoes conjointly. In the last one on the list we have a fair specimen of a class of books which are becoming quite common, which mostly originate in France, are translated in England, and are reprinted here, and which, while pretending to be scientific, are, in reality, as far from having any claim to that character as possible. The principle on which these books are got up seems to be this: A number of showily designed and elegantly engraved wood-cuts are manu-

factured, and then some scientific penny-a-liner is hired to put together a text to match the pictures, no time being allowed for doing the work properly, even if the person selected were competent, — which is rarely the case, — the dominating idea being, evidently, to produce something which a not very critical public shall be tempted into buying, on account of the beauty of its mechanical execution, and with the incidental advantage of getting something scientific into the bargain.

The materials for the illustrations and text of such books are taken right and left without acknowledgment, the one caricatured and the other "popularized," — that is to say, enormously exaggerated or misrepresented, partly through ignorance, but chiefly through a desire to produce a sensational effect. The result is even worse than that produced by the modern sensational novel; for the latter is read, thrown away and forgotten, while the pseudo-scientific and elegantly illustrated volume is carefully laid away in the book-case, and referred to as a standard authority, and most certainly added to the dead weight of every public library, crowding out that which is really valuable in the same department, and which is overlooked, perhaps because it is a little old, because its exterior is not attractive, or because its appearance has not been heralded by a publisher's fanfare.

There could not be a better instance selected, as a text on which to preach a sermon, *à propos* of this style of illustrated works, than that furnished us by this book of MM. Zurcher and Margollé, whoever they may be. The illustrations are showy, and, as far as the engraving is concerned, well executed, though badly printed in the English edition from the purchased electrotypes, while, in the original, that branch of the mechanical execution was undoubtedly carefully attended to. But let any one conversant with the subject of which the volume treats examine the illustrations, and he will see at once that the drawings were made by persons entirely ignorant of what they were attempting to represent. Thus, in the views opposite pages 10 and 34, an attempt is made to show the phenomena of violent eruptions of Etna and Vesuvius. Now, if there is any characteristic feature of these eruptions, it is the

straightness of the column in which the projected material ascends until it reaches its highest point. In these drawings, on the contrary, apparently in order to add the curve of beauty and grace to the picture, the column, in both cases, is made to ascend in an elegantly waving line, as untrue to Nature as possible. Again, every one is familiar with the sketch of Cotopaxi, given by Humboldt, as an illustration of a beautifully regular volcanic cone, and which has figured in hundreds of books for the last fifty years, — notably in our school geographies. Humboldt, in his sketch, misled by the invariable tendency of the eye to exaggerate the slope of mountains, represented the inclination of the sides of the cone as 48°, while the photographs show that in reality this angle is no more than 28° or 29°, the greatest inclination, just at the summit, being only 32°. Now, on the wood-cut in MM. Zurcher and Margollé's book, the slope of all the snow-covered part of the volcano is given as 55°, while the effect of the whole is very much like what one might imagine would be produced by a stove-funnel perched on the summit of a big boulder. This is the character of the illustrations throughout; there is one, however, which surpasses all the others in its ludicrous absurdity, — representing a great number of Calabrian peasants in the act of being swallowed by earthquake chasms, the whole style of the thing being well suited to the pages of a comic almanac, perhaps, but certainly not to those of a scientific work. Of the text of this book it may be said, without hesitation, that it is fit to go with the illustrations. Let a single suggestion be quoted from it, to show how that which is unsound in theory, but at the same time brilliant and peculiarly French, is mixed with something supposed to be popularly and economically interesting, — the idea being to convey the impression that science has its practical as well as its abstruse side. M. Élie de Beaumont, a distinguished French geologist, has devoted much time to tracing out on the earth a regular geometric arrangement, with which he thinks the lines of upheaval of mountain chains may be found to coincide, and which he calls "a pentagonal network." The idea is ingenious, and has been elaborately wrought out by its author, but accepted by few of the leading geologists at the present day. Our authors, however, make both themselves

and the pentagonal network ridiculous, by advising that it should be used as a guide in boring for springs of petroleum. They even trace an imaginary line from Iceland straight to Oil Creek, "places remarkable for their bituminous emanations," as a guide to "oil prospectors." What a pity this brilliant idea had not been suggested before the collapse of the great bubble! One might then have had the "Great Consolidated Pentagonal Network Petroleum Company" to add to the list of other remarkable things in that line. All that is said of the volcanoes and volcanic rocks of our own country in MM. Zurcher and Margollé's book is equally curious, as an exhibition of entire ignorance of our geography and geology. There are just about as many misstatements as there are lines in the two pages devoted to North American volcanoes.

Herr Volger's book is as thoroughly German as that just noticed is French. This author, living at a distance from any region of volcanoes and great earthquakes, but in one where moderate shocks are frequent, and having a strong propensity to look at natural phenomena in what may be called "the small way," has evolved a theory of earthquakes from the depths of his moral consciousness, and then endeavored to bolster it up by collecting great numbers of facts, also of the small kind, entirely ignoring the greater facts, to which his smaller ones are as the ripple on the surface of the ocean in a gentle breeze to the great tidal wave which encircles the whole globe in its motion, and stirs the waters to the very profoundest depths. The book, however, quite different from that of MM. Zurcher and Margollé, is valuable as presenting the extreme views of the school to which the author belongs, and as extremely ingenious in its defence of them, although thoroughly wrong in its fundamental ideas, — as much so as one would be who should endeavor to work out the comparative anatomy of the elephant by a microscopic examination of the pimples on his hide.

Mr. Mallet's book is as different from either of the others as possible. In order to make its character intelligible, it will be necessary to give some idea of his previous publications, and of those of other really scientific investigators in the same line of research, and to show how and when this

branch of geological science acquired a right to the special name it now bears, that of SEISMOLOGY, a term derived directly from the Greek, and signifying the Science of Earthquakes.

The phenomena of volcanic and earthquake action, inseparably connected in the popular mind, and not easily disentangled from each other by the scientific, must necessarily engross a large share of thought in regions where they are frequently manifested, and especially at the time when such manifestations are peculiarly violent or destructive. As no exhibition of the forces of Nature is so sublime as that of the volcano, or so fearful in its consequences as that of the earthquake, it was natural not only that allusions to these phenomena should be found in the oldest writings of all nations inhabiting regions liable to such visitations, but that their very cosmogonies should be profoundly affected by these workings of unseen forces. Hence, in all the sacred writings of the nations inhabiting the vicinity of that cradle of civilization, the Mediterranean, a region liable to earthquakes, and well provided with volcanoes, we find a substratum of belief in occasional conflagrations and deluges by which the gods were wont to arrest the career of human wickedness, and to sweep off from the face of the earth its inhabitants, in order to make way for a new and improved creation. Such ideas pervaded the Egyptian, the Hindoo, the Hebrew, the Arabian, and the Greek mythology; and vestiges of the same are found in the earthquake-shaken regions of South America; while we are not aware that any trace of them can be discovered in the cosmogony of the North American Indians, dwelling in a region but little liable even to slight earthquake shocks, and entirely free from volcanoes.

In consequence of the effect which violent earthquake shocks produce on the material progress of the countries subject to them, and of their direct relations to the welfare of the human race, it is evident that these and kindred events stand in a different relation to history from the ordinary phenomena of geology. Those operations of Nature which proceed slowly and quietly, without destruction of life and property, are not so calculated to excite immediate and universal attention as those which are accompanied by devastating effects over vast

regions. Yet the former class may in reality be of as much importance in modifying the surface of the globe, and may finally bring about results as momentous, as any immediately following great earthquake shocks or volcanic eruptions. Thus, slow upheavals or depressions of large areas of land do really produce changes profoundly affecting the welfare of great numbers of people; but these changes take place so slowly that they are prepared for beforehand, and their effect is spread over very long periods, and is not strikingly perceptible at any one moment. That such changes were occurring in past times is clearly demonstrated, and there is every reason to suppose that they are going on now. Indeed, it is not difficult for the geologist to point to the very regions where slowly, but surely, the ground is sinking over large areas, and where alterations in the distribution of sea and land will in time have accumulated sufficiently to produce materially important results in relation to vegetation, animal life, and the development of the human race.

In view of the above, it may well be supposed that the number of volumes devoted to descriptions of the phenomena of earthquakes and volcanoes, in all languages, is very great. M. Alexis Perrey has given a list of eighteen hundred and thirty-seven works on earthquakes published up to 1856; but he admits that it is not complete. Those relating to volcanoes and volcanic phenomena are undoubtedly more numerous, but no one appears to have set about making a full catalogue of them. On the subject of Vesuvius alone, the list of volumes and scientific papers — many of the latter much more important than some of the separate works — would embrace many hundred titles, perhaps thousands. Most of these works are purely descriptive of the incidents observed, as the number of persons killed, or of buildings thrown down; they do not attempt to philosophize or generalize, or, if they do, it is in a moral or religious strain rather than a scientific one. The descriptions of volcanic phenomena are, on the whole, much more satisfactory than those of earthquakes, as will be easily understood. The former are more at the command of the observer, are longer in duration, and less appalling in their results. Earthquakes, on the other hand, at least those of magnitude,

come unexpectedly, give no indication of their probable violence or duration, and so unfit the mind for calm observation that it is only by previously arranged automatic machinery that we can expect to get accurate information as to those points in regard to which the palpable mementos of their occurrence are not left after the shock has subsided. Hence it is only of late years that earthquake phenomena have begun to be thoroughly investigated, and that the science of Seismology has taken a position among those branches of research in which accuracy of statement is expected.

Since history has preserved more or less complete records of earthquake shocks, in various parts of the world, from very early times, it would naturally be inferred that light might be thrown on some of the obscure points in seismological science by carefully collecting and tabulating all that is scattered through innumerable published volumes, in regard to the time, place, and extent of earthquake phenomena, and that this would be the necessary preparation for any thorough working-up of the subject. That such a working-up was desirable was evident; for, although most geologists, following Humboldt and Buch, were pretty clearly in accord with regard to the general cause of volcanic eruptions and earthquakes, yet much remained to be done to make the *modus operandi* of the internal forces more clear, and especially to furnish material for combating the views of a small class of geologists who persistently refuse to adopt the views formulated by Humboldt, and desire, on the other hand, to refer all these phenomena, as far as possible, to local causes, as will be explained farther on.

The paper read by Humboldt, in 1823, before the Berlin Academy, "On the Structure and Mode of Action of Volcanoes in Different Parts of the Globe," contained the first truly philosophical discussion of this subject; and the ideas with regard to the origin of volcanoes and earthquakes, then first rather vaguely announced, and afterwards more clearly formulated in the "Cosmos" (1845), have been the guiding thread by which most investigators in this branch of science have endeavored to work their way through the labyrinth of difficulties in which they have found themselves involved. The grand gen-

eralization of Humboldt, by which the whole subject of the theory of these phenomena was summed up in a few words in the "Cosmos," is as follows: "In a comprehensive view of Nature's operations, all these [namely, the phenomena of volcanism and earthquake action] may be fused into the one simple idea of *the reaction of the interior of the earth upon its exterior*." Here was simply and concisely enunciated the guiding principle of modern structural geology, and one which, by its subsequent connection with the nebular hypothesis, has become more and more generally recognized as the cornerstone on which the science rests. It is certainly true, that, if this theory be not adopted, there is no central idea in the science, nothing about which it can crystallize, and that the whole assemblage of facts so laboriously collected in physical geology is without anything to compact it into one harmonious whole.

Among those writers who have devoted considerable time to the investigation of earthquake phenomena, besides Humboldt, are: Von Hoff, in whose History of the Changes which have taken Place in the Condition of the Earth's Surface (Gotha, 1822–41) much information is to be found; Friedrich Hoffmann, in a variety of elaborate papers, and especially in his posthumous works, chiefly published between 1831 and 1839; F. C. Kries, whose work on the Causes of Earthquakes was crowned and published by the Dutch Academy in 1820. Peter Merian also made an elaborate investigation of the earthquakes occurring at Basle; Arago published several valuable papers on volcanoes and earthquakes, from 1820 to 1824; and Gay-Lussac contributed an important paper, in 1823, on the theory of volcanoes, in which was the first definite recognition of the vibratory character of earthquake motions. In 1846, Mr. Robert Mallet, of Dublin, published his first paper on the Dynamics of Earthquakes, in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. In 1847, Mr. W. Hopkins furnished his Report on the Theories of Elevation and Earthquakes to the British Association, a paper which has been much quoted and used by various writers on geological subjects. M. Alexis Perrey is, however, undoubtedly the most voluminous writer on earthquakes; his papers and publications are scattered through

a great number of the Journals and Transactions of learned societies, — chiefly those of the French and Belgian Academies, — and bear date from 1841 to 1868; the latest of which we have learned being a statistical account of the earthquakes of Alaska. In the British Association Report for 1858 will be found a list of M. Perrey's publications, from the earliest down to 1858, including fifty-nine titles. His library was recently offered for sale, and was shown by the catalogue to contain four thousand and fifteen works on the two subjects of earthquakes and volcanoes.

Elaborate and valuable as M. Perrey's papers are, especially to those working in this department of science, they are chiefly statistical in their nature, and cannot be compared for scope and general ability with those of Mr. Mallet, the labors of the last-named seismologist being not only those of a compiler, but also of an original experimenter and observer in this field.

Mr. Mallet's results have been laid before the public chiefly in the form of Reports to the British Association, appearing in the volumes for 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, and 1858. His principal separate publication is the one cited at the head of this article.

In the Reports of the British Association Mr. Mallet gives a catalogue of all recorded earthquakes from 1606 B. C. to 1842; but for the discussion of the subject in his last Report (1858) he uses the tabular statements of M. Perrey, thus supplementing his own work by that of M. Perrey, for the years 1843–50. All the catalogues up to that time gave, as a basis for induction, more or less precise information in regard to between six and seven thousand earthquakes. It is easy to see, that, the farther we go back in time, the more imperfect the records of earthquakes, as well as of all other physical events, will be found to be. As Mr. Mallet remarks, in speaking of the curves he has drawn, illustrating the frequency of recorded earthquakes during the different centuries: "Our chrono-seismic curve is, in fact, not only a record of earthquakes, but a record of the advance of human enterprise, travel, and observation." Thus, for the years 1700 to 1400 B. C. there are a few scattered facts; then, from 1400 to 900, nearly five hundred years of perfect blank; followed again,

with a few exceptions, by another blank from 800 to 600 B. C. Indeed, the only record of any value for scientific analysis commences about 500 B. C. Since that time, the epochs of the invention of printing and of the Reformation are clearly marked in the expansions of the curves; while the discovery of America, the voyage to India around the Cape of Good Hope, and the vast increase in the commercial intercourse of the world consequent thereon, are also perfectly recognizable in the rapid accumulation of data, and the sudden swelling of the curve of frequency. While only six or seven thousand earthquakes have been tabulated for all time down to 1850, a German author, Dr. K. E. Kluge, was able to obtain records of four thousand six hundred and twenty as occurring between the years 1850 and 1857, inclusive.

We will now endeavor to present, with a few additions of our own, the most important results obtained by the various authors specified, in working over the great mass of statistical information which has been accumulated.

Earthquakes may be considered, *first*, with reference to their geographical distribution, or the position which seismic areas occupy on the earth's surface with reference to each other, to the great features of the earth's surface, and to the position of areas where kindred phenomena — as, for instance, volcanic eruptions — are manifested; *second*, in their relations of time, or with reference to their occurrence, as connected, synchronously or otherwise, with changes of the seasons, or as recurring in cycles, or as influenced by the position of the heavenly bodies, especially the moon or the sun; and, *lastly*, as connected with movements or conditions of the atmosphere, or with electrical and magnetic disturbances.

Let us examine, first, what deductions can be drawn from the geographical position of earthquake areas.

There are several "seismographic maps," showing the geographical distribution of earthquake regions; among these, the best and latest is that accompanying Mallet's Fourth Report to the British Association, and from which the others do not differ much in the general character of the results shown. The first impression produced by looking at any of these should be rather one of alarm; for nearly the whole of the inhabited and

habitable earth appears to be shaded with the various tints implying a greater or less liability to earthquake shocks. It would, indeed, seem, at first sight, as if only those regions were left uncolored in regard to which no information could be obtained. Thus, all of Europe is more or less deeply colored, except a part of Central and Northeastern Russia,—and nearly all of Asia, except the extreme northern portion of Siberia, and the country drained by the Amoor River. On the other hand, almost the whole of Africa and Australia is left blank, as well as the extreme northern portion of North America, and all of South America east of the eastern base of the Andes and south of a narrow belt extending around from New Granada to French Guiana. It is evident that portions of the areas thus omitted in the distribution of the earthquake tint must have been left blank on account of the absence of information in regard to their seismic character. Indeed, it might be asked whether there is any part of the world where earthquakes do not occur. To this question it would probably be safe to reply, that there is no region thickly inhabited by a civilized people, and where consequently there is a pretty complete record of what has happened for a considerable period back, in which there are not occasional slight manifestations of seismic energy. But it is pretty certain, on the other hand, that regions so well known as Brazil, or as some portions of the coast of Africa, could not be much troubled by earthquakes without some information having been gathered in regard to them by the many travellers who have visited those countries. The fact that any area is left uncolored in Mr. Mallet's map is a strong reason for believing that it is probably not liable to severe shocks. Leaving Africa and Australia out of the question, as too little known to allow of positive statements being made concerning them, it may be said that there is hardly any portion of the habitable globe which is not occasionally shaken, but that Eastern South America comes nearest to a desirable state of security in this respect. Most of British North America is also very firm in its position as an integral part of the crust, but is not likely ever to be very thickly inhabited.

On close examination of Mr. Mallet's map, we see upon it

three tints of color, intended to distinguish, as we learn from the accompanying report, the relative intensity of the shocks occurring in the regions designated by them. The deepest tint indicates great earthquakes; the middle tint, those of mean intensity; the lightest color, minor shocks. By "great earthquakes" are meant those in which, over large areas, numerous cities or towns are overthrown, persons killed, rocky masses dislocated, etc.; under the head of earthquakes of mean intensity are included such as were felt over a wide area, but which were not severe enough to have a very destructive effect, and were not attended with much loss of life. The third class embraces those slight tremors of the surface which do not produce any serious destruction or commotion, and which leave but few, if any, traces of their occurrence.

It will of course be impossible, in these pages, to enter into any minute discussion of the distribution of the different bands of seismic energy; but some general idea of their geographical range can be given. Let us examine, first, the position of the patches of deepest tint, — those indicating the occurrence of "great earthquakes." We see at once that the area thus colored is, to a very large extent, coincident with that of the greatest displays of active volcanic forces. As the whole Pacific coast of America and the islands of the coast of Asia are the scene of volcanic phenomena on the grandest scale, so, too, the darkest tint of color follows the coast of the Pacific Ocean around, indicating great earthquakes along nearly the whole line; and when this is not the case, then the color representing the prevalence of shocks of the second order of intensity is given. The great circle of fire about Borneo as a centre, extending from Manila around to Sumatra, exhibits a broad belt of the deepest tint. The same is true of the region connecting the Andes with the Lesser Antilles. Iceland, the Azores, the Canaries, the Cape Verdes, parts of Italy, the country between the Mediterranean and the Caspian, — these are all regions of great earthquakes, and also, as we well know, of great volcanic eruptions. Of regions liable to great earthquakes and not volcanic, the following may be cited as the principal: portions of the coast of China, the region about the mouth of the Ganges, and that south of the mouth of the Indus, the Pyre-

nees, and the coast of Portugal between Lisbon and Oporto. If we should (as we very properly might) distinguish in the region of great earthquakes two divisions, — one in which highly destructive shocks may be expected to occur frequently, and the other where they take place only at long intervals, — we should then find that the former, that is to say, the pre-eminent earthquake areas of the world, are strictly limited to regions of volcanic activity, or to parts of the earth where such activity has only died out in the most recent geological periods. To say also that these regions of great earthquake shocks are almost exclusively in the neighborhood of the ocean is, then, almost unnecessary; since we know very well that there are almost no active volcanoes in existence except near the sea, — those reported in the Chinese annals as occurring in the Thian-Shan range, north of the Gobi Desert, being the only exceptions, while with regard to these there is much uncertainty. The two most prominent facts, then, in respect to regions liable to great earthquakes are, that they are almost entirely coincident with areas of active volcanoes, and that they also lie near the borders of the ocean.

Taking next into consideration the areas of earthquake shocks of moderate intensity, we find that they also (since the greater includes the less) are near coast-lines and volcanic centres, either those now active or else such as have become recently extinct, and especially that broad bands of the tint peculiar to this class are found along many of the great ranges of mountains which are not volcanic, notably at the base of the Himalayas, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, — also on the northern edge of the plateau of High Asia, through the belt of islands off the east coast of Australia, from New Guinea around to New Zealand, and in the extinct volcanic islands of the Atlantic Ocean, — as Ascension, St. Helena, Tristan d'Acunha, etc.

Here, before going any farther, it will be well to speak of the very inaccurate ideas apt to be given by earthquake catalogues of the real number and severity of shocks, and from a very natural cause. In the regions where earthquakes are of rare occurrence, and never severe, the slightest vibration is a matter of great interest, much talked about, and of course greatly exaggerated; especially are the newspaper accounts likely to

represent such uncommon events in the liveliest colors. In a really earthquake-shaken region, like the west coast of South America, and where at the same time newspapers are almost unknown, by far the greater number of shocks are never put on record, or at least they have not been until since the establishment of public scientific observatories, and of these there are but very few, — while in thickly settled and highly civilized regions each slightest jar of the ground has been recorded. This leads to curious results in the records, and might cause very erroneous conclusions to be drawn in regard to the real earthquake character of different regions. Thus it appears, *by the catalogues*, that nearly as many earthquakes have taken place in Great Britain during the nineteenth century as in Chile, — while we know that in the first-named country no very destructive shock has ever taken place, and that even minor ones are very rare. In Chile, on the contrary, several very frightful earthquakes have occurred during the present century; one hundred and twenty-seven shocks were felt at Santiago in thirty-five months, and prudent people decline ever to sleep in a room with the door shut, lest it may become jammed by an earthquake, and egress be rendered impossible. It is a sufficient proof that a region is comparatively safe from real danger, to read as follows: "Newport, R. I., 1766, August 25. Violent shock. *No damage done.*" A violent shock not producing any damage would be a desideratum on the South American coast, where probably the record would have stood: "*A very slight vibration.* No damage done."

It is from considerations like those just suggested, and also, in some degree, through the absence of reliable data, and the habit which our newspapers have of exaggerating all events, whether physical or political, that we may account for the seismological character of our own country being very much misrepresented on Mr. Mallet's map. On it we find the whole region east of the meridian of 95°, excepting a small area about the Upper Great Lakes, colored of the middle tint, indicating a region of considerable earthquake activity. This band is also extended up to the head of the Missouri River, over a belt of country two hundred miles wide.

On the Pacific coast, on the other hand, a broad band of the lightest tint, indicating only an occasional visitation of the lightest possible shocks, extends back from the ocean as far as Salt Lake, including the region north and south between the mouth of the Colorado and the northern line of California. This tint is also continued up the coast to the Aleutian Islands, excepting only a small area about the mouth of the Columbia River, where two active volcanoes are inserted, and, apparently in consequence of their presence, the region thereabout is colored of the middle tint.

Now certainly our personal experience — and this is well supported by the catalogues — shows that we live in a region where earthquakes are very little to be apprehended, and where there is no record of any destructive one ever having taken place. We have no remembrance of ever experiencing a shock, even of the slightest kind, in Massachusetts. We have to go back as far as 1755 to find any record of a decided earthquake, and this seems to have been connected with a great agitation extending over a large part of the earth's surface, and it is not unlikely that the focus of disturbance was far out at sea. It will be remembered that the "Great Lisbon Earthquake" commenced November 1, 1755, and that it was one of the most violent and widely extended on record. The shocks continued, at various places around the Mediterranean, with occasional intervals, for many months, and nearly the whole circumference of the Atlantic Ocean was in a disturbed condition, while portions of the East India Islands were also vibrating synchronously, if not sympathetically, with the other side of the globe.

The shock of November 18, 1755, was felt all along the Atlantic coast, between Halifax and Maryland, and west certainly as far as Lake George, in New York. It was quite severe at Boston, — more so, probably, than anywhere else within our territory. This earthquake was described by Professor Winthrop, of Harvard College, in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society (Vol. L. Part I. p. 1), with considerable detail, and with no little skill and critical acumen. The shock was violent enough to throw down a considerable number of chimneys and the gable ends of some

brick buildings. Throughout the State many stone fences were more or less injured. Some cracks were made in the ground near Scituate, from which water and sand issued, to the extent of "many cart-loads." Previously to that, in 1638, 1658, 1662, and 1727, shocks had been felt in Boston, of which that of 1662 was severe enough to throw down some chimneys. It does not appear, however, that any person has ever been killed by any earthquake in New England; so that it is pretty safe to conclude that some, if not all, of the chimneys thrown down had been built with very poor mortar. We are not aware that there is any record of any considerable shock having taken place in New England since that of 1755.

On the Pacific coast of the United States, however, hardly a year elapses without some pretty severe shock. The number of earthquakes recorded in California for the thirteen years ending December, 1863, is one hundred and eleven. Many very heavy ones have occurred there since the beginning of the present century. In 1812 the whole southern part of that State was violently agitated during four and a half months. In some regions the inhabitants abandoned their houses altogether. Several of the "Missions" — substantial stone buildings — were thrown down; in one — that of San Luis Capistrano — religious services were going on at the time, and many of those present were killed, the number of persons thus perishing being stated by various authorities at from thirty to forty-five. A number of lives were also lost at the Missions of La Purissima, one hundred and twenty miles distant from that of San Luis Capistrano. It must be recollected that the State, then the Mexican province of Upper California, was at that time extremely thinly inhabited. Had it been a populous region, it would seem, from the descriptions of the character of the shocks, that the loss of life and property must have been very great. Among the earthquakes which have happened in California since it became a part of our own territory, two are particularly to be remembered, — those of October 8, 1865, and of October 21, 1868. The first did considerable damage to property in San Francisco, and the other was severely felt over an extensive area, demolishing a great number of buildings in that

city, and especially in the towns on the opposite side of the bay between Oakland and San José. Several persons were killed by falling fragments. In view of the above-cited facts, it will readily be seen that even coloring both sides of the United States as equally liable to seismic demonstrations would not at all be supported by the facts; while representing the Atlantic coast as more shaky than the Pacific slope is very far out of the way.

The extending of a band of color indicating serious earthquake action up the Valley of the Missouri is also quite unsupported by the facts. It is true, however, that a region of a few hundred square miles in area, near the junction of the Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers, was subjected to violent earthquake shocks during several months, in the years 1811–12,—a remarkably exceptional case in every respect, and therefore worthy of a brief notice. This disturbance commenced December 16, 1811, with an earthquake which was felt over a large portion of the Valleys of the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Arkansas; it was also noticed as far to the southeast as Florida, although the shocks were feeble to the east of the Alleghanies. New Madrid, on the Mississippi, in latitude 37° 45′, a little below the mouth of the Ohio, seemed to be the focus of the disturbance, and the shocks continued there daily and almost hourly for several months; they are reported as having finally ceased about the time of the great earthquake of Caracas, March 26, 1812. As a result of this, a large tract of country west of New Madrid, extending seventy or eighty miles north and south, and thirty east and west, was permanently sunk considerably below its former level, and converted into a marsh. This was truly an interesting and peculiar occurrence, as it is almost the only instance on record of a region far from volcanoes, from mountain chains, and from the ocean, being subjected to a long and violent disturbance of this kind; it is also remarkable that the heavy shocks in this locality have been repeated only once, so far as we are able to learn,—namely, in 1865, August 17, when a considerable part of the Mississippi Valley was shaken with some violence, although no serious damage was done at any point. The shock was most distinctly felt at New Madrid. It is said that light vibrations

have frequently occurred in the district of the "Sunk Country," as it is called, since the great ones of 1811–12.

An examination of the catalogues and maps of earthquake areas, with a view to their correlation with the geological structure of those areas, shows some very interesting facts. It is clear that persons living on the older geological formations have much less reason to apprehend earthquake disturbances than those who have under them the more recent members of the series. There is hardly any region liable to severe shocks where there are not, in the vicinity at least, large accumulations of strata belonging to one of the later geological epochs. Chains of mountains made up of Palæozoic rocks, as, for instance, the Urals, the Appalachians, the Brazilian ranges, the Scandinavian mountains, and the Laurentian mountains, are never the scene of violent or destructive shocks.

Where the newer formations do exist, but where, however, they remain undisturbed, or nearly in the same relative position in which they were deposited, there, too, is immunity from earthquake damage, and, *a fortiori*, where the older formations occur and are entirely undisturbed. Thus, the whole vast region of the Central and Northern-Central portions of North America, north of the parallel 40°, is remarkably free from earthquakes, and we have there one of the largest areas in the world of nearly horizontally stratified Palæozoic rocks. From the western base of the Appalachian chain, towards the northwest, over a wide belt, including the Upper Great Lakes, and trending off towards the Arctic Ocean, there extends a tract embracing many hundred thousand square miles, and included between the eastern base of the Cordilleras and Hudson's Bay, over which only the oldest geological formations occur, and where these have remained almost wholly undisturbed since their original deposition. This is a region left entirely uncolored in the seismological maps, and which, so far as can be learned, is indeed almost, if not quite, exempt from even the minor earthquake shocks. So, too, the region of the Plains in our own territory, although underlaid by the more recent formations, is little, if at all, troubled by earthquakes, and we know that the formations are here also almost horizontal. The same conditions may be traced all over the world, so far as our

information goes; so that we are justified in asserting that it is extremely rare to find earthquakes occurring over geologically undisturbed areas, or regions where the strata have not been turned up and folded, and that the same is true even where such geological disturbances have taken place, provided they have not been continued down to a recent geological period.

Thus we have shown, that, from a geographical point of view, great earthquakes, and even those of minor consequence, are clearly connected in their place of occurrence with the position of the oceanic basins, with the existence of great mountain chains, and consequently with the distribution of volcanoes; also, that they are unmistakably associated with the existence of the more recent geological formations, and with their most disturbed condition. Hence we have the strongest reasons for believing that earthquake phenomena are dependent on general laws, such laws as have governed the building up of continents and the bringing of the great features of the earth into their present stage of development. They cannot be mere local phenomena, occurring without any mutual relations to each other, or as disconnected with the whole series of geological events which scientific investigations show so clearly to have been governed by a law of progress. The same conclusion may be drawn from a consideration of the extent over which many earthquake shocks are felt,—the magnitude of the area shaken, and its proportion to the whole surface of the earth, being considered, very fairly as it would seem, a decided indication of the magnitude of the cause. One of the greatest earthquake shocks on record is that already referred to as "the Great Lisbon Earthquake," the centre of disturbance having been situated near the coast of Portugal, and the effects of the shock having been most fearful at that city. This earthquake produced sensible effects over an area of the earth's surface included between Morocco on the south and Iceland on the north, Töplitz in Bohemia on the east, and the West India Islands on the west. The great earthquake of August 13, 1868, of which, however, only the most unsatisfactory accounts have yet reached us, appears to have been felt along the Andes, over a breadth of forty degrees of latitude, and its effects were dis-

tinctly visible in the great waves it raised at Juan Fernandez, on all the Hawaiian Islands, on the coast of Japan, and even in Australia and New Zealand.

On examining the phenomena of earthquakes with reference to the time of their occurrence, various interesting results have been obtained, as respects their frequency, both at different seasons of the year, and while the earth is in certain positions with regard to the sun and moon. It appears, also, that there are certain periods during which the earth is in a peculiarly disturbed condition, and that not unfrequently a large number of shocks take place at about the same time in regions far removed from each other. As a marked instance of this, may be mentioned the latter part of November, 1852, when a large portion of the Pacific coast, both of North and South America, was in motion, at the same time with the whole of the East Indian Archipelago and various intermediate places. This earthquake period commenced in the East Indies, in Southern Sumatra, on the 11th of November, and the shocks continued in various parts of the Archipelago until the 26th, when the great one took place which was felt all over the East India Islands, from Manila to Sumatra. The disturbance was kept up through the whole of December, and, on the 21st of that month, had, in the island of Java, reached a degree of violence exceeding anything previously known. From the 27th to the 30th of November the earth was in constant motion in all the East India Islands. During exactly these days, — that is, from the 26th to the 29th of November, — tremendous shocks were constantly felt in the Great Antilles. On the 26th of November, very severe earthquakes agitated the Pacific coast of North America, from Mexico to Northern California, and indeed the whole region between the Colorado River and the coast was in a state of continual vibration for nearly two months. On the same day, November 26th, an earthquake was felt in Italy; the next day, a slight shock on the Atlantic coast of the United States, and a heavy one on the South American coast; and still the next, another in Chile. It would appear that at this time both sides of the Pacific Ocean, from China to Australia on the west, and between California and Chile on the east, were vibrating synchronously and extensively, and that this condition of

things lasted for nearly two months, while several points in other regions were also seriously implicated in the disturbance. This was undoubtedly one of the grandest epochs of earthquake disturbance which have ever been known, and it is hardly possible to explain the synchronous occurrence of so long-continued and violent a series of shocks in the regions affected by simply considering it as an accidental coincidence. A great many other instances might be cited of earthquake disturbances taking place at the same time, in regions far distant from each other; while, on the other hand, it is true that severe shocks have often taken place which were limited to quite a narrow area.

The coincidences of earthquakes and volcanic activity are curious, and not easily brought into harmony with any theory. The great fact is clear enough, that by far the most severe and the most frequent earthquake shocks are in countries of volcanic activity. But it is also not to be denied that volcanic eruptions do occur occasionally in perfect quiet, so far as vibrations of the adjacent crust are concerned. The same uncertainty exists with regard to the internal connections and sympathy of volcanic vents, whether at a distance from or near to each other. Cases have repeatedly occurred where adjacent volcanoes have not sympathized in the slightest degree in their periods of rest and activity, even when in immediate proximity to each other. One of the most curious of these instances is that of the summit crater of Mauna Loa, and Kilauea, the famous side-crater on the same mountain, nearly ten thousand feet lower down. It has repeatedly happened that the upper one has been in violent eruption, while the lower was in no degree more active than usual, thus showing that the two great vents of the same volcano were not in immediate connection. On the other hand, it has often occurred, that, of two volcanoes near each other, or even at a considerable distance apart, one has become absolutely quiet at the very moment when the other has suddenly burst into eruption; the instances of this kind are, some of them, so marked, and the correspondences in the commencement or termination of the seasons of activity have been so exact, that it would be quite impossible to pass them over as mere accidental coincidences.

The question has been much discussed, whether volcanoes in reference to earthquakes act as "safety-valves," — that is, whether their eruptions, once commenced, can be looked upon as in any degree removing the probability of violent shocks. That such is the case is the almost universal belief through earthquake-shaken regions in the neighborhood of great volcanoes. Indeed, it seems not unreasonable to suppose, that, the internal forces having once found vent for their energy in the eruptive action, the vibration of the crust, which can hardly be looked on as anything else than the result of the struggles between expansive force on the one hand and the pressure and tenacity of the superincumbent material on the other, would be suspended. On examining the records, it will be found that there are many instances which show clearly that earthquake shocks, previously severe, have ceased entirely at the moment of the eruption of some adjacent volcano; while there are other instances in which severe earthquakes have been felt some time after great eruptions in the vicinity had commenced. In the very numerous instances where volcanic eruptions have been the signal for the stoppage of a long series of earthquake shocks in the vicinity, it is difficult to admit any other explanation than that the issuing of the lava has relieved the pressure and thus removed the cause of the shocks; while in the cases of an opposite character, where the vibration still continued after the eruption had begun, it is reasonable to suppose that the relief was only local, and not sufficient to affect the whole adjacent region.

As before remarked, the curves indicating the number of recorded earthquakes in all parts of the world expand rapidly as we approach the present epoch. There is no reason to suppose, however, that this means anything more than that our records are growing every year more complete: only the observations of the last century and a half can be considered as making the slightest claim to completeness. No inference can be drawn at present, then, or probably for a long time to come, as to whether seismic energy, as a whole, throughout the world, is on the increase or decrease. On this point we shall be for a long time in the dark. But the question next arises, whether the records, especially those of the last two or three centuries,

exhibit, when plotted in curves, any indication of irregular or paroxysmal energy; that is, whether there are certain epochs during each century, when the number and intensity of shocks are greater than at others. Although the dates are far too incomplete to admit of a perfectly satisfactory answer to this question, Mr. Mallet thinks he is justified in asserting that there are minor intervals of comparative repose, averaging from five to ten years in duration, alternating with periods of considerably increased activity of a year or two in length. These shorter intervals do not seem to follow any regular law, so far as can be made out from the curves; but they seem to be in connection with periods of fewer earthquakes, and usually with the occurrence of less violent shocks. There are also two very well marked epochs of extreme violence and frequency of earthquakes, — one towards the end, and one, still more violent than the other, about the middle of each century. The form of the curves seems to indicate a comparatively sudden burst of seismic energy at each great paroxysm, and then a more gradual subsidence of the action; as if the disturbing forces had been of a nature to reach rapidly the maximum of their power, and then to sink more slowly into their normal condition of activity. Still, the data are few for general results of much weight in regard to long periods of alternate repose and paroxysmal energy. If, as Mr. Mallet thinks, such conclusions can already be drawn, it is a strong argument in favor of considering earthquake action to be connected with some great general cause, commensurate, in the magnitude of the area in which it acts, with that of the earth itself.

In comparing the relation of earthquakes to the times of the year in which shocks have occurred, in order to ascertain whether there are months or seasons in which seismic energy is more developed than in others, quite interesting coincident results have been obtained by all who have occupied themselves with these investigations. In the first place, it is clearly made out that there are more earthquakes, in the northern hemisphere, during winter than summer. Thus, Dr. Kluge gives, for the shocks registered from 1850 to 1857, nineteen hundred and eighty-four as occurring in the winter half of the year (September to March), and only eighteen hundred

and thirty-four as taking place in the summer half. The months in which the smallest number of shocks took place were May, June, and July; and October, December, and February, those in which the number was greatest. Mr. Mallet draws substantially the same results from the comparison of the curves of mensual seismic energy for the whole period of the catalogue, or thirty-two centuries. In the northern hemisphere he finds the annual paroxysmal minimum to occur in July, and the maximum in January, while the preponderance of winter over summer in the number of shocks is very decided. The results of observation in the southern hemisphere agree with those in the northern, the frequency of earthquakes there being greater in summer (our winter) than in winter (our summer); but the observations are so limited in number, and the area is so much more extensively covered by water, that at present any deductions of this kind in regard to the southern hemisphere have much less weight than the similar ones for the northern. The same results are shown when the months are grouped into four seasons, — the curves showing clearly a maximum for the three winter months, and a minimum for the summer.

Another coincidence appears to have been pretty clearly indicated, if not positively made out, by the labors of Messrs. Mallet and Perrey: namely, the occurrence of a maximum of earthquake shocks about the time of the winter solstice, and a minimum at the autumnal equinox. And there is still another branch of inquiry with reference to the frequency and violence of earthquakes, which is of great interest, although as yet by no means thoroughly worked out: that is, the action of the moon on the earth, or the connection between the phases of the moon and the recurrence of shocks. The coincidence of certain great earthquakes with extreme high or low tide had been repeatedly noticed in South America many years ago, and the probable influence of the moon on the interior of the earth asserted by different scientific authorities. Baglivi, an Italian author, in his description of the Roman earthquake of 1703, published in 1737, notices particularly the fact of the more common occurrence of earthquakes at the time of full moon. M. Perrey was the first, however, to enter into the labo-

rious calculations necessary to throw further light on this question of so much interest; and although it cannot be considered as thoroughly settled, still the facts seem to indicate that the action of the moon, or of the sun and moon combined, is really perceptible in increasing the number and violence of earthquakes at certain periods. M. Perrey's results, as obtained from a combination of the observations of 1844 – 47, are as follows: *First*, that earthquakes occur more frequently at the Syzygies than at the Quadratures; *secondly*, that they also are more numerous at the Perigees than at the Apogees; and, *finally*, that, whenever a disturbance is going on, the frequency of the shocks is increased by the passage of the moon over the meridian of the place in question. These results would indicate that the moon has an action on the interior of the earth somewhat analogous to that which it exerts on the ocean, — the time of greatest frequency of shocks agreeing with that of the highest and lowest tides. The great interest of this investigation will be easily understood, since it bears very directly on one of the most vexed questions of modern geological science, namely, whether the interior of the earth is really in a liquid state, or sufficiently so to admit of its yielding to the attraction of the sun and moon in such a degree as to produce a sensible result, as would be the case, provided it could be clearly proved that the supposed lunar influence on the frequency of earthquakes really existed. Such an investigation, moreover, has an important bearing on many points of theoretical geology, and it will certainly not be dropped until the question has been definitely settled. Of M. Perrey's conclusions Mr. Mallet says, that they rest upon so narrow a basis of induction that they must be accepted with caution; yet he admits that they possess more than sufficient probability, from physical considerations, to induce further inquiry. The Committee of the French Academy of Sciences to which M. Perrey's conclusions were referred were evidently much impressed with the character of his results, although cautious in accepting them, until they should be confirmed by the reduction of future observations, or by going back and computing a still greater number of older ones.

However important the relative frequency of earthquakes, as

compared with the positions of the sun and moon, may be to the scientific man, as having a profound theoretical significance, people generally are much more interested in the connection of seismic with meteorological phenomena. A great many persons think that they remember some peculiarities of the weather as having preceded any great shock; and in almost every earthquake-shaken region there are popular theories as to the premonitory symptoms of these disturbances,—although these are very different in different places. The most common one is, perhaps, that oppressive heat, accompanied by unusual stillness of the atmosphere and a light mist, is a sure forerunner of a shock. In accordance with this theory, the inhabitants of San Francisco were greatly excited, last September, by the occurrence of a remarkably smoky appearance in the atmosphere during several days; and a report having been set afloat that an uncommonly high tidal wave had been experienced in the harbor, the city became wild with excitement. Nothing unusual happened, however, and the smoke was afterwards traced to burning forests far north on the coast. The most careful comparison of the catalogues of earthquake occurrences with registers of the weather has failed to reveal any substantial reason for supposing that any of these peculiar indications really do precede the shocks. Only this much appears probable: that a great depression of the barometer, implying a diminution of the pressure of the atmosphere on the earth, may be in some cases the determining cause of an earthquake. This, as we can easily conceive, might be the case; since, if we suppose the normal condition of the crust of the earth in an habitually disturbed region to be that of a nicely balanced equilibrium between the internal forces seeking exit, or relief by change of place, and the pressure of the overlying material, gravity and tenacity acting against expansion, it is not unreasonable to admit that a sudden depression of the barometer, perhaps to the amount of two and a half inches, equal to one twelfth the whole weight of the atmosphere, may turn the scale, so that the crust shall give way and the pent-up forces find relief, giving us the evidence of it in a vibration of the superincumbent strata. There are many facts which seem to indicate that the severe storms, gales of wind, and heavy

rains, which have repeatedly been observed to occur simultaneously with earthquake shocks, and which, from meteorological causes, are preceded by a remarkable fall of the barometer, are thus causally connected with seismic disturbances. The depression of the mercurial column indicates a change in the currents of the atmosphere, which will result in a violent storm, and the diminished pressure of the atmosphere is the direct agent in starting the vibration, which takes place sooner than it would have happened, had it not been for this disturbing element.

Many curious statements have been made with regard to the presentiments of approaching earthquakes manifested by different animals, some of which seem well authenticated, while others must be set down as the results of excited imaginations. Some of the peculiar actions ascribed to animals may easily be accounted for by the emission of carbonic acid or other gases from the ground, which is known to accompany some earthquakes in volcanic regions, and which might be perceptible to animals whose sense of smell or nervous susceptibility was more delicate than our own. Dogs are supposed to be peculiarly sensitive in this respect, and hogs and geese are believed to show fear of approaching volcanic disturbances sooner than other animals. Birds generally are very quick at taking alarm, as might naturally be expected from their delicate organization. All incidents recorded with regard to the behavior of animals, before and during earthquake shocks, must be taken with many grains of allowance ; but such as are well authenticated are extremely interesting, as indicating differences between the nervous susceptibilities of man and the lower animals.

Whether there is any relation between earthquake phenomena and the magnetism of the earth is a question which has been frequently discussed, and for the satisfactory answering of which the data are not yet sufficient. We know no reason why there should be any real connection between the disturbances of the earth's crust and the magnetic currents which circle around it, nor has any been proved. On the contrary, most, if not all, of the investigators in this branch consider that there is no reason to believe that the unusual vibrations

of the magnetic instruments, which have been sometimes observed in earthquakes, are anything more than the mechanical result of the motions of the earth's crust.

We have now gone rapidly over most of the ground which has been occupied by compilers of earthquake catalogues, and given a sketch of the principal results. It must be remembered, however, that a large portion of the data used are entirely wanting in the elements of scientific accuracy, and that in consequence of this looseness of statement only conclusions of the most general character could be drawn from them. So impressed was Mr. Mallet with this fact, that he thus expressed himself at the end of the Report to the British Association which had occupied him for so many years. He says: "In conclusion, I would repeat my conviction that a farther expenditure of labor in earthquake catalogues, of the character hitherto compiled, and alone possible from the data to have been compiled, is now a waste of scientific time and labor. The main work presented for seismologists in the immediate future must consist in good observations, with seismometers, advantageously placed at sufficiently distant stations, and galvanically connected as to time,—and in the careful observation of the traces left by great shocks (when of recent occurrence) upon buildings, and other objects, artificial and natural, with a view to determining the nature of the forces that have affected them, aided by the resources of the physicist and the mathematician."

Just about the time the above-quoted conclusions of Mr. Mallet were put upon paper, there occurred the great earthquake of December, 1857, which shook a large part of the Neapolitan territory, and was the third in extent and severity of all those of which there is any record as having occurred in Europe, — since more than ten thousand persons were killed by it, and a great number of towns and villages were almost destroyed. Immediately after this calamity, Mr. Mallet applied to the Royal Society of London for a small grant of money, to pay a part of the expense of visiting the locality, and making a thorough investigation of all the facts in the light of the most recent seismological inquiries. The request was acceded to, and

Mr. Mallet travelled carefully over the shaken region during several months, and was afterwards employed for nearly two years in preparing his report, the title of which stands at the head of this article. This report was published in 1862, the Royal Society contributing three hundred pounds towards the expense. It fills two royal octavo volumes, and is most elaborately and beautifully illustrated, in a manner worthy of the first really thorough investigation in the department of Seismology.

It is hardly necessary to state that one investigation has not exhausted the subject; it has rather set the example of what ought to be done for many earthquakes; and it is especially of value, as leading the way in a new line of research, and as showing what can and must be done in order to arrive at as complete a knowledge as possible of the workings of the mysterious agencies by which these great convulsions are brought about. Some of the more important results obtained by Mr. Mallet in regard to the Neapolitan earthquake may here be given, as a specimen of the kind of material which will have to be accumulated from all quarters of the globe before the demands of scientific accuracy shall have been satisfied.

In the first place, in the map accompanying the report in question, the regions in which the shock was equally intense are designated by curves, called *isoseismal curves;* then the whole of the wave-paths, or lines of direction in which the shocks were propagated at each locality, are marked by red lines. These wave-paths of course radiate from the focal point of the shock, and so carefully were they determined, chiefly by observations of the position of fallen buildings, and the character of the movements and fractures in those left standing, that sixteen of these lines, when protracted back, pass through the same focal point, or within a circle of five hundred yards radius around it, while thirty-two more fall within a circle concentric with the former and of one mile radius. Now, theoretically, the intersection of any two wave-paths is sufficient to fix the position of the "seismic vertical," or the point on the earth's surface vertically above the spot where the impulse or shock originated. The evidence, then, in this case was ample for determining this point as accurately as possible; since, what-

ever be the nature of the impulsive force, or however it may operate, the wave of impulse, as propagated outwardly, passes simultaneously, or almost so, from points about the actual focus at a considerable distance from each other, — the point from which the disturbance starts not being, by any means, a mathematical one. The position of the point on the surface vertically over the seismic focus was found, as above, to be near Caggiano, a village sixty miles a little south of east from Naples.

The next important question to be settled was the depth of this focus below the surface, — a point of great interest, as will be perceived at once, in its connection with the theory of earthquake action. This depth can easily be obtained by mathematical calculation, when the distance on the surface from any station to the seismic vertical is known, together with the angle of emergence of the wave-path, the seismic vertical being another wave-path, and the point of convergence of the two being the focus from which the wave started. Of course the limits of error are considerable in an investigation of this kind; but the results, as graphically exhibited on Mr. Mallet's diagram, are quite as satisfactory in their agreement as could be expected. Out of twenty-six separate wave-paths, twenty-three start from the seismic vertical at a depth of above $7\frac{1}{8}$ miles; the maximum depth is $8\frac{1}{8}$ miles, and the minimum $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles.* Eighteen of the wave-paths start from the seismic vertical within a vertical range of twelve thousand feet, and having a mean focal depth of $5\frac{3}{4}$ miles, which may be taken as the depth of the focus. Here is an extremely important numerical result, and similar results from other regions are highly desirable for comparison with this.

It will be impossible here to enter into the detail of the other numerical results obtained by Mr. Mallet, — the position and depth of the focal centre being, of course, the most important, and having been determined in this instance for the first time with any approach to accuracy. Other interesting points discussed in the summing up of the results of the investigation are: the form of the isoseismal areas, — that is, of the regions over which the shock was felt with equal inten-

* These results are given in geographical miles, of sixty to a degree.

sity; the relations of this area to the focal depth; the effects of the physical configuration of the surface and the geological structure of the region on the progress of the wave; the proofs of reflection and refraction of the shock by a range of mountains standing in the way, including reasons why certain areas escaped entirely; the form, position, and dimensions of the focal cavity; the amplitude and velocity of the wave, both on the surface and in the wave-paths; the velocity with which the shock started, and its gradual dying out; the relation of the seismic foci of the Italian Peninsula, and the general relations of the seismic bands of the Mediterranean basin. To give even a synopsis of the results obtained under the above heads will not be possible here; those who desire to investigate seismic phenomena must consult the volumes themselves.

We see that Mr. Mallet was fully justified in demanding more thoroughly scientific observations than those we had previously to his work, and that he has given a most excellent example of how such investigations should be made. He has shown that we can not only learn much from the application of seismological inquiries to future earthquake shocks, but that we have it in our power, to a certain degree, to recover the history of the past, by investigating the results of former convulsions as registered in the buildings fissured or in the ruins of those overthrown by ancient earthquakes.

Among the practical results of investigations like those of Mr. Mallet, there are none so interesting to the public at large, especially to persons living in earthquake regions, as those which relate to the proper methods of structure for safe houses and other edifices in countries liable to these disturbances.

This experienced observer expresses his strong conviction, "that the evils of the earthquake, like all others incident to man's estate, may be diminished, or even multiplied, by the exercise of his informed faculties and energies, and by his application of forethought and knowledge to subjugate this, as every other apparent evil of his estate, by skill and labor." He further adds, in reference to this important question: "Were understanding and skill applied to the future construction of houses and cities in Southern Italy, few, if any, human lives need ever again be lost by earthquakes, which there must recur, in their times and seasons."

What is true of Southern Italy should also be true of the Pacific coast of our own territory, a region liable to severe shocks, and yet where we hope to see populous States develop themselves in wealth, intelligence, and security to life. The prevailing tone in that region, at present, is that of assumed indifference to the dangers of earthquake calamities, — the author of a voluminous work on California, recently published in San Francisco, even going so far as to speak of earthquakes as "harmless disturbances." But earthquakes are not to be "bluffed off." They will come, and will do a great deal of damage. The question is, How far can science mitigate the attendant evils, and thus do something towards giving that feeling of security which is necessary for the full development of that part of the country?

There has repeatedly been talk at San Francisco of establishing an astronomical observatory, either by itself or in connection with the State university. If the people of California are wise, and have money to give for scientific research, let them found a physical, and not an astronomical, observatory. We have enough of the latter already, ill-equipped, and in the majority of cases not manned at all. Quite a sufficient number of large telescopes are rusting on their piers in various parts of the country, as valueless for all real scientific results as if they never had been taken from the boxes in which they were imported. Let California take warning from these, and remember that a very large endowment is necessary for the permanent maintenance of an astronomical observatory, and that, if not permanently maintained, in the hands of an able astronomer, with the means of paying his assistants and of publishing his results, it will be nothing but an expensive toy. Besides, the climate of California and the climatological conditions are ill-suited to astronomical work in a fixed observatory. The fogs of San Francisco, and the dust of the interior, will be found alike unfavorable to the successful prosecution of this branch of scientific research. A physical observatory, on the contrary, which need not necessarily be a permanency, having as its principal object the investigation of the seismological phenomena occurring on the Pacific coast, would, if properly managed, furnish results of exceeding value, not only

as contributions to an important branch of science hitherto much neglected, but as having a practical bearing on the welfare of the people and the development of the State, the value of which can hardly be overestimated. In no portion of the world is there a better chance for an establishment having in view the thorough investigation of earthquake phenomena. The great plain of the Sacramento and the San Joaquin should for a time be connected with San Francisco galvanically, by wires proceeding from the branch observatories at properly selected localities. Seismometers of the most approved construction should be set up, and their records compared with the other results of every important shock, as shown in the effect on buildings and on the surface of the ground, and in all the other methods of which Mr. Mallet's book furnishes so excellent a model.

Of Herr Volger's volume and theory something may be said at another time, in discussing the various theories of the nature of the forces involved in the phenomena of volcanoes and earthquakes.

J. D. Whitney.

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## Art. VIII. — The Session.

There is much reason to regret that every voter in the United States cannot be compelled, at some period of his life, to visit Washington, for the purpose of obtaining the passage, through the various stages of legislation, of some little bill, interesting only to himself, and perhaps having "a little money in it." The lesson would be a useful one. As the visitor cast from the lobby a momentary glance through the swinging doors of the House, and was bewildered by the crash and war of jealous and hostile interests within, — as he felt how his own just and proper request was the sport of a thousand accidents, — as he appreciated the difficulties in the way of getting a committee to report his bill at all, and the still greater difficulty of putting it on its passage, and as he then watched it float here and there in the eddying current of legis-

lation, he would be better able for the future to understand one of the greatest difficulties of Government. Within the walls of two rooms are forced together in close contact the jealousies of thirty-five millions of people, — jealousies between individuals, between cliques, between industries, between parties, between branches of the Government, between sections of the country, between the nation and its neighbors. As years pass on, the noise and confusion, the vehemence of this scramble for power or for plunder, the shouting of reckless adventurers, of wearied partisans, and of red-hot zealots in new issues, — the boiling and bubbling of this witches' caldron, into which we have thrown eye of newt and toe of frog and all the venomous ingredients of corruption, and from which is expected to issue the future and more perfect republic, — in short, the conflict and riot of interests, grow more and more overwhelming; the power of obstructionists grows more and more decisive in the same proportion as the business to be done increases in volume; the effort required to accomplish necessary legislation becomes more and more serious; the machine groans and labors under the burden, and its action becomes spasmodic and inefficient. The capacity of our Government to reconcile these jarring interests, to control refractory dissentients, and to preserve an appearance of governing, is already tested to its utmost, and one can, while watching the embarrassments of Congress, scarcely think without alarm of the day, already so near, when the country will have to support, first fifty, then one hundred millions of people, their passions sharpened by the increasing energy of the struggle for existence. Even this prospect, however, is comparatively bright, so long as the population remains tolerably homogeneous; but with the absorption into our system of Canada, Mexico, and the West Indies, on which it would be a great mistake to suppose that popular feeling is less firmly bent now than formerly, one can scarcely conceive a method by which the mere duties of necessary legislation could be performed at all.

A curious example of the manner in which public business is now done was drawn out very recently in the Dyer court-martial in Washington. The joint committee of Congress

had made a report filled with charges against General Dyer, of which General Dyer complained, and upon which he demanded a court of inquiry. The Government did not itself prosecute the charge, but left this duty to Mr. Clifford Arrick and other interested parties. By dexterous management, General Dyer's counsel, Mr. Dudley Field, enticed Mr. Arrick upon the witness-stand, and there elicited the fact that Mr. Arrick was himself the author of the Congressional Report of the joint committee which had impeached General Dyer. We do not wish to anticipate the decision of General Thomas, General Hancock, and the other members of the Commission of Inquiry; but General Dyer has been injured in reputation and put to anxiety and to expense he could ill afford, the Government has been attacked and obliged to institute a most costly inquiry, and Congress has placed itself in a most unfortunate and mortifying position, all because the joint committee had not the time to do its work properly, and employed an unfit person, without due caution.

The late Session has shown more clearly than ever the necessity of finding some means of improving our legislative machinery. Underneath a thousand personal matters, which, like so many mosquitoes, annoy and distract the attention of legislators, there are always a few great questions in which all public interests have their root, and from which all important legislation must take its start. When Congress met in December last, action was required on certain points: Reconstruction, Re-establishment of the Executive in its Privileges and Proper Functions, Revenue Reform, Monetary Reform, Administrative Reform, Internal Improvements, Foreign Policy. We believe it is simple truth to say that not one of these subjects received anything but superficial attention; and yet we have no intention of charging Congress with any wilful neglect of duty. That there was great waste of valuable time no one can deny; but that Congress could, by the strictest possible economy of its means, have given proper study and attention to all these subjects, scarcely any one would venture to assert. If, therefore, in calling attention to the short-comings of the Session, we seem to criticise more sharply than is just, it is not that we wish to throw undeserved blame on Congress, but

that the system itself is at fault, and has failed to expand with the expansion of the country. On this subject we shall have more to say in the sequel. Leaving aside for the present the question of what has not been done by Congress, let us examine the merits of the actual work of the Session.

Reconstruction naturally comes first in the list of subjects claiming public attention, although Reconstruction, thanks to the general acquiescence of the country in the result of the November elections, and thanks also to the increasing prosperity which has drawn the attention of the Rebel States to more profitable matters, has lost much of its old prominence in politics. Nevertheless, the point of negro-suffrage was thought to require attention, and even to need acknowledgment as part of the fundamental law of the land. Like most of the measures adopted by Congress, the Constitutional Amendment is more remarkable for what it does not than for what it does contain. Beau Brummell's valet was one day met on his master's stairs with a bundle of crumpled neck-cloths on his arm, and being asked what on earth he had there, answered, with a modesty tinged with becoming pride: "These are our failures." Congress, too, has had its failures, and the neck-tie with which it proposes at last to adorn the statue of American Liberty is the result of many efforts. Apart from the general doubt whether it is advisable to insert in the Constitution such special provisions, there is little in this Fifteenth Amendment to which we can fairly object. The dogma that suffrage is a natural right, and not a trust, is by implication denied. The "right" to hold office, as well as to vote, is not asserted. Educational and even property qualifications are not excluded. We know little of legal ingenuity, if it is not found that this Amendment is of small practical value. Its sting and its danger rest in the possible abuse of the power granted to Congress by the second section, to enforce the article by such legislation as it may deem appropriate.

As Congress postponed action in regard to the status of Georgia, we are relieved from the necessity of discussing this difficult question. The responsibility of deciding it must now rest on the present Congress, whose action we do not care to anticipate. At the same time we can scarcely think that

inaction in regard to so serious a legal difficulty was a satisfactory mode of dealing with it. It is true that Georgia is not likely to run away in the mean while; but it is also true that inaction is equivalent to a confession of incompetency, and that of such confessions we have far too many.

Passing on to the second great subject of public anxiety, the restoration to the Executive of its proper control, we touch already upon very dangerous ground, where a battle is unavoidable and imminent. General Butler, in pressing with so much earnestness the repeal of the Tenure-of-Office Bill, scarcely took the trouble to conceal his opinion that sooner or later a struggle for power must arise between the Senate and the House, with or without the aid of the President. The Senate gave countenance to this opinion by its conduct in regard to the repeal. To allege as a cause of inaction its fear of a triumphant lecture from President Johnson had not only more the appearance of giving a pretext than a reason, but was an implied rebuff to the House, which was, or might have been supposed to be, as good a judge as the Senate of what their combined dignity should fear. This jealousy broke out again in the joint convention for counting the electoral votes; and if General Butler's manner had not put him in the wrong, he would have won far more sympathy than showed itself. In whatever light the Senate may be considered, it is not a popular body, and can command popular support only in consequence of the mistakes of its rivals. For this reason the whole country waited with extreme anxiety, after the Senate's refusal to act on the Tenure-of-Office Bill until General Grant should announce his Cabinet; and if politicians became more and more uneasy as the delay was prolonged, it was because they felt that any mistake made by General Grant at the outset of his career would result in strengthening the hold which the Senate had acquired upon political patronage and power. The idea now so popular, that politicians are bad counsellors, is one of the most unfortunate mistakes of our day. There are politicians of all sorts, and the dishonest class no doubt would be bad advisers; but to exclude politicians would imply also the exclusion of statesmen, and to conduct the Government without the aid of trained statesmen is as dangerous as

to conduct a war without the aid of trained generals. When Congress saw that General Grant placed himself in isolation, the annoyance was extreme, and was entirely justified by the event. It is to be hoped that no future President will repeat the experiment, least of all in critical times.

We do not mean by this to express any unfavorable opinion of General Grant's Cabinet, to which this Review has only good wishes and support to offer; but it is obvious, that, if the balance of our government is to be restored, there must be no more mistakes in administration, and no hazardous experiments, whose failure may shake public confidence. We shall have something to say presently of the reforms which the Executive should attempt; but its immediate policy is one of caution and conciliation, not one of heroism. The mere repeal of the Tenure-of-Office Bill cannot at once restore its prestige, or wrest from Congress the initiative which Congress is now accustomed to exercise. The Senate has no idea of abandoning its control of power, either with or without the Tenure-of-Office Bill; and the people alone, acting upon the Lower House, after a fair trial of the new Administration, can re-establish the Presidency in spite of the Senate, and restore harmony to the political system. General Grant and his Cabinet, no matter whether they are men of metal or men of straw, must accept the fact that our system of government has practically suffered a modification, from which no power but that of patient wisdom can retrieve it; and if the influence of General Grant himself, or of his Cabinet, is exerted in the direction of isolated action, however brilliant, the chances are that our system will be permanently fixed on a new and not an improved basis. On the question, therefore, of restoring its powers to the Executive, Congress failed to take action, as it had failed to take action in regard to Georgia.

The case was no better in regard to reform in the revenue system. Mr. Schenck, it is true, did his utmost for the passage of the improved internal-revenue law, consolidating all the previous revenue acts, but without success. Meanwhile, Mr. Wells, in his annual Report, had, for the first time, called public attention to the character of the Tariff. His Report was a simple and business-like document, avoiding carefully all theo-

retical flightiness, containing no praises of free-trade, advocating no extreme legislation, but merely pointing out, in a way so clear that no one could misunderstand the evidence, his reasons for thinking that our present customs-duties are mischievous and need reform. Mr. Wells has by no means exhausted the subject; on the contrary, he has as yet done little more than to open discussion. He has rigidly abstained, with a care that does him great credit, from the wide and philosophical treatment of this question, which he was perfectly able to give, but for which neither President, Congress, press, nor people are as yet prepared. He has no party to serve, no interest to enrich, nor any "ring" to work for. We need scarcely say that we give to him and to the principles of his Report, as we should give to every liberal and honest movement, a hearty support. There is still less necessity for adding that in Congress Mr. Wells is not strong, and that no action was suggested in the sense of his recommendations.

No sooner had Mr. Wells's Report been published than a cry of rage arose from Pennsylvania. A swarm of stinging insects darted out from that mass of protected interests, and, what was more significant, they were met by another body, equally active, which came spontaneously from the working classes to defend and affirm the statements of Mr. Wells. The controversy in the Middle States has raged all winter with fury. We confess that our interest in its result would be less lively, if we looked at it merely from an economical point of view; but in this respect we are not obliged to follow Mr. Wells, and prefer to go beyond him. The Tariff, as it stands, is indeed grossly extravagant and partial, but its direct economical result is only to neutralize a certain amount of labor, to throw away so many days' work in every year without any return of any kind. The nation is young and overflowing with animal strength, and the mere pecuniary loss could be borne. But unfortunately this is not all; nor is the story finished, when Mr. Wells adds, that the rich are daily becoming richer, and the poor poorer. Behind this there is a political result of far greater moment, in the debauching effect of the system upon parties, public men, and the morals of the State.

Few men who are accustomed to watch the course of Washington politics will be at a loss to understand the difficulty of Mr. Wells's position, or the reason why his efforts have found so little co-operation in Congress. We are touching here upon a delicate subject, but we have no office to ask of any generous constituency, and can afford to say what every one already knows. The condition of parties precludes the chance of reform. The "rings" which control legislation — those iron, or whiskey, or Pacific Railway, or other interests, which have their Congressional representatives, who vote themselves the public money — do not obtain their power for nothing. Congressmen themselves, as a class, are not venal, it is true. Perhaps not more than one member in ten of the late Congress ever accepted money. But though Congress itself has still a sense of honor, party organizations have no decency and no shame. The "rings" obtain their control of legislation by paying liberally towards the support of these party organizations, Republican or Democratic, as the case may be; and the distiller or iron-founder who pays his five or ten thousand dollars towards the expenses of his party has as fair a claim upon it as Judge Pierrepont, or any other honest man, and is more certain to force his claim against opposition. Parties cannot escape the obligations thus incurred; and the result is, that these interests combine in Congress for mutual protection, and members who are by their tastes well disposed towards reform dare not move a finger. A network of rings controls Congress, and forms a hedge which marks the limit within which argument and reason may prevail. When the President sent in his veto to the Copper Bill, — a veto which was certainly not his own composition, if one may judge from its form, — all the iniquity of the law could not win over the two votes necessary to sustain the veto, although members in plenty approved it, and would have voted for it, had the vote been taken by count, and not by yeas and nays. The rings whipped into line the recalcitrant members. Perhaps the most creditable vote given this winter was that of Mr. Senator Sumner, who, on this sole occasion, sustained President Johnson.

Mr. Wells, therefore, can do nothing, except to place his arguments before the people, and wait until some party finds its

interest involved in supporting him. We are unable to say whether General Grant himself, or his Cabinet, will be disposed to undertake the superhuman task of reforming party organizations and purifying Congress. The simpler task of economy, or what the French call *économie de bouts de chandelles*, has thus far seemed to satisfy them. To follow out the path indicated by Mr. Wells, to clean and purify the national legislature, and to break down by main force one of the strongest supports of party corruption, can be done only by reforming the revenue system, and placing stringent restrictions upon all grants of the public money. Not merely, therefore, as a matter of political economy, but as one of political reform, the policy of Mr. Wells demands the support of the Administration. At this moment everything tends to increase the dictatorial power of parties. Even the new Constitutional Amendment seems to have this inevitable result, of swelling the blind, unreasoning vote which follows mechanically a party standard, and thus encourages and protects party corruption. We submit that Government is wrong in plundering the people in order to support party organizations, and that the system of protecting special interests should be reformed.

If the public waits for Congress to move in this direction, it will wait long, and it will wait in vain. And in the same way we can expect little or nothing from Congress towards administrative reform. Suddenly, in the middle of the Session, the new whiskey-tax broke down. New York was no longer the favorite haunt of distillers. They had retired to the West, and there they again succeeded in cheating the Government, — necessarily by collusion with Government officials. Mr. Jenckes's Civil-Service Bill lay untouched on the Clerk's table. We are not enthusiastic admirers of Mr. Jenckes's bill, but we do insist that a decent self-respect should oblige Congress to show or feign some disposition to purge the civil service from the taint of political corruption. The country, after an experience which for a time brought it literally within sight of disorganization, has at last nearly escaped its dangers, not by reform, but by prosperity and good luck. The Government, under a war-pressure, instituted a system of internal revenue, and in the attempt to enforce its laws was utterly defeated by

private interests. The taxes were therefore reduced, and will ultimately be abandoned. But the time must come, and may come sooner than is commonly supposed, when a foreign war will force us back to the internal revenue system as our only source of income, and there is no risk in predicting that a few more years of the old system of internal revenue would leave little sound material in our Government. So virulent a source of corruption was never known in our national experience. For this reason we are inclined to think that such national prosperity as would allow our Government to escape, without obliging it to meet and overcome its difficulties, would in the end prove a national disaster. The people of the United States already have become too much accustomed to the idea that they can violate with impunity every fundamental principle of good government.

The dependence of civil offices upon political influence is a support even more essential to party organizations than are the protected interests which Mr. Wells has attacked. There is little disposition in Congress, and there is still less in either party organization, to introduce such a separation between politics and the civil service as would purify both. The evil is rooted in popular habit; it springs from the people; it was created by the people; it is maintained for the people; and yet we venture to assert that the mere fact of bringing this temptation into party strife will ultimately, if continued long enough, break down the Government. The Democratic party, if wrong otherwise, is yet perfectly right in asserting that corruption is no peculiar fault of its own; for the fault lies, not in the party, but in the system, which for both parties is the same. So long as party organizations remain what they are, honesty in the long run is impossible; corruption must be the rule, and not the exception. General Grant may, indeed, purify the revenue service, but his successor will with much less effort corrupt it again, unless the public takes its stand upon some solid principle which shall remove the Government patronage from the shifting influence of politics. This is a matter which has nothing to do with law; it is custom that should rule; and until the natural good sense of the people, acting over the heads of all party organizations, shall decide the point that no

officer of the Government shall be removed from his post for merely political reasons, except in a few specified cases, honesty is not likely to prevail, nor are parties likely to be pure.

We have ventured to dwell a little on these two points of reform, — the abolition of Government grants to favored interests, and the withdrawal of Government patronage, so far as practicable, from party organizations, — not so much because they were mentioned during the late Session, as because the House, and even General Grant, seemed to be carried away by the idea that economy and proper care in selecting persons for appointments would cure all our national ills. Economy is in itself not a policy; it is, or should be, a condition of existence, and no government should boast of it any more than a gentleman should boast of sobriety. A government that understands its duties is economical always, even in its extravagance. We see a healthy and useful reaction in this tendency to pare cheese-rinds, but we protest against the idea that this is a policy of reform, or that General Grant should be considered as a sort of presidential terrier chosen to snap at vermin in the public offices. What the country needs is not a narrow and pinching economy, nor even a merely honest administration, that during its term of office will heal over the running sores of our body politic, with a certainty that they will again break out at the first change of circumstances, — but a wise and careful correction of the system itself. We can see no reason why a democracy should be necessarily corrupt. We believe that a timely reform may long postpone the day when corruption will become intolerable, but we should augur the worst of the effect that another great shock to the country in its present loose condition would produce upon our whole system of government, and we maintain that the first and last duty of Congress and the President is to draw from the experience of the last ten years a lesson as to the PRINCIPLES OF REFORM. The country is not permanently aided by piecemeal legislation to stop abuses which spring from radical difficulties; nor can the nation in the long run respect a Government which announces, that, as Pacific Railways and other great national works breed corruption, therefore they cannot be constructed. So far as we understand the object of creating

governments, it is that they may do the work of governing; and we should like to know for what earthly purpose Presidents and Congressmen are elected, except to perform this duty, and to see at their peril that no corruption follows. It is their duty to prevent or to cure corruption; but it is also their duty to do the work, to collect the revenue, to build, or cause to be built, whatever public works it comes within their province to provide for, to employ officers, and to see that they are efficient and faithful. A more extraordinary claim to popular respect than that advanced in defence of the late Session, on the ground that it stopped many extravagant schemes, could scarcely be imagined. The schemes were no doubt extravagant, but their objects were in many cases proper and necessary, and the public has a right to insist that Congress shall do the work it was sent to do, and do it properly, or ask such reforms as will enable it to be done. Instead of this, popular wrath is met by an intolerably calm confession that there are certainly corrupt officials, but General Grant will detect them and turn them out, and never again in our national history shall corrupt officials be appointed; that it is true the revenue system has been evaded and nullified by fraud, but that it will, please God, soon be — not reformed, but — abolished; that Pacific Railways are very apt to produce corruption, and therefore it is best not to meddle with them; that political organizations are selfish and unscrupulous, but that General Grant is not a party man; that, in short, they who are charged with the Government are the most senseless and fit men for the constables of the watch, and if any man refuses to obey their orders, they are to come together and thank God they are rid of a knave. We are bound to call attention to the fact, which seems to have been forgotten, that these incessant confessions of ignorance, or of impotence, or even — pardon us the word — of imbecility, cannot, even with the best will, be considered as a performance of duty.

One administrative measure — the bill for amending the judicial system — was, however, passed in this Session, and failed only by accident, we believe, to receive President Johnson's signature. There was also one very important measure which we may class under the head of monetary re-

form, and which also failed to become law. Mr. Schenck's bill for the improvement of the public credit was a simple recognition of the financial principle established in the November election. The Supreme Court had already forestalled this measure so far as regarded the legalizing of coin contracts, and indeed it may perhaps be said that the whole bill tended rather to affirm a principle which ought never to have been brought in question than to effect any real progress in finance. Nevertheless, the measure was highly creditable to Congress and to the country, and, unless foreign complications arise, it may be considered as having brought our finances to a point where one may see a clear path to the settlement of all our financial difficulties. It is true that Mr. Schenck's bill left untouched the serious problem of a return to specie payments, or, if it indicated anything in this respect, indicated a leaning towards that favorite doctrine of "growing up to the situation," which is merely another example of what we have already so strongly criticised as the fashionable custom of confessing impotence and abnegating governmental functions. The West could not be induced to join in any settled and effective action for a re-establishment of the currency on a sound basis. But with a large surplus revenue, a rapid diminution of taxes, a reduction of interest on the debt, and a decrease in its volume, sooner or later the time must come when return to specie payments will be unavoidable. Whenever and however it comes, the process must be the same, if the national credit is to be maintained; but if the difficulty were boldly faced at present, it might, perhaps, be possible to devise some means by which the debtor class would be more equitably dealt with, and business less exposed to annoyance, than if the whole subject were left to the action of time and chance.

Yet, if it must be allowed that no progress was made during the late Session towards sound monetary principles, it is equally true that the unsound theorists gained no ground. The eloquent denunciation of gold and silver by General Butler failed to make the slightest impression on Congress, or even to provoke notice, although it was strikingly original, and in Mr. Butler's best style. "It is now admitted by all political economists," said he, "that finely engraved printing upon paper,

fixing its value, is the best of all possible substitutes for coined money. Not until the people of Greece and Rome became deteriorated by vices and luxury, yielding their liberties to tyrants, did gold and silver, the ever-ready adjuncts of despotic power in all its forms and degrees, obtain place and scope to do their appropriate and never-failing work, — the enslavement of the labor of the masses. . . . . Coined gold and silver has ever been the handmaid of despotism, the prop of monarchical power, the supporter of thrones, the upholder of nobilities and priesthoods, the engine by which the privileges and pretensions of aristocrats have always been sustained in trampling down the rights, devouring the substance, and absorbing the unrequited labors of the masses. Through all time the possession of money has given power to the few to enslave the labor of the many for the benefit of princes and nobles, and its use has been the badge of servitude of all peoples to some king or tyrant. To deny this at one time was treason."

Both as regards originality of conception and elegance of style, this passage deserved more notice than the sullen, and no doubt envious, silence with which it was received. General Garfield and his friends, in fact, asserted that the speech was contemptible and ridiculous, and that to answer it would be almost as great folly as to make it, and thus General Butler's argument was stifled by a conspiracy of silence. Silence, indeed, on the whole subject of the currency, was an understood rule of the Session. No agreement on a common principle was possible, and Congress had, apart from monetary affairs, far more work on its hands than could possibly be attended to. Monetary reform, therefore, like administrative reform, like revenue reform, like the re-establishment of the Executive, and like the reconstruction of Georgia and the development of the national resources, was postponed.

What, then, was accomplished by this expiring Congress, besides the Constitutional Amendment and Mr. Schenck's gold bill? In reply to this question, we might fairly say, as a sufficient answer, that the business of the Government has been carried on. To do even this as it should be done, to prepare and to pass the Appropriation Bill alone, is a prodigious effort,

and especially difficult in the short session at the close of an Administration. We may add, that economical, and even parsimonious, principles have received surprising support at the hands of the Committee on Appropriations, and that the clerks have been taught what it is to have an economical Government. But much as we admire economy, we cannot think that Molière's Harpagon is the best model of a finance minister, nor that it is good policy for a government to pay its clerks meanly. Let us starve the Cabinet, if we like, and reduce our Supreme Court to the wages of country lawyers; there remains still the honor of the position, which would tempt distinguished ability, even though there were no salary whatever to be earned. But with the subordinate posts there is no dignity, but rather degradation involved, as the service is now organized. The precarious tenure of a Government office drives away the better class of applicants. Nor is there common sense in the idea that a government which every year votes tens and hundreds of millions into the hands of favored classes, and supports a revenue and currency system far more burdensome than the national debt, should claim merit from the country for grinding a few thousand dollars from its clerks.

But we are obliged to return at last to the proposition with which we began, — that one principal reason why the public business is neglected, or inefficiently performed, is to be found in the inevitable waste of time under the present legislative system. So necessary has it proved to provide some check to this evil, that debate has, under the rules of the House, been to a great extent stopped, and measures are habitually hurried through in spite of every remonstrance, without allowing an opportunity for amendment or discussion. So long as the dominant party has sufficient strength to override opposition in this way, the expedient may answer its purpose in economizing time, but in the long run parties must be more evenly balanced, and some other expedient must be invented. One such expedient might, perhaps, be, that members should better understand their work; but as the House does not elect its own members, it can do little towards producing this result. Nor does popular feeling tend in this direction. The oldest mem-

bers of the House and the Senate have had but eighteen years' service, and this is so unusual as to be thought surprising. Yet the lessons of statesmanship, or even of statecraft, are not easily learned, especially in their higher branches; principles of political economy, or of international law, and, above all, the limits of legislation, are matters to which trained statesmen themselves come with a humiliating confession of doubt or ignorance. As Congress is at present constituted, the trained statesmen have more than they can accomplish merely in stopping mischievous legislation. In this respect, Reconstruction has had anything but a good influence on Congress. Setting aside entirely all question as to the merits or demerits of Reconstruction in the Rebel States, there is no doubt whatever that it has brought into Congress a class of men whose influence has not been favorable, and who have increased the power of the lobby rather than the dignity of either House. Let us instance the case of Collector Smythe, who was lately appointed by President Johnson Minister to Russia, with the idea that he would be acceptable to the Senate. Senator Sumner and the Committee on Foreign Relations thought the appointment unsuitable, and we believe they were right, although Mr. Smythe could scarcely have been so unfit for the post as its present occupant. Mr. Smythe, however, laughed at the Committee. He had, as he thought, already won a majority of the Senate. He had been among the obstructionists and carpet-baggers, and secured their votes, and he hoped to march with their assistance over the prostrate bodies of Senator Sumner and his Committee. We will not pretend to say what influences he had used. We do not know. But, at all events, he had, as Collector of New York, gained influence enough with the Senate to be able to say in so many words, that, if the Senate did not confirm him, it should confirm no one; and he did in fact succeed in stopping confirmations. Public business was kept at a stand-still in order that a ring largely composed of reconstructed Senators might force Mr. Smythe into a position for which he was unfit. Here is an example of the probable working of Senatorial government; but it is also an illustration of the growing power of the lobby and of obstructionists in our legislature, and

of the difficulties which threaten sooner or later to bring the whole machinery of our Government to a stand-still.

Let us now turn to the Department of Foreign Affairs, or, as the Senate prefers to style it, of Foreign Relations. Congress has postponed action on points of foreign policy, as well as on most domestic matters, but their importance and the tone in which they have been discussed warrant us in going into a somewhat detailed statement of the situation. Various treaties were under consideration in the Senate, but we shall undertake to examine only those negotiated with Denmark and Great Britain.

The public, always curiously ill-informed in regard to its foreign relations, had flattered itself that the affair of St. Thomas was quietly disposed of, and even the Senate labored for a time under the delusion that the treaty would be allowed to expire without scandal or dispute. The Danish Government, however, was in a position which did not admit of withdrawal. The very weakness of Denmark, and her helpless situation as regards Germany, obliges her to struggle against humiliation, and in this matter her national pride was involved. During our war, she had behaved extremely well. The proposition to part with St. Thomas had not come from her, but had been suggested by our Government at a time when the possession of the island was a matter of great interest to the United States. She had declined at first to negotiate on any terms. The settled policy of the western European powers has always been to exclude the United States from the West Indies, since they well know that their colonial possessions in that neighborhood would be placed in great peril, if our Government once obtained a foothold among them. Denmark naturally hesitated to take a step which placed her in direct antagonism to the traditional policy of Great Britain and France, the two countries on whose sympathy she is compelled to rely. Nevertheless, after long doubt, she yielded, not merely on account of the money to be gained, (for Denmark is one of the few states in the world which do not stand in need of money,) but on the distinct principle that it was expedient to change her foreign policy and to attach herself more closely to the United States by abandoning to them her colonial possessions in our seas, and, as a conse-

quence, the ultimate control of the Antilles and of Central America. The treaty was signed, and sent to the Senate. After a sufficient lapse of time, Denmark took a vote of the people of St. Thomas on the subject, and, the result being favorable, the island was formally transferred to an authorized agent of our Government. The Senate had the treaty in its hands, but did not interfere. When the period within which ratification was required had passed without bringing any movement from the Senate, the time was by further agreement extended to October, 1869. Still the Senate made no sign. Then at last the Danish Government sent over General Raaslof, its Secretary of War, to Washington, and this gentleman, who had already been Minister here, who understood our people and was highly popular with them, who had, moreover, been principally responsible for the new policy which Denmark had adopted towards us, and whose official position, as well as that of his colleagues in the Ministry, depended upon the ratification of this treaty, undertook to disturb the serene repose of the Senate, and to insist that action should be taken.

We have little sympathy with the policy which prompted Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet to purchases of new territory. There is a peculiar brilliancy and seductiveness in that vast scheme which, without war or ill-feeling or unnecessary expense, grasped in succession three such commanding points as Russian America, St. Thomas, and the Isthmus of Darien; the imagination is dazzled by it; and yet we should be heartily glad to discover any honorable mode of release from the obligations of the St. Thomas Treaty. We cannot in honor listen to the suggestion of General Butler, that Denmark having abandoned the island, in pursuance of a popular vote, we are now at liberty to take it without paying for it at all. The only argument which has any show of weight is, that the Senate has a constitutional right to reject the treaty, — that Denmark was perfectly aware, in fact was formally notified, of this limitation on the President's power, — and that she is therefore debarred from complaint.

The internal difficulties of a government are often most immediately felt in its foreign relations, and this is the case here. Undoubtedly the Senate has the right to reject any treaty, this

among the rest; but the condition of holding any friendly relations whatever with the outside world requires that this right of rejection should be kept in reserve for extraordinary occasions. If the treaty betrays the national honor, if it sacrifices national territory or the rights of citizens, if it was obtained by disgraceful means, if it is untrue to a national pledge, by all means let the Senate interpose and reject it. But a proper respect for the countries with which we deal, and for international comity, which we are bound to observe, requires that in rejecting a treaty we should give strong and solid reasons for the act. We cannot conceive what strong or solid reasons the Senate can give for refusing to ratify this treaty. *Stat pro ratione voluntas.* Say it is our humor, — is Denmark answered, or is our national credit redeemed in the world's eyes? Seven years ago our whole nation wanted St. Thomas; now we need it no longer; a few years hence we may again require it; and the world must learn submission to these passing whims!

If the United States through the President had negotiated a treaty with Denmark, requiring that within a certain time she should declare war against Prussia, and our Government had bound itself to pay her seven million dollars in consideration thereof, — if this treaty were duly sent to the Senate, if Denmark thereupon did declare war in pursuance of the agreement, and if our Government then refused to perform its part of the compact, we are inclined to think that the world, without stopping long to study constitutional theories, would hold that our behavior was scurvy; and we ourselves, as a nation, would hold and express the same opinion in regard to any foreign government that placed itself in a similar situation.

We repeat, that a sound and sufficient reason for rejecting this treaty is much to be desired; but there is something to be desired still more earnestly, and this is, that the Senate may not assume the absolute and irresponsible control of our international affairs. There is a perfectly clear line here which it is dangerous to overstep. The confusion which such a conflict of authority would create in our foreign relations cannot be over-estimated; for abroad, even more than at home, division of responsibility lowers the national character and destroys all

faith in national pledges. As regards foreign nations, the President, and not the Senate, is the representative and the spokesman of the United States; and if the Senate intervenes without so sound a reason as must convince the world that intervention is right and necessary, the only result must be to degrade the Presidential authority, and with it the national dignity, in the eyes of other governments. Hitherto there has been so seldom any occasion for appealing to this principle, that it has sometimes in practice been overlooked; but the present occasion is a grave one; in spite of our own wishes, we are compelled to say, that the rejection of this treaty would be an unwarrantable and mischievous act.

The position in regard to the English treaties is somewhat different; since, in the first place, there is no special reason for being civil to England; and, in the second place, no action was stipulated, or has been taken under these treaties, by which any one has been compromised. The treaties, therefore, are a fair subject for rejection, if there is reason to reject them. We will even go so far as to say that they ought to be rejected by the Senate, unless they fully accord every demand our Government has ever made on Great Britain. We frankly confess that Great Britain is not entitled at our hands to any delicacy of treatment whatever. There are still a few persons in America who have reason to remember Lord Palmerston, and the happy manner of that nobleman did much to keep his memory fresh in this country.

There have been three grave difficulties existing between England and the United States during the last few years, — difficulties partly of long standing, dating back to the foundation of our Government, and partly resulting from the war. Mr. Seward, who was seldom satisfied with a small policy, as we have already noticed in the cases of Alaska, St. Thomas, and Darien, undertook to combine the three subjects of dispute with England and produce a comprehensive scheme of settlement, which should, perhaps, (although this is a mere inference on our part,) establish such friendly relations between the two countries as would in time lead England to the same point to which Denmark had been led. The foreign policy of Mr. Seward was, in principle, simple enough, although his expedi-

ents were innumerable. His intention was always to avoid war, but always to gain his objects; and he achieved astonishing success.

The San Juan affair offered no serious difficulty. It was readily referred to arbitration. The naturalization controversy threatened for a long time to prove a serious obstacle, and accordingly Mr. Seward, spurred on no doubt by the President and Congress, gave precedence to this subject, and pressed earnestly for a settlement. Lord Stanley made no opposition, and a protocol was accordingly signed, by which the British Government abandoned all its old theories of citizenship, and conceded all, and more than all, that had ever been asked by the United States.

There remained the serious question of claims, arising out of violations of English neutrality by the Rebels during our late war: a difficult subject, involving new principles of international law, binding England now, but binding us also for all future time; a subject which ought not to be made the football of party warfare, or even of national antipathies; a subject, too, in regard to which the United States Government ought to be peculiarly cautious in establishing precedents. No strong nation has an interest in restricting the limits of its own action, least of all when it will inevitably be the first to overthrow the very law it has established.

Early in our national history, the United States occupied, as regarded Great Britain, a position similar in some respects to that which Great Britain now occupies as regards the United States. In the year 1793, the French Republic, acting, as it claimed, under treaty stipulations, caused cruisers to be fitted out in our ports, which captured British vessels even within our territorial jurisdiction, and caused the British Minister to address energetic remonstrances and claims of indemnity to our Secretary of State. Mr. Jefferson acknowledged the justice of these claims. Such of the captured vessels as our Government could reach were taken by force from the captors, and restored to their owners. In the face of great difficulties, the United States faithfully performed all its duties as a neutral towards Great Britain. Nevertheless, claims for the value of such captured vessels as had not been recovered were made by

the British Government, and by the treaty of 1794 the justice of these claims was conceded, and they were referred, together with other pecuniary demands made by citizens of both nations, to a commission of five persons, two to be appointed by the British King, two by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, and one by the unanimous choice of the other four, or, in case of disagreement, by lot between two persons named by either party. The decision of three of these commissioners was to be final, provided one on each side and the fifth were present. The commission was to meet in Philadelphia, and to decide all claims and receive all evidence which the commissioners might think consistent with equity and justice.

The last paragraph of the seventh article of this treaty runs as follows: —

"And whereas certain merchants and others, His Majesty's subjects, complain that in the course of the war they have sustained loss and damage by reason of the capture of their vessels and merchandise, taken within the limits and jurisdiction of the States, and brought into the ports of the same, or taken by vessels originally armed in ports of the said States, it is agreed that in all such cases, where restitution shall not have been made agreeably to the tenor of the letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Hammond, dated at Philadelphia, September 5, 1793, a copy of which is annexed to this treaty, the complaints of the parties shall be, and hereby are, referred to the commissioners to be appointed by virtue of this article, who are hereby authorized and required to proceed in the like manner relative to these as to the other cases committed to them; and the United States undertake to pay to the complainants or claimants, in specie, without deduction, the amount of such sums as shall be awarded to them respectively by the said commissioners, and at the times and places which in such awards shall be specified, and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the claimants as in the said awards may be directed; and it is further agreed, that not only the now existing cases of both descriptions, but also all such as shall exist at the time of exchanging the ratifications of this treaty, shall be considered as being within the provisions, intent, and meaning of this article."

There is this difference between the British claims of 1794 and the Alabama claims of 1869,—that in the latter case there had been no capture of vessels within neutral jurisdiction, nor

any actual arming of cruisers in British ports. The arming was constructive. Nor was the British Government directly responsible for the escape of all these unarmed, unmanned, and unequipped vessels from British ports. Except in the case of the Alabama, and, perhaps, the Florida, the British Government had acted, or tried to act, and had done what was required by its laws for the fulfilment of its international obligations. In establishing a claim for the depredations of the Florida, the Shenandoah, and so forth, our Government took the ground that the British Government ought to have amended its laws, and that these vessels, after escaping, ought to have been excluded from all British ports, or even to have been seized wherever they had come within British jurisdiction. Again, that our whole claim might be covered, even this argument needed to be supported by the general principle that the premature declaration of belligerency by the British Government had given these cruisers the only status they ever had, and therefore had made Great Britain responsible for all damages that ensued.

This argument, though satisfactory as a ground of war, has its disadvantages as the basis of a pecuniary claim. It is loose; it is susceptible of gross abuse in the hands of a strong nation against a weak one; it appears to apply no more to England than to France and Spain, since their action was simultaneous, and Rebel cruisers received the same treatment from each of these powers; nor can we understand how England can be required to pay, for example, for the mischief done by the Sumter, and Spain be excused; finally, its gravest objection is, that it establishes a new rule of international law, restricting our own sovereignty and hampering our right of action in a manner which the nation will never admit in its own practice.

Our Government knew these objections, and, though fixed in its determination to force England into a settlement, did not undertake to insist upon a settlement on these terms. From the beginning it considered the subject as a proper one for argument and arbitration, although no formal offer of arbitration was ever made on its part. All that was done was to present the claim. Mr. Adams's note to Lord Russell, of May

20th, 1865, stated nine distinct points in the argument; the first and ninth ran as follows: —

"1. That the act of recognition by Her Majesty's Government of insurgents as belligerents on the high seas, before they had a single vessel afloat, was precipitate and unprecedented."

"9. That the injuries thus received by a country which has meanwhile sedulously endeavored to perform all its obligations, owing to the imperfection of the legal means at hand to prevent them, as well as the unwillingness to seek for more stringent powers, are of so grave a nature as in reason and justice to constitute a valid claim for reparation and indemnification."— *Mr. Adams to Lord Russell*, May 20th, 1865.

Lord Russell, for some reason of his own, waited until the 30th of August, and then responded as follows: —

"It appears to Her Majesty's Government that there are but two questions by which the claim of compensation could be tested. The one is: Have the British Government acted with due diligence, or, in other words, with good faith and honesty, in the maintenance of the neutrality they proclaimed? The other is: Have the law officers of the Crown properly understood the Foreign Enlistment Act, when they declined, in June, 1862, to advise the detention and seizure of the Alabama, and on other occasions when they were asked to detain other ships building or fitting in British ports? It appears to Her Majesty's Government that neither of these questions could be put to a foreign government with any regard to the dignity and character of the British Crown and the British nation. Her Majesty's Government are the sole guardians of their own honor. They cannot admit that they may have acted with bad faith in maintaining the neutrality they professed. The law officers of the Crown must be held to be better interpreters of a British statute than any foreign government can be presumed to be. Her Majesty's Government must therefore decline either to make reparation and compensation for the captures made by the Alabama, or to refer the question to any foreign State."— *Lord Russell to Mr. Adams*, August 30th, 1865.

By this note the British Government declined an offer of arbitration which had never been made, and absolutely refused to admit the possibility of entertaining the idea of indemnity. The United States Government contented itself with quietly insisting, and for a time the discussion ceased. Lord Palmerston died. Lord Clarendon succeeded Earl Russell in the Foreign Office, but no advance was made. In June, 1866, Lord

Stanley and a conservative ministry came into power, and justified the old maxim of our diplomatic service that a conservative ministry is always the easiest for America to deal with. On the 27th of August, Mr. Seward sent to him a list of our claims, with an invitation to enter into a comprehensive settlement. Lord Stanley was well disposed to do so, but was fettered by the acts of Earl Russell and Earl Clarendon; nevertheless, he responded, on the 30th of November, 1866, by an offer of limited arbitration: —

"It is impossible for Her Majesty's present advisers to abandon the ground which has been taken by former governments so far as to admit the liability of this country for the claims then and now put forward. They do not think that such liability has been established according to international law or usage; and though sincerely and earnestly desiring a good understanding with the United States, they cannot consent to purchase even the advantage of that good understanding by concessions which would at once involve a censure on their predecessors in power, and be an acknowledgment, in their view uncalled for and unfounded, of wrong-doing on the part of the British Executive and Legislature. But, on the other hand, they are fully alive to the inconvenience which arises from the existence of unsettled claims of this character between two powerful and friendly governments. They would be glad to settle this question, if they can do so consistently with justice and national respect; and with this view they will not be disinclined to adopt the principle of arbitration, provided that a fitting arbitrator can be found, and that an agreement can be come to as to the points to which arbitration shall apply. Of these two conditions, the former need not at present be discussed; the latter is at once the more important and the more pressing. With regard to the ground of complaint on which most stress is laid in Mr. Seward's despatch, viz.: the alleged premature recognition of the Confederate States as a belligerent power, it is clear that no reference to arbitration is possible. The act complained of, while it bears very remotely on the claims now in question, is one as to which every State must be held to be the sole judge of its duty; and there is, so far as I am aware, no precedent for any government consenting to submit to the judgment of a foreign power, or of an international commission, the question whether its policy has or has not been suitable to the circumstances in which it was placed."—*Lord Stanley to Sir F. Bruce*, November 30th, 1866.

Before taking this ground, Lord Stanley had sounded leading Liberals, and had ascertained that they were in sympathy

with him in rejecting unlimited arbitration. He had therefore succeeded for the first time in uniting all parties in England on his American policy. Our diplomatic correspondence shows that Mr. Bright remonstrated earnestly against the ground taken by Mr. Seward, whom he suspected of acting in bad faith, with the hidden purpose of preventing a settlement. Mr. Seward only replied, that he knew the American people better than Mr. Bright did.

Mr. Seward replied to Lord Stanley on the 12th of January, 1867: —

"The United States think it not only easier and more desirable that Great Britain should acknowledge and satisfy the claims for indemnity which we have submitted than it would be to find an equal and wise arbitrator who would consent to adjudicate them. If, however, Her Majesty's Government, for reasons satisfactory to them, should prefer the remedy of arbitration, the United States would not object. The United States, in that case, would expect to refer the whole controversy, just as it is found in the correspondence which has taken place between the two governments, with such further evidence and arguments as either party may desire, without imposing restrictions, conditions, or limitations upon the umpire, and without waiving any principle or argument on either side. They cannot consent to waive any question upon the consideration that it involves a point of national honor; and, on the other hand, they will not require that any question of national pride or honor shall be expressly ruled and determined as such."— *Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams*, January 12th, 1867.

Lord Stanley then wrote to Sir Frederick Bruce on the 9th of March: —

"To such an extensive and unlimited reference Her Majesty's Government cannot consent, for this reason among others, that it would admit of, and indeed compel, the submission to the arbiter of the very question which I have already said they cannot agree to submit."— *Lord Stanley to Sir F. Bruce*, March 9th, 1867.

On the 16th of April, Mr. Seward took his old position again: —

"While we agree that all mutual claims which arose during the civil war between the citizens and subjects of the two countries ought to be amicably adjusted, and adjusted soon, we must nevertheless insist that they be adjusted by one and the same form of tribunal, with like or the

same forms, and upon principles common to all of them. The proposal of Her Majesty's Government is therefore respectfully declined by the President of the United States. — *Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams*, April 16th, 1867.

The second effort, therefore, resulted in moving the British Government so far as to concede the general principle that the claims were a proper subject for negotiation, and to offer of its own accord a reference to arbitration, if the question as to the declaration of belligerency were omitted. The United States accepted the principle of arbitration, but refused to omit any part of the argument. Mr. Seward now subsided again into silence, and left the British Government to reflect upon the situation. Sir Frederick Bruce died. Mr. Adams retired. Mr. Seward's own retirement was near at hand, and Lord Stanley had but a slender hold on his post. One more effort was felt to be necessary, in view of the hazards involved in leaving the question open.

A new expedient now occurred to our Government. On examination of the Claims Convention of 1853, it was found to contain the following general expression in regard to evidence offered to the Commission: —

"The Commissioners . . . . shall be bound to receive and peruse all written documents or statements which may be presented to them by or on behalf of their respective governments in support of or in answer to any claim." The arbitrator was under the same obligation.

This form of convention, if adopted without any change, would satisfy all the requirements of the situation. The argument as to premature recognition would be admitted, and the British Government was at liberty to excuse its concession on the ground that it was merely re-adopting the Convention of 1853, which had proved so successful. Mr. Reverdy Johnson was accordingly despatched with the Convention of 1853 in his hand. He found Lord Stanley anxious to effect a settlement, and he negotiated a convention which was, as he supposed, conformable to his instructions. Lord Stanley abandoned his own ground as completely as he had abandoned the ground taken by his predecessors. But this was not enough. When the treaty arrived in Washington in November last, it was

found that Mr. Johnson had departed more widely than was approved from the text of 1853. Mr. Seward sent word that more concessions were required. Our Government actually dictated the treaty in its own words, and, as though to complete the revenge, Lord Stanley, the signer of the November treaty, represented the conservative party, and Lord Clarendon, representing Earl Russell and the memory of Lord Palmerston, put his name to the final treaty of December.

Our national history furnishes no other example of such diplomatic triumph. Within three years, England yielded in rapid succession every point we had ever claimed. Well may the "Times" say that she had gone to the verge of humiliation! Had she in 1862 foreseen any such result, she would have followed the suggestion of France, and there would have been combined interference of the great powers in our affairs. This end was what Lord Palmerston feared, when he hesitated so long as to the policy to be pursued, and was outvoted, it is said, in the Cabinet.

The Senate has decided to reject this treaty for reasons of its own. We have no intention of criticising the Senate's action, and if, in rejecting this treaty, any better form of settlement is suggested, if the difficulty is merely one of form and not of substance, the new Administration will be able to carry on the negotiation as before. But if the objection to the treaty is essential and absolute, the implication is that our Government has conceded too much. Our Government has conceded nothing, however, except the principle of arbitration. How, then, after the Senate's absolute rejection of the treaty, can any President again propose or accept arbitration on these claims?

To reject arbitration in regard to a matter like this, which is peculiarly suitable for arbitration, and requires disinterested judgment, is equivalent to saying that we intend to take the law into our own hands. We declare ourselves in the right, and we require this fact to be acknowledged as a preliminary to further negotiation. When we say that the principles of adjudication must be established before creating a commission to adjudicate upon the claims, we mean that *our* principles must be established; otherwise we have no cause for refusing arbitration.

Now let us for a moment suppose a foreign minister in Wash-

ington meditating upon this problem: "What object has the United States Government in refusing arbitration on the Alabama claims?" He would dismiss at once the idea that this action was due to a mere passing ebullition of spite against the late Cabinet. The determination to reject is not restricted to the opponents of Mr. Seward. He might perhaps ask himself for a moment, whether it were not due to a wish to conciliate President Grant; but why should General Grant himself desire to hamper his whole administration by so serious a complication? The mere gratification of a long-nursed wrath against England might explain the action of some Senators, but not of all. We regret to add, that the diplomatist would not entertain the idea that the Senate was influenced by any virtuous devotion to the improvement of international law; for he would feel confident, and with reason, that, if England offered to cede Canada to the United States, on condition of being relieved of these claims, the Senate would immediately assent, without giving a second thought to international law or establishing any new principle whatever. In fact, the more he considered and reconsidered all other motives for an absolute rejection of the treaty, the more confident would his conclusion be, that the idea of territorial aggrandizement lay at the bottom of Senators' minds, — or, in other words, that these claims were to be reserved and used to lead or force England into a cession of territory.

We do not mean to say that this is to be the policy of the new Administration, but we do say that this is the policy which foreign nations will attribute to it. We do not know what are the opinions of President Grant, but there is little doubt that they belong more to the camp than to the cabinet. The Secretary of State can scarcely lay down in terms the doctrine, that, as the young dace is bait to the old pike, so Canada, Cuba, and Mexico are good food for the United States; but foreign nations are quick to catch an idea, and they will spare him the trouble.

The absolute rejection of this treaty must make itself felt in the whole future policy of the new Administration towards foreign nations, causing distrust, anxiety, possible derangement of commerce, and disturbance of credit. Our securities

will be affected in value. Our politics will be confused by a new element. The situation cannot be indefinitely prolonged, and war is always within sight. The Senate practically forces this complication upon the President and the Cabinet. We have no idea of depreciating the foreign policy of the Senate, — if, indeed, the Senate is to dictate to the Secretary of State. We are confident that Mr. Sumner, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, would have, and would deserve, entire confidence; but as it has already become a diplomatic maxim in Washington that it is worse than useless to negotiate with a President who is powerless to redeem his pledges, so it has become a recognized fact in Congress that the report of a regular committee cannot prevail against the lobby, backed by obstructionists and carpet-baggers.

Persons whose tastes lead them to useless speculations may amuse themselves by peering into the future as well as they can, in order to distinguish the dim outlines of the result, so far as our foreign relations are concerned. That the whole continent of North America and all its adjacent islands must at last fall under the control of the United States is a conviction absolutely ingrained in our people. Granting this result, against which, if we struggle at all, we shall struggle in vain, there are two ways of reaching it. Whether two democracies of England and America will dislike each other more or less cordially than did the United States republic and the British crown we will not decide; but if there comes an appeal to arms, no great effort of the imagination is needed to foresee a political conspiracy, which will have for its object to throw British America into the arms of the United States and British India upon the bayonets of a Russian army. This is the kind of speculation which Russia would naturally dwell upon, and which implies universal war. We prefer to think that there is a better alternative. In the darkest days of our national trials, the winter of 1861–62, when in England public opinion had been artificially roused to fever heat against our country, a few Englishmen still stood by us with a courage and a confidence which only those are likely to appreciate who had personal occasion to feel their value. Even then, when there seemed to be no light in any quarter, we clung to the idea that there

would come a day when America would have conquered all her difficulties, when her few constant friends in England should under the spur of her success have climbed to power, and when our Government and theirs should act in harmony on large and liberal principles. These men are now in the English Ministry, and have sent us our own selected treaty, which we have refused to accept. Our Government seems to threaten to use its pecuniary claims for driving a good bargain for land. We will not discuss the respectability of this policy, which is a point that every one can decide for himself. We prefer to look for the grounds of a wider settlement. We know the strength and the weakness of Great Britain. Her political interests do not lie in America, but in Asia; and no principle is now more firmly established than that her American possessions are a source of weakness, not of strength, while a wise policy requires the concentration of all her military and naval power on her Indian possessions, and on her ways of communication with them. She must ultimately of her own accord effect this concentration, for her existence as a great nation depends upon it. On the other hand, we need not require her to cede territory, but should induce her to abandon it to itself: so it will be safer from violence than if it were a part of the British Empire. Thus she might be separated absolutely, completely, and of her own free will from all political power or interference whatever in this quarter of the globe. We believe that our foreign policy, if properly managed, can peacefully effect this result; and we shall look with extreme interest to see whether the administration of General Grant is disposed to use with patience the slow, but, as we believe, the sure, means of diplomacy and conciliation to work out this large and permanent settlement of our English relations.

Henry Brooks Adams.

## Art. IX. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — 1. *Songs of Innocence and Experience, with other Poems.* By W. Blake. London: B. M. Pickering. 1866. Fcap. 8vo. pp. xii., 108.
2. *Poetical Sketches.* By William Blake. Now first reprinted from the Original Edition of 1783. Edited and prefaced by Richard Herne Shepherd. London: B. M. Pickering. 1868. Fcap. 8vo. pp. xiv., 96.
3. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell.* [London: J. C. Hotten. 1868. Sm. 4to. pp. 27.]

These three volumes are the most recent fruit of the revival of Blake's fame, both as poet and artist, which dates from the publication of Gilchrist's "Life of Blake," in 1863. During the last six years Blake has been a "fancy" with many people who had before hardly known his name; but the peculiar characteristics of his genius are such as to make him "caviare to the general." With two classes, however, he is likely to hold a high place permanently: with the mystics, as the most spiritual, intense, and imaginative of English mystics; and with artists, and true lovers of art, as painter and poet, with a genius of a curiously individual stamp, and as pure and lofty as it was original. Among modern artists, Blake forms a class by himself. With great inequalities, alike in conception and execution, his work is instinct with a spirit which distinguishes it from that of any of his predecessors or contemporaries. "William Blake, his mark," ineffaceably stamps every production of his pencil or his pen. In his highest reach of imagination he has never been surpassed; in the perfection of his technical execution at its best he is one of the great masters.

But the qualities of Blake's genius have been so much discussed of late years, that, tempting as the subject is, and imperfect, in our judgment, as the treatment of it has been, we refrain from entering on it, and confine ourselves to the simpler task of giving an account of the books before us.

In spite of some obvious defects, Mr. Gilchrist's "Life," with Mr. Rossetti's reprint of selections from Blake's poems and other writings, in the second volume of the "Life," will not only be hereafter the main source of information in regard to Blake's career and works, but will, in fact, supply all that is needed for a tolerably just conception of the nature and limits of his genius. Mr. Swinburne's wordy and pretentious volume ("William Blake: a Critical Essay") has no value ex-

cept that which it derives from the extracts it contains from some of Blake's unpublished writings, and the fac-similes with which it is illustrated of a few of his designs in colors.

The larger part of Blake's poems, including most of his early "Poetical Sketches," and of the "Songs of Innocence and of Experience," as well as "Poems hitherto Unpublished," were given by Mr. Rossetti, and it might seem as if a reprint of them were superfluous. But the student of Blake, touched with enthusiasm for his genius, will be grateful to Mr. Pickering for the publication of the two little volumes in which he gives an exact reprint of the poems as they were originally printed or engraved, save that the spelling is modernized, and includes a few that Mr. Rossetti apparently did not think worthy of preservation.

The text of some of the poems in this edition varies more or less from that in Mr. Rossetti's volume, and in the preface to each of these reprints the editor speaks with more severity than was needed of the arbitrary changes made by Mr. Rossetti. For the most part, however, the differences in the text are very slight, chiefly metrical or grammatical, — Blake, like some of the great elder poets, holding himself *super grammaticam*, — and only in rare instances, which may be accounted for by Mr. Rossetti's access to Blake's manuscript, do they show any essential variation in the sense or form.

It would be difficult to overestimate the force and originality of Blake's poetical genius. It is marvellous that a youth born in 1757, in the very depth of the stagnation of English poetry, should, before his twentieth year, have written such a poem as that in the "Poetical Sketches" addressed to the Muses, or the song beginning,

> "My silks and fine array,
> My smiles and languish'd air
> By love are driven away."

Blake's sensitive and imaginative soul felt the earliest breath of the reviving spirit of Nature in poetry, and his torch was the first to be re-lighted at her altar. He was the first to restore truth and simplicity to poetry, and was in this respect the forerunner of Wordsworth and of Burns. His "Poetical Sketches" were all written in the years from 1768 to 1777, though not published till 1783. The "Songs of Innocence" appeared in 1789, and the "Songs of Experience" in 1794. Cowper's first volume of "Poems" came out in 1782; Burns's "Poems in the Scottish Dialect" were published in 1786. It was not till 1793 that Wordsworth's "Evening Walk" appeared.

Even in Blake's early poems an exquisite sensibility to Art is as apparent as his truth to Nature. In his best pieces, such as those to which we just now referred, it is very manifest in the beauty of their

form and the sweetness of their music. But in these juvenile pieces his art is often imperfect, and his full mastery is shown only in his later work, especially in some of the "Songs of Innocence," which were engraved, and had such publication as Blake could give to them, in 1789, when he was thirty-two years old. In the best and most characteristic of these poems there is the perfect simplicity of natural feeling expressed with an art exquisitely appropriate, and manifesting in its own simplicity the true temper of the artist.

It is in the "Songs of Experience," engraved five years later, that the greatest differences in the texts occur; and for the sake of gratifying the curiosity of the reader who may not have the two editions before him, we print the most commonly known of Blake's poems, "The Tiger," giving the text as it stands in Mr. Pickering's volume, and noting at the side the various readings supplied by Mr. Rossetti.

"Tiger, tiger, burning bright
In the forests of the night,
What immortal hand or eye
*Could frame* thy fearful symmetry? — Framed

"In what distant deeps or skies
*Burnt the fire of* thine eyes? — Burned that fire within
On what wings *dare* he aspire? — dared
What the hand *dare* seize the fire? — dared

"And what shoulder and what art
Could twist the sinews of thy heart?
*And when* thy heart began to beat, — When
What dread hand *and what* dread feet? — formed thy

"What the hammer? what the chain? — δ
*In what furnace was thy brain?* — Knit thy strength and forged thy brain?
What the anvil? what dread grasp
*Dare its* deadly terrors clasp? — Dared thy

"When the stars threw down their spears,
And watered heaven with their tears,
Did He smile His work to see?
Did He who made the lamb make thee?

"Tiger, tiger, burning bright — [This stanza omitted.]
In the forests of the night,
What immortal hand or eye
Dare frame thy fearful symmetry?"

A portion of the "Miscellaneous Poems," printed first by Mr. Rossetti from the manuscript, are reprinted by Mr. Pickering in connection with the "Songs of Innocence and of Experience," also, according to a state-

ment in the Preface, from an original manuscript. Unfortunately, the best of those given by Mr. Rossetti are not found in the reprint, and their place is but poorly supplied by the wretched ballad of "Long John Brown and Little Mary Bell," and by some unimportant lines, prefixed, as a "Dedication to the Queen," to the edition of Blair's "Grave" which appeared with illustrations by Blake in 1808.

One little poem from the "Songs of Experience" — the only one omitted by Mr. Rossetti — seems worth preserving, slight as it is, as a specimen of Blake's imaginative personification of moral attributes. It is called —

"A DIVINE IMAGE.

"Cruelty has a human heart,
And Jealousy a human face;
Terror the human form divine,
And Secrecy the human dress.

"The human dress is forged iron,
The human form a fiery forge,
The human face a furnace sealed,
The human heart its hungry gorge."

A much more important publication than these two little volumes of reprinted poems, as exhibiting Blake's genius in one of its most peculiar forms, and as supplying illustrations of it not to be elsewhere found, is the fac-simile of his "Marriage of Heaven and Hell," of which a small number of copies were lately issued. Very few copies exist of the original edition of this extraordinary work. The fac-simile, which is admirably executed, was made from a fine copy in the possession of Lord Houghton. Its pages are engraved, and both illuminated and illustrated, with designs in color, which are highly finished by hand, in imitation of the original drawing. Every page is illuminated so richly, and with such variety of delicate detail, that even the engraved letter-press seems as if done by hand. In addition to this illumination, there are, in the space of the twenty-seven pages, thirteen large designs, — that on the title-page occupying the whole page, the others filling half or a third of the page. The subjects of most of these designs have only a remote and obscure relation to the text; but in themselves, though by no means equalling in power or depth of conception Blake's finest work, such as his "Job," they display great vividness of fancy, and show his wild and mystical imagination in full play. From the fac-simile a just impression can be gained, by those to whom the originals are not accessible, not only of one of Blake's most characteristic modes of work, but also of the style of his drawing, the method of his coloring, and the exercise of his fancy in its more mystical moods. Mr. Gil-

christ speaks of the original as "perhaps the most curious and significant, while it is certainly the most daring in conception and gorgeous in illustration, of all Blake's works." The large extracts which he gives from it are ample to afford a general notion of the scope of the brief treatise. There is in it a sad mingling of fine sense and fine poetry with — what at least seems like — utter confusion of mind and pure bathos. The idea of the book, so far as a prevailing idea can be traced through its obscurities, is indicated by its title, "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell," — which expresses one of the philosophic notions that had taken deepest hold on Blake. It was his view, that without contraries there is no progression, — that from these contraries spring what the religious (by whom he means the superstitious and false interpreters of true religion) call Good and Evil; that "Good is the passive that obeys reason, Evil is the active springing from energy," — each without the other being imperfect, and even Heaven and Hell needing reconciliation and union, "for everything that lives is Holy." But this idea is discernible, in "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell," only through a cloud of mystical darkness, and does not afford a sufficient clew for the interpretation of many difficult and obscure passages. Blake, indeed, both in some parts of this volume, and in other of his mystical writings, seems to have written after a manner which the spiritual mediums of later days have rendered only too familiar. Any one gifted with common resources of mind can, if he chooses, with very little practice, throw himself into a state in which writing of this sort becomes possible, if not easy. Abstaining from any conscious exercise of will in the control of his thoughts, allowing them to take their own course, freeing his mind as far as possible from preoccupation, he will soon find himself capable of mystic utterances, which, if he be in any degree a versifier, will readily take, without conscious effort on his part, metrical form, and which will be purely worthless and utterly meaningless, or will possess some worth and more or less depth of meaning, according to his original faculties, his culture, and the established usual order of his mind. The mass of the mediums who profess to speak in a state of trance or possession, having neither native gifts, nor much culture, nor trained minds, produce but silly trash and dull stupidities; but Blake had imagination and spirituality of vision; and even when he, to his own bewilderment, and to the lowering of his genius, abjured command over his thoughts, and yielded himself to the wayward impulses of unchecked fancy, even then he could not divest himself of the qualities of genius; and his mystic utterances, when most remote from intelligibility, are swollen with a vague grandeur, and are now and then interrupted by passages of genuine spiritual discernment,

and illuminated by clear flashes of redeeming imagination. In "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell," the contrast between the will-o'-the-wisp uncertainty of meaning in some parts with the sharply defined sense of others is very striking. Blake's common sense, no less than his celestial sense, is shown, for instance, in a very high degree, in the Proverbs of Hell, which he says he thus collected: —

"As I was walking among the fires in Hell, delighted with the enjoyments of Genius, which to angels look like torment and insanity, I collected some of their proverbs, thinking, that, as the sayings used in a nation mark its character, so the Proverbs of Hell show the nature of infernal wisdom better than any descriptions of buildings or garments."

Many of the proverbs enforce Blake's notion of the real heavenliness of Hell. What can be sweeter than this: "The soul of sweet delight cannot be defiled"? or than this: "To create a little flower is the labor of ages"? What better precept than this: "The most sublime act is to set another before you"? What wiser one than this: "If others had not been foolish, we should be so"? or than this: "Everything possible to be believed is an image of truth"? But many of the proverbs display a shrewdness of worldly wisdom which may indicate their devilish origin. In Blake's time it could only have been a devil who would have ventured to say, "Damn braces! bless relaxes!" — and only from Hell could have proceeded such a saying as "Prisons are built with stones of Law, brothels with bricks of Religion." There is a touch of wickedness in "The road of Excess leads to the palace of Wisdom," and in its counterpart, "You never know what is enough, unless you know what is more than enough." But on the whole, the Proverbs of Hell have nothing in them that would prove Hell to be a bad place.

There is, perhaps, nothing finer among the designs which adorn this most interesting volume than that upon the title-page, in which two spirits, drawn with an intensity of expressive action such as Blake alone could represent, are seen, one flying from the fires of Hell, the other from the clouds of Heaven, to lock themselves in each other's arms in eager embrace. As a whole, the designs are inferior, both in conception and in color, to the best of Blake's work. We regret to learn that the artist by whom the hand-work in the fac-simile was executed has lately died. The volume must soon become rare. For those who desire thorough acquaintance with Blake's genius, it is a delightful and indispensable supplement to the volumes of his Life and Writings.

2. — 1. *Politische Skizzen über die Lage Europas vom Wiener Congress bis zur Gegenwart* (1815 – 1867). *Nebst den Depeschen des Grafen Ernst Friedrich Herbert zu Münster über den Wiener Congress.* Von Georg Herbert, Graf zu Münster. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1867.
2. *The Same.* Translated into English by Lady Harriette St. Clair, the late Countess Münster. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1868.
3. *Der Norddeutsche Bund und dessen Uebergang zu einem Deutschen Reiche.* Von Georg Herbert, Graf zu Münster. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1868.

It is said that during the wars of 1814 a prisoner was brought into the presence of Napoleon I., who, on inquiring to what nation he belonged, received the reply, "I am a German." "I know no Germans," answered the Emperor, "but only Austrians, Prussians, Bavarians, Saxons, and the like." Prince Metternich expressed the same thought, when he spoke of Germany as a "geographical conception," a mere notion of the mind, convenient as a name, but having no more existence in fact than a geometrical line has in nature. Even the patriotic Arndt could give to his own question, "*Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?*" no answer except such as subtilized the solid acres of his country into a poetical ideal, floating "*golden und rosig,*" like Uhland's clouds, in the empyrean of that most aimless and delicious species of fanaticism known to our Teutonic kinsmen as *Schwärmerei.* "*Étes vous un de ces patriotes allemands qui vont toujours à la recherche d'une patrie sans la trouver?*" was the greeting of a witty Frenchman to a German refugee, whom stress of politics had just driven to Paris. Since the battles of Königgrätz and Sadowa, such a question would be impertinent, if not impossible. The factitious political edifices erected by the Congress of Vienna, and consecrated by the Holy Alliance, have been demolished, and the last remnants of them swept from the map of Europe by the war of 1866. They now belong to the past, and to history, although we can hardly expect that the present generation of Europeans will write or speak of them with the same critical candor and freedom from partisan bias with which they would discuss the English Heptarchy or the Empire of the Hohenstaufen. Nevertheless, we must concede to Count Münster a calm and strictly conscientious judgment, and a very large measure of impartiality, — especially when we remember that he is engaged in active politics, as one of the most prominent members of the present North German Parliament. The nucleus around which his volume of "Political Sketches" has grown up consists of the official

despatches of his father, the famous Hanoverian diplomatist, who represented the Prince Regent of England at the Congress of Vienna, and exerted considerable influence upon that great council of European powers. They give a clear and concise history of what took place there, and make some important revelations concerning the men who composed that conference, and the secret springs which controlled it. Yet the most interesting portions of the book are the author's own observations on Russia and Germany, and his general survey of the existing state of European politics.

In the negotiations of peace, and the demarcations of political boundaries, which followed the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815, Russia took a very prominent part. It was the Emperor Alexander I. who, in an effusion of religious sensibility, inspired, perhaps, by the Baroness Krüdener, clothed the Triple Alliance in the garb of a fictitious sanctity by christening it "Holy." But the precedence then given to this youngest, yet largest, scion of the European family of States was by no means indicative of the real strength of the infant giant. At the outbreak of the Crimean War, the Empire of Nicholas was frequently spoken of as a Colossus standing on feet of clay. The capture and demolition of Sebastopol, and the peace of Paris, which crippled the maritime growth of Russia, by neutralizing the Black Sea, and thus excluding her ships of war from the waters that bathe the shores of her richest provinces, proved that there was some truth in the comparison. Nevertheless, the foundations were not wholly of this brittle material, but rather, like the fourth kingdom seen in vision by the prophet Daniel, it had feet "part of potter's clay and part of iron." The network of railways which is rapidly covering the vast territories of the Czar will soon transform the softer into the harder substance, making the whole homogeneous, and giving to the Colossus strong and swift feet of iron. The disasters of the Crimea did for Russia what the reverses of the white-coated imperialists in Bohemia are now doing for Austria. They were the beginning of a new era of progress. Since the accession of the present Emperor (whose father died of vexation at the gross abuses in both the civil and the military administration which the war brought to light), reforms have been introduced as rapidly, perhaps, as the circumstances of the case would permit. The so-called Military Colonies have been suppressed, to the great advantage of the agricultural interests of the country; the tax of five hundred roubles on passports has been abolished, thus encouraging intercourse with foreign nations, instead of jealously prohibiting it; the particular censorship for writings on military affairs, and the special legislation for the press, have been so modified as to make all offences

of journalism punishable by the civil law; the courts of justice have been reformed, and a new code of criminal laws adopted; and, what is most important of all, twenty-two millions of serfs have been emancipated and elevated into free citizens. These are signs of true development; yet we regard Count Münster's enthusiasm on this subject as considerably overwrought, nor do we think his feeble apology for the ferocious rule of General Mouravieff in Poland at all creditable to himself or convincing to his readers. His allusion to the "sensitive and tender character" of the Emperor Nicholas, whom he also styles "a thorough gentleman," and "the terror of all revolutionists" (taking these phrases as synonymous, perhaps), will seem almost ironical to those who remember the pitiless and needless severity of that Czar's reign. It is an evidence of our author's catholicity, that he puts into the same category of "excellent men and monarchs" a harsh and boundless egotist like Nicholas, and a weak, superstitious, and sentimental driveller like Alexander I. It is only when compared with the systematic and petty tyranny of Paul I. that the public acts of the two immediate successors of this Emperor can be characterized as either generous or wise.

"Every country," it is said, "has its own constitution: Russia is absolutism tempered by assassination." There are episodes even in the present enlightened *régime* which prove that what the first Napoleon once remarked is still true: "Scratch a Russian, and you will find a Tartar underneath." The decree issued only a few months ago, prohibiting to the Poles the use of their mother-tongue as a medium of social and commercial intercourse, and establishing a system of espionage, which extends from the market-place and public assembly into the sanctuary of the family, and changes every house into an "Ear of Dionysius," is one of the most brutal and stupid caprices of despotism ever devised by an arbitrary and irresponsible one-man power. Notwithstanding the best will and the most enthusiastic effort, the attempt to transplant liberal ideas and institutions to the Muscovite soil has been a signal failure; like fruits in a humid atmosphere and under a sunless sky, they rot before they ripen. Civilization itself is only an exotic there. St. Petersburg is like a city created by enchantment in the midst of a barren wilderness. All its splendor is artificial; the coachman freezes to death on his box, while his mistress is listening to the finest Italian singing at the opera; near the magnificent granite quays of the Neva, the ships lie idle half the year, inclosed in ice; the howl of the wolf and the wild cry of the black-cock may be heard within sight of the windows of the richest and most massive palaces in the world; and an hour's ride from the brilliant social, commercial, and political centre of the Empire will bring the traveller into forests and morasses

stretching to the White Sea, and among peasants as rude and ignorant as those who live a thousand miles farther in the interior. In a country of such vast and lonely distances, official supervision and control are exceedingly difficult. As an instance of the abuses arising from this condition of things, Herr Münster gives an account of a German mechanic who had been working in a manufactory at Perm, but was returning home on foot, intending to pass by Nijni-Novgorod. Unluckily for him, he met on the road a convoy of prisoners on their way to Siberia. The officer who had charge of them had lost one of the gang, and, in order to make the number good, quietly took the German, shaved his head, labelled him with the missing number, and went on again Siberia-ward. The poor mechanic travelled thus for nine months, when, fortunately, he fell in with a fellow-countryman who was on a scientific tour, and to whom he told his story. Application was at once made to the highest authorities, and orders were immediately given for his release; but more than a year and a half elapsed before he could be found and sent to St. Petersburg, where the government did what could be done to indemnify him. This incident occurred only a few years ago, and is by no means an isolated case. The same circumstances serve also to open a wide field to the official dishonesty which seems to characterize the Slavonic race. In other countries, a man who systematically defrauds the government will also cheat his neighbor; but in Russia a person may eke out his income or amass a large fortune by peculation, and yet be distinguished in private life for rectitude and generosity. It is certainly the severest satire on a government, when its citizens or subjects, not morally bad nor individually corrupt, feel no conscientious scruples about helping themselves out of the public treasury. The natural and inevitable growth of Russia is towards the East, and her civilization, only skin-deep, is a peculiarity which will doubtless aid her in accomplishing her mission of gradually infusing European culture into Asiatic semi-barbarism. Less civilized than Europe and more civilized than Asia, she partakes of the nature of both, and is therefore well fitted to mediate between them.

Count Münster's historical sketch of the German States since 1815 is rapid, but luminous, and his criticisms on the present political status of Europe are always clear and usually just. In some respects he is still too much hampered by the traditions of a superannuated school of diplomatists to render an impartial verdict. This defective judgment is especially apparent in his discussion of such topics as popular sovereignty, universal suffrage, and the principle of nationality. Even when accepting his conclusions, we do not always recognize the validity of the methods by which he arrives at them. Self-government is not

essentially a farce, merely because Napoleon III. played the comedy of popular suffrage in the incorporation of Nice and Savoy and in the establishment of imperialism in Mexico. Yet Count Münster quotes with approval the saying of a French diplomatist in reference to universal suffrage: "*Ce n'est pas un principe, mais un expédient quelquefois nécessaire.*" The North German Confederation, of which the King of Prussia is hereditary President, consists of twenty-one sovereign States represented in a single parliament, the members of which are chosen by universal suffrage, every German who is twenty-five years of age, provided he has never been punished for a criminal offence, having a vote. The whole country is divided into electoral districts in the ratio of one representative to every hundred thousand inhabitants. The results of the elections have been thus far very satisfactory; even the ultra-conservatives and most inveterate *Junker* are forced to acknowledge that in intelligence, patriotism, and practical statesmanship the German Parliament of the past summer has never been equalled by any previous legislative body in Germany. Our author looks upon the North German Confederation as nothing but a German Empire *incognito*, and thinks, that, the sooner it becomes in name what it is in reality, the better it will be for the interests of the nation. This idea, which is merely thrown out as a suggestion in the "*Politische Skizzen*," forms the theme of the spirited monograph, "*Der Norddeutsche Bund.*" The original purpose of the war of 1866 was to expel Austria from Germany, subordinate the remaining German States to Prussia, and thus achieve for the latter an indisputable military, commercial, and diplomatic supremacy in Central Europe. No extension of territory was contemplated, except the annexation of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The incorporation of Hanover, Hesse, Nassau, and Frankfort was an afterthought, suggested by the unexpectedly brilliant success of the Prussian arms. The unexampled rapidity with which the campaign was conducted did not allow the statesmen of Prussia to keep pace with events, or to draw from them all the advantages which they actually involved. The armistice, the negotiations, and the final conclusion of peace at Nikolsburg and Prague, and the elaboration of the federative constitution followed each other in such swift succession, and the necessity of "putting Germany into the saddle" was felt to be so imperative and pressing, that, instead of forming a strong and compact State, only a weak and complicated political structure was patched together, of which every one now realizes the utter untenability. The North German Confederation marks simply a transition, and, if permitted to remain as a permanent form of government, would present one of the most striking cases of what naturalists call "arrested

development" to be found in the annals of constitutional history. It is neither Germany nor Prussia, but a kind of hybrid nondescript without vigor enough to propagate its life; or, to use another simile, it is like a ship stranded on a sandbank between port and ocean, and which no plates of iron nor ribs of oak can hold together against the angry violence of the waves. Europe is suffering to-day, not from the desolations of war, but from the depressions of an armed peace. It behoves Bismarck to avail himself of this condition of affairs in order to complete the work of political consolidation already begun, and to create, between Russia on the east and France on the west, a great pacific and industrial state, that shall not only cultivate peace, but also be strong enough to preserve it. There is much force in the remark recently made by the veteran General Moltke, that Europe will never enjoy permanent repose and immunity from threats of war until the time shall come when not a sword on the Continent can be unsheathed for battle without Germany's permission.

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3. — *Handbook of the History of Philosophy.* By Dr. Albert Schwegler. Translated and annotated by James Hutchinson Stirling, LL.D., Author of "The Secret of Hegel," etc. Second Edition. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1868.

Schwegler's History of Philosophy has so long been recognized as unequalled in its department, and has during the last thirteen years become so familiar to the American student through Seelye's admirable translation, that it needs no new introduction or commendation. Stirling pronounces it "at once the fullest and the shortest, the deepest and the easiest, the most trustworthy and the most elegant compendium that exists in either [the English or the German] language"; and this judgment we are not disposed to dispute. The work has few faults that do not result necessarily from its plan. A condensed history of philosophy, however indispensable to the student, must by its very nature be general and abstract. There is the same difference between reading a short account of some system of philosophy and studying the system itself, that there is between reading an account of some grand musical performance and being present one's self to enjoy it. It is something, indeed, to know what the great thinkers of the world have undertaken to do; but the real interest commences when we witness for ourselves what they have accomplished. Schopenhauer has somewhere compared a man who reads for the purpose of remembering what one writer and another have said, to one who, in climbing a ladder, should

insist on taking each round as he left it and carrying it with him to the top. A brief manual of the history of philosophy is a bundle of rounds arranged for the convenience of carrying, with no ladder to be climbed. This difficulty is avoided just so far as the history is a history of philosophy, and not a tabular view of philosophies, — that is, so far as it represents this history as the unfolding and development of philosophy itself. To have accomplished this is the great glory of Hegel's history, and in a less degree that of Schwegler.

We have intimated that a manual of this kind, with all its necessary imperfections, is indispensable to the student. Such a summary of the history of philosophy he must have, however barren and abstract it must necessarily be, when compared with the fulness and richness of the material which it represents. We can easily understand what a help it would be to the student, in the use of such a manual, to have a competent friend, well-read and enthusiastic, come and sit by his side and talk over with him each system as he studies it, explain and illustrate what the author says, compare one system with another, and show the relation of each to the whole. This is what Mr. Stirling undertakes to do in his translation of Schwegler's history. More than one fourth of the volume is taken up with his annotations, and these form by no means the least valuable portion of the book. He compares the statements of Schwegler with those of other historians, particularly with those of Hegel, of whom, as no reader of his former work, "The Secret of Hegel," need be informed, he is an ardent disciple. Indeed, one great element in the value of these annotations is the light which is thrown upon other systems from that of Hegel, and upon that of Hegel from these, and the manner in which the whole are thus brought into a more obvious unity.

The principal difference that arises between the translator and his original concerns the very idea of the history of philosophy. The affirmation of Hegel was, that the evolution of philosophy in history must in general correspond to the evolution of a logical philosophy, and that thus each stage in the history must represent a corresponding stage in philosophy itself. This Schwegler disputes and Stirling re-affirms, and in this matter we consider Stirling to be right and Schwegler wrong. Indeed, the reasoning of Schwegler in this connection is very unsatisfactory. He contradicts the position of Hegel theoretically by affirming the place that freedom occupies in the evolution of history, and insisting that thus history can follow no such definitely prescribed plan. But whatever disturbance freedom may introduce into general history, it has no place in the history of philosophy, which is the history of thought. If thought is, as we are

apt to say, absolutely free, it is, however paradoxical the statement may appear, because it is absolutely without freedom. A man's thought cannot be controlled by others, simply because it cannot be controlled by himself. The laws of thought operate with the same regularity, whether the process be carried on in one mind or in a series of minds. Schwegler is also wrong in maintaining that Hegel himself tacitly gave up the principle in question, when at the close of his history, in summing up its results, he shows, in general, how the various stages of it have been only the stages of one complete system.

While the annotations of Stirling are everywhere valuable, they are perhaps most so in regard to Hegel himself. If the reader cannot get a true impression of him from Schwegler and Stirling together, he need hardly seek elsewhere. Stirling's statement seems to us clearer here even than in "The Secret of Hegel," because it is more condensed. His "Supplementary Notes" also contain much that is very valuable, particularly in relation to Comte and Mill.

In the second of these supplementary notes, which is in regard to "Mr. Lewes's charge of atheism against Hegel," Mr. Stirling says that the mistake on which this charge rests has stood before the world more than twenty years in the pages of Mr. Lewes, and that it is high time it was corrected. We may remark that this mistake was corrected, and the mistranslation on which it is based exposed, in the pages of this Review in 1858 (No. CLXXVIII., p. 256), on the occasion of the publication of the new and enlarged edition of Mr. Lewes's history.

The great omission in the work, as it would be in any similar work written from the Hegelian standpoint, is the absence of any, save the most cursory and contemptuous, reference to Schopenhauer. This writer took a fresh and independent start from Kant. Long unnoticed, his system now occupies a prominent place. However imperfect it may be, it has its definite position in the evolution of thought. As a thinker he can be ranked for clearness and comprehensiveness only with the first. If Hegelianism has no place for him, it shows that the world-philosophy is not yet complete; and the student who shall have mastered the work under review must not think that his general survey is complete till he has acquired from other sources some idea of the system and work of Schopenhauer.

In conclusion, we will simply express the wish that Stirling would continue his work of introducing Hegel to the English and American world by furnishing it with a translation of his "Æsthetics." This, we are convinced, would be found the most interesting and instructive of his works to the general reader, and would form the best introduction to the study of his philosophy.

4. — 1. *The Annals of Rural Bengal.* By W. W. Hunter, etc., of the Bengal Civil Service. Second Edition. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1868. 8vo. pp. xvi., 475.
2. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia, with a Dissertation. Based on the Hodgson Lists, Official Records, and MSS.* By W. W. Hunter, etc., etc. London: Trübner and Co. 1868. Large 4to. pp. xii., 224.

Mr. Hunter has produced one of the most entertaining and valuable works on India that we have seen in a long time. It is replete with acute observation, vivacious description, and high-toned humanity. It is the fruit of many years' experience as one of the administrators of English sovereignty in the country, and of profound researches among all available records of the recent history of the Hindus, whether of their own making or prepared by their conquerors. It is one of those books which are needed to form the complement of all elaborate so-called histories. It depicts the life of the people, — the virtues and failings, the wrongs and sufferings, the religion and superstitions, of the real inhabitants of the country. It is written almost from the native point of view, — only the eyes that look are English, and see a great deal that native eyes would not see. Mr. Hunter is in complete sympathy with the native population, and feels acutely what is the position of his own countrymen among them, what his own and his fellows' responsibility and duty toward them. No one of whom we know has been able, or willing, to throw so vivid a light upon the actual workings of British rule, as affecting the happiness of its subjects. His feelings side not only with the subject people, but with the subjects of those subjects, with the dark-skinned aboriginal races, whom the more highly gifted tribes of Aryan intruders long ago dispossessed and drove into the jungles and the mountains, and have since treated as serfs or as hunted outlaws, but whom the inexorable equity and wider humanity of the new dominion are beginning to regard as men with rights, and even with qualities and capacities which may make them valuable members of the body politic. Of these despised gentiles Mr. Hunter is the especial friend and advocate, striving to teach us how to understand them and take an interest in them.

It would be a profitable task to go through this volume, sketching its varied and attractive contents; but we must refrain. Not many, we are sure, who take it into their hands will be willing to lay it aside till they have read it all. Our principal business is with a specific portion of it, — the linguistic, — upon which we cannot bestow the same almost unqualified approbation as upon the remainder. Mr.

Hunter is strongest as a popular historian; he is less successful as an ethnologist and a philosophizer upon creeds and customs and their connections; he is weakest of all as a linguist. These last are subjects with which his previous training has not prepared him competently to deal. His sketch of the language of the Santals — the race of aborigines in Southern Bengal, which has principally attracted his attention, and to which he devotes a considerable part of his volume — is, indeed, a valuable contribution to science; here he is on safe ground, and treating of matters within his reach. But when he steps aside to take up themes in general linguistic science and philosophy, he shows, along with something of the aggressive vigor of thought and incisiveness of expression which are indefeasible characteristics of his way of working, a want of comprehensive knowledge, and of what that alone can procure, a sound critical judgment. He has, like all beginners, his hobbies, and his favorite authorities, to whom his mind is over-submissive. For example, he has been captivated with Schleicher's method of algebraic notation of the differences of linguistic structure, and makes much of it, constantly styling the agglutinative languages "Schleicher's compounding class," as if that scholar had any peculiar ownership in the classification, which is, rather, the common property of the systematicians of this generation, — and, we may add, not a little overrated in value by the majority of them. That he has not studied Schleicher too faithfully, however, is shown by his wonderful perversion of the latter's view of the development of the original Indo-European alphabet of fifteen consonantal sounds in the use of the Hindus into one of thirty-four, in which are to be traced signs of the influence of the native languages of India, into the statement, that, "according to Schleicher, the Sanskrit alphabet originally contained only fifteen consonants, and adopted nineteen from the aborigines"! Not from Schleicher, however, nor from any other sound writer on human speech, has he derived even the hint of his doctrine concerning the respective parts played by "pronouns and roots" in the development of language. Roots he represents as the inert matter of speech, vivified by the pronouns; the former stand for ideas, indeed, but for ideas divested of the predicate of position in space or time, which must be added to them by means of the pronouns in order that they may become locomotive and manageable. Like many theorizers about language, he mixes up thought and expression, and imports into the synthetic conception and crude sign-making of the earliest speakers the refined abstractions belonging to an age of trained and cultivated thought. With precisely as much reason he might demand, as essential, a class of elements signifying actuality of existence, or finiteness, or color and form, or any other of a score of

the constituent attributes which we recognize as belonging to our ideas of objects.

Not less striking is Mr. Hunter's exaggeration of the importance attaching to the Santal people, their institutions, their legends, their dialect, the tribes with which they are connected. The mysteries of Hindu caste and Hindu religion are going to be solved by comparison with Santal customs. It is probably from the Santal that the Sanskrit has obtained those important additions to its meagre alphabet already spoken of. The Santal traditions and the relations of Santal speech promise to illustrate the course of the immigrations which gave India its aboriginal population, in times for which "pre-historic" would be a most modest appellation. The study of Santali is, perhaps, to do for the agglutinative tongues what that of Sanskrit has done for the inflecting tongues; and so on. All this is very loose talk, and exhibits a radical misapprehension of the present condition and needs of ethnological and linguistic science. We see no reason for believing that Mr. Hunter would not have built the same magnificent expectations upon any other of the thousand and one existing agglutinative dialects which had happened to become the subject of his special study, and had introduced him to some comprehension of the agglutinative structure of speech. Try one of his points. The Sanskrit has taken the position it occupies in linguistic study for certain very definite reasons. It is more ancient than any of its kindred, possessing documents nearly, or quite, four thousand years old. It has been thoroughly studied and accurately compared with other tongues, and found to have a peculiarly antique structure, to exhibit more of the inferribly original features of a certain great family of speech than any other known member of that family. So long, now, as nothing of this kind has been done for the Santali, so long as there are scores of agglutinative languages older than it, of well-established affinities, and with abundant literatures, which, therefore, there is every reason for supposing capable of throwing vastly more light upon the agglutinative tongues in general, so long will linguistic scholars only smile at Mr. Hunter's boyish enthusiasm over his pet dialect.

These, however, are but inconspicuous blemishes in Mr. Hunter's valuable volume, and easily to be excused, as aberrations of the lively and enterprising spirit to which the rest of his work owes so much of its interest. We should hardly have thought of mentioning them, we should not at all have thought of dwelling upon them, if we had to deal only with the "Annals of Rural Bengal." But instead of bending his energies to the task of preparing his promised continuation of the "Annals," he has ill-advisedly abandoned the department of labor in which

he had already done so good service, and was able to do more, and has entered upon the career of a philologist, having put forth one book which displays all his weak points and little or nothing beside, and now threatening another. The one already out is in tall quarto form, printed on heavy tinted paper, in the most elegant style of English typography, and dedicated by permission (or command, as the advertisements have it) to the Queen. What is this work, ushered into the world with so much pomp and circumstance? Why, a simple list of some two hundred English words, with their equivalents in about a hundred and forty Asiatic dialects! Each word compared occupies a page: at the top stands the English vocable, flanked with its correspondents in French, German, Russian, and Latin; and below, in two stout columns, the names of the hundred and forty dialects, with the answering word in each. Thus each great page contains one hundred and forty words of linguistic material, and the name of every dialect is repeated two hundred times. Such luxury as this the most aristocratic linguistic scholar ought to be content with. Those of more humble taste and means would perhaps be as well pleased to see the matter less showily and more conveniently arranged, and put in the compass of a small octavo pamphlet, in some such series as the "Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," — only, even there, the question would be raised, whether the lists were worth the paper and cost of printing.

What has Mr. Hunter sought to accomplish by this book? His introductory dissertation tells us. He furnishes us, first, several pages of very vigorous and pointed discourse upon one of the prominent themes of his other work, — the valuable qualities of the aboriginal tribes of India, the injustice done them, and the ignorance concerning them of their British rulers, who cannot, of course, do them justice without knowing them better. So much is exceedingly good. Mr. Hunter is upon his own ground here, and we heartily wish him as large an audience as can be found to listen to his words. But when we come to inquire into the connection between the dissertation and the lists, we find (quoting nearly his own words) that the latter are put forth as the materials out of which a comprehensive view of the ethnical peculiarities, the social necessities, and the political capabilities for evil or for good of the whole aboriginal people may be constructed, and that they are henceforth to enable every frontier administrator to hold direct communication with the races committed to his charge. Mr. Hunter must have a very strange idea as to how much knowledge of a language will enable one to read the character of its speakers, and to communicate with them. We should like to see him take his Comparative Dictionary with him to Russia, for example, and attempt to com-

municate with the Russians, in the character of a frontier administrator, or in any other character, by the help of his two hundred bare words, in imperfect and inconsistent phonetic transcription, without explanation of their uses, without inflectional forms, without rules of arrangement, without even a model phrase upon which to form others. We imagine that his faith in the practical side of the value of his work would be speedily and rudely shaken. He is, in truth, perfectly wild in assuming that this is the way to furnish useful aid to practical communication. If the materials out of which he has made his selections were worth publishing at all, they should have been published in the utmost possible completeness, with all the explanation and illustration which could be brought to bear upon them, and each language by itself. Even then they would have been but a nucleus for further collections, a foundation for each man to build upon according to his opportunity. The detailed working-up and publication of Mr. Hodgson's collections, along with all that could be added to them from other sources, would have been a work worthy of Mr. Hunter's devoted labor, of the auspices under which the present volume has come forth, of the helpers and patrons it has won. Anything short of that is a mutilation wholly to be condemned.

Nor is the case otherwise as regards the scientific side of the value of his work. In fancying that linguistic science is to be promoted by lists of synonymous words like these he has drawn up, Mr. Hunter commits a portentous anachronism. He would fain roll back the history of the science to the beginning of the century, when it was taking its first feeble steps, with such aids as it could command, and when comparative vocabularies, versions of the Lord's Prayer, and their like, were very acceptable, because nothing better was to be had, and the whole field was a *terra incognita*. He would push us back even beyond Adelung and Vater; for they at least gave connected texts, with such grammatical explanations and additional vocabularies as lay within their reach. But the time for these things is past, and a more thorough misapprehension of the present position and methods of linguistic study is hardly possible than to suppose that it derives any but the most scanty, doubtful, and provisional results from materials of the class here furnished, — or that it values comparative lists of selected words, except as they may illustrate truths arrived at by researches more far-reaching and penetrating. There are, it must be confessed, not a few so-called philologists who are plodding on at work like this, never having heard of the progress which the investigation of language has made during fifty years past, or not comprehending it. We have even been informed that there is in this country a National Philological

Society, whose aim is to draw up a grand comparative list of words from all the tongues of the globe: but such men are not working for science; they are only amusing themselves — and others. Mr. Hunter's volume is fit to be set up on the shelves of these philological *dilettanti*, and to supply them the foundation for just such hap-hazard etymologies and generalizations as he himself sets before us in the second part of his introductory dissertation. It is truly astonishing how many of the vexed questions of linguistic ethnology — questions which have puzzled the most profound scholars, those best acquainted with the tongues involved, of which he hardly professes to know anything — he is able to settle confidently out of hand. With a few convenient axioms to guide him, — such as that this particular letter in the non-Aryan languages is interchangeable with such and such others, — and taking a sufficiently wide range of comparison, he is able to trace the meshes of common speech through the whole of Asia, and even to find significant indications of the ultimate relationship of Aryan and non-Aryan. But let him not imagine that the ties he thinks to establish are aught but spiders' webs, which may soil, but will not obstruct, the hand of the true scholar, as he brushes them away.

The comparative philologist who deserves the name works in a very different manner from Mr. Hunter. He does not pretend to grasp and hold together the languages of a continent. He plants himself upon some point that affords sure footing, and works gradually outward; he takes some group of dialects respecting whose connection there can be no question, and endeavors from the minute study and detailed comparison of them to deduce the laws of their growth and the modes of their mutual relation, exercising a careful historical criticism at every step, both upon his materials and his conclusions. Then he proceeds to bring in and compare with this some other group, in the same cautious manner, confessing the increased meagreness and diminished certainty of the conclusions he can reach as he widens his circle of observation, till he arrives at the limit where the evidences become too faint and uncertain to compel his belief. To work after this fashion, and to beware of dealing with languages which he does not know thoroughly, distrusting all his results in proportion as they are founded on less thorough knowledge, — these are the two fundamental rules for the comparative student of language; and he who disregards them is a mere piler-up of rubbish for those who come after him to stumble over or to clear away.

We keenly regret, therefore, that Mr. Hunter should have turned away from his own work to do what can bring him no credit, and others no advantage; and that he should be proposing to go on from bad to

worse by next supplying us a comparative grammar of all these heterogeneous tongues of which he knows nothing. We hope to learn, that, on returning to his proper field of labor in India, he has come to his senses, and returned also to his proper department in literature. As historian of the Hindu people, we shall be glad to meet him again, and the sooner the better; as a comparative philologist, we desire to hear nothing more of him for many years to come, until he has been to school and learned a sounder method.

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5. — *A Modern Historical Atlas, for the Use of Colleges, Schools, and General Readers.* By Rev. William L. Gage, Editor and Translator of "Ritter's Palestine," author of the "Life of Carl Ritter," etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1869.

The Reverend Mr. Gage has attempted a very good thing, but has produced a very poor one. An historical atlas is certainly a desideratum in this community; but we cannot well see that any class of readers will find its wants satisfied by the present collection of maps. The editor himself admits that it is not adapted to the use of historical *students;* and as for general readers, one would think that his aim had been to flatter their vague and inaccurate notions by giving them something equally vague and inaccurate to compare them with. Mr. Gage underrates the historical sense of the American public; a judicious selection from Spruner's maps, omitting, perhaps, some of the details, but preserving the size and general features of the original with precision, would really have met a want and been welcomed. But readers who do not desire any further aid than this atlas will afford them will not be likely to care even for that. If there be any such, they are of the class who read a history because it is "nice," and do not concern themselves much about boundary-lines and strategic points.

One would almost think, indeed, that there had been an effort to avoid even desirable details. It would have been easy, without altering the general plan, and without in the least crowding the maps, to embrace many points which would be very serviceable to the mass of readers. But what shall we think of a map of Central Europe, in the sixteenth century, which does not contain Ghent, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Trèves, Basle, Augsburg, Ratisbon, Munich, or Vienna? or of one of the time of Napoleon which omits Burgos, Badajoz, Talavera, Salamanca, Tilsit, and Elba? Yet these are only specimens of the plan upon which the maps are intentionally prepared.

Details like these are, therefore, out of the scope of the work, which

only aims to give the principal political divisions at the great historical epochs. But, granting that the plan itself is a judicious one, it is a strange judgment upon the relations of historical events which gives four maps for the first five hundred years after the Christian era, and none whatever for the seven hundred years between Charlemagne and the Reformation, except a map of Southeastern Europe for the time of the Crusades. Just the period which is most puzzling to general readers is the one to which Mr. Gage gives them no clew. It was, perhaps, well enough to give a map for the time of Augustus, although this belongs decidedly to *ancient* history; but the only material point in which the map of the time of Constantine differs from that is in the eastern boundary of the Empire; while the next map again (the end of the fourth century) differs only in running the line between the Eastern and Western Empires. Surely it would have been easy, by the use of different colored lines, to let one map serve for all three epochs, — a map which should give the elements out of which modern Europe was formed.

Further, if the aim was to give the chief historical divisions, it is unpardonable not to have these distinctly indicated. But on many maps it is impossible to tell what the meandering red lines mean. In the map of the Empire of Charlemagne, one might, perhaps, see cause to include Italy in the dominions of this monarch, for one corner of the letter E seems to have crossed the Alps; but there is nothing whatever to show that they comprehended Saxony and the Spanish March, any more than England and Asturia. So, too, we defy any one to guess, from the maps alone, what were the dominions of Charles the Fifth. We beg pardon of the reader for this clumsy way of referring to the maps; they are not numbered, and there is no list of them.

The remarks that we have made apply more or less to all the maps; but the most unsatisfactory of all is that of Germany at the time of the Reformation. We confess that we cannot make out the principle upon which it is constructed. We have already noticed its poverty in detail, — it is, no doubt, a mere carelessness in proof-reading that Aix-la-Chapelle is placed to the north of Brussels. But the "political divisions" are a most singular list, and the ingenuous student, who seeks to learn from this source how Germany was subdivided at this important epoch, must find himself left in a very confused state of mind. These names certainly do not represent the political divisions of the sixteenth century, for Swabia and Franconia had for over two hundred years ceased to be duchies. They are not the administrative "circles" of Maximilian, for the Palatinate was no "circle," nor Thuringia, — which name is inclosed in well-defined lines, although it signified no more then than now, — nor

Bremen, nor Holstein, nor Brandenburg. Moreover, the circles of the Upper and Lower Rhine are not indicated at all; and although Lower Saxony is given, Upper Saxony stands without the adjective. Then the Palatinate is made to include Alsatia, and the Netherlands are divided into "United," and "Spanish," — a division which did not exist until after the revolt from Philip II. Most of the names are judiciously given in their English form, but for Lorraine we have the Latin name Lothringia. We fancy, that, after the analogy of the Indian who was born "at Nantucket, Cape Cod, and all along shore," Mr. Gage has evolved a map of Germany out of his own consciousness, which is intended to do service for a series of centuries at once. It certainly does not represent any one period.

We have not thought it worth while to notice any of the merits of this atlas, for the reason that they result from the nature of things, not from the care of the editor. It would be difficult to make a series of maps, especially maps so clearly and handsomely printed as these, which should be absolutely worthless; but those before us come as near to being so as is perhaps possible. We do not see a single point in which the work of the editor has been well done; and we regret this the more because so elegant and showy a volume will necessarily preoccupy the market, and prevent the publication of a really good historical atlas, such as our community needs, and ought to have.

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6. — *Studies in Early French Poetry.* By Walter Besant, M. A., Christ's College, Cambridge. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Company. 1868.

The time is rapidly passing away when a graduate of one of our leading colleges, who had carried off the highest honors in his class, could ask with surprise, "Who were Goethe, and Schiller, and Molière?" The coming schoolboy will know something of many a poet and historian of whom his father never heard; but there are many others of whom he, too, is likely to remain in ignorance, so long as the modern languages are taught in the way in which they are almost universally taught to-day. If we are to feel unmixed satisfaction at the prominence which these studies are assuming in this country, they must lead to something more than the ability to speak French and German with fluency, and a superficial acquaintance with the literature of the last two or three centuries. And we are not without hope that the time may come when the American student who enjoys Heine and Uhland may read with scarcely less relish the Meistersänger and the Minne-

sänger and the Nibelungenlied, — when he will even lay aside Molière for *Maistre Pierre Patelin*, and Victor Hugo for the *Chanson de Roland*. Nor would he be adding another to his list of languages; for the language of Rutebeuf and Villehardouin differs scarcely more from that of Alfred de Musset and Lamartine than the language of Chaucer from that of Tennyson; and it is only by the study of the spirit and form of the elder language and literature that the modern can be thoroughly understood.

It was out of this conviction that this volume of "Studies in Early French Poetry" grew. It is a series of sketches of the lives and works of the more noted poets of the fourteenth century, with numerous quotations from them, sometimes translated, oftener in the original French, and an introductory chapter which traces an outline of the literary history of the preceding centuries. The period was well chosen, for it lies just beyond the boundary which separates what is called old from what is called modern French. Ronsard and the Pleiad, in the sixteenth century, broke utterly with the traditions and models of the Middle Ages; and Malherbe, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, widened the breach. Marot alone, who fitly terminates our author's series of poets, forms a golden link between the two eras. Yet the period which closed with him is not one of the most brilliant epochs in French literary history. The stately epics of the thirteenth century, the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Roman de Raoul de Cambrai*, the *Chanson des Loherains*, with their stern pictures of the earlier chivalry, seem to have exerted as little influence on the poets who came immediately after them as on the great classic poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And yet, in spite of all their faults, their want of method and perspective, their trivialities in thought and expression, their offences against taste, — in spite of the half-formed and unsettled state of the language in which they were composed, it is beyond question that they remain unequalled by any epic poem which has since been produced in France. In the opinion of Sainte-Beuve, no one who compares the *Duel d'Olivier et de Roland*, in the *Roman de Girart de Viane*, with the *Mariage de Roland*, in the *Légende des Siècles*, will hesitate to award the palm to the old "*trouvère sans renom*," Bertrand de Bar-le-Duc. But these grand heroic poems passed out of mind almost with the century which gave them birth, and it was a small circle of men, some of whom are still young, who brought out, and dusted, and deciphered the forgotten manuscripts, and established the fact that France, too, has her Iliads.

The humbler and more popular branch of the poetry of the thirteenth century, the *Fabliaux*, or tales of love and adventure, took deeper root,

and exhibited a more luxuriant growth. Imitated in Italy by Boccaccio, in Germany by the Minnesänger, in Denmark and Wales, and even in Iceland, they furnished the favorite model to the French poets of the fourteenth century. But as the branches spread, the fruit deteriorated; the fancy exhausted itself by its own exuberance; and before the end of the fourteenth century we find ourselves lost in the mazes of the interminable allegories of the *Roman de la Rose*. We have left Roland and Oliver, Amadis and Berthe *au grand pied*, Lancelot and Merlin, for Dame Raison and Damoiselle Oiseuse, Dangier and Franchise, Bel Accueil and Male Bouche. And this pernicious example affects the entire fifteenth century; even in the earlier poems of Clément Marot we meet with the familiar and tiresome names of Doute and Ferme Amour, Beau Parler, Bien Celer, and the rest. But the days of feudalism were gone; a new power was beginning to make itself felt, — the power of the people, — and France was struggling towards the Renaissance. No great poet appeared, it is true; and Mr. Besant does not claim this much abused title for any one in his list of bards. The highest names to which they aspired were those of *orateur* and *rhétoricquer;* insufferable rhymers most of them were, but the very worst of them gives promise of better things, — for the degeneracy could not go much farther, and here and there one stopped for a moment the tide of decline. It is easy to exaggerate the value of our newly found treasures, but there are some names on these pages which will never again be suffered to go down into what D'Aubigné calls the "*puits de l'oubli*." In the best of them the subjects are monotonous and the versification artificial; but there will always be room hereafter, even by the side of Racine and Corneille, for the melancholy and courtly grace of Charles of Orléans, the grim raillery, the half-repentant, half-desperate self-reproach of Villon, the gallant and caustic sprightliness of Mellin de Saint-Gelais, rival and friend of Marot, and for Marot himself, the well-bred, impudent, gentle, careless, unlucky, delightful Marot.

These are some of the men who are introduced to us in Mr. Besant's book. He tells us their story and shows us how they wrote, in the hope that we may catch something of his enthusiasm for his old friends, and read them further for ourselves. As an introduction to the literature of the period, his work merits much praise. It is entertaining, it is instructive, the biographical sketches are sprightly and in general accurate, the translations are easy and in most cases sufficiently exact, and if the author is sometimes so far carried away by his enthusiasm as to say of Francis I. that "he never deserted a friend or betrayed an enemy who trusted in him," and to speak of Margaret of Navarre, the

sister of Francis and the daughter of Louise of Savoy, as "leading a life of purity and self-denial in a period of unrestrained license," we are ready to pardon his loyalty and his gallantry for the sake of the general correctness of his views. The chapter on Francis and Margaret is to us the least satisfactory in the volume. Mr. Besant confines himself, it is true, to their "literary fame," and this in the case of Francis is slender enough. But there is no character in the whole era of the Renaissance in France more attractive than that of the Queen of Navarre. Trained in severe studies, acquainted with Spanish, Italian, and Latin, and more or less with Hebrew and Greek, twice married by her brother, and unhappy in both unions, the patron of free thought and of liberal views, the champion at her brother's court of the cause of toleration, and the centre of a brilliant literary circle at her own, which she made the asylum of persecuted reformers, in her later years devout even to mysticism, exchanging epigrams with Clément Marot and learned letters with Erasmus, while she was composing mysteries and farces and the *Heptaméron des Nouvelles*, she surely deserves more than the half-dozen hasty pages which Mr. Besant gives to her. It was not necessary to speak particularly of her at all, for her fame does not rest on her verses; but the chapter which is devoted mainly to her is unworthy of so warm an admirer of the poets for whom she did so much.

If we look more closely into the book, we shall find many other instances of hasty work. It is not worth while to quarrel about some inaccuracies in dates, which are almost all more or less uncertain; but Martial d'Auvergne was not born in the year 1440 (see page 99), or else he received the office of *Procureur* at the age of eighteen, — for his epitaph in Latin, quoted by M. Jacques Joly, states, that at his death, in 1508, he had held that office for fifty years. The true date is probably 1420. On page 201, Mr. Besant assumes that the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles* were edited in 1456, and the farce of *Maistre Pierre Patelin* in 1470. He does not give his authorities for these dates, and in regard to the former it can only be said that it is possible, though the oldest manuscript of which we have any notice is dated 1462. As to the date of *Patelin*, M. Génin's argument is at least a strong one for believing it to have been previous to that of the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles*, as early at least as 1460. If this is correct, the question of authorship is settled, for Pierre Blanchet was then one year old.

But however these questions may be decided, there can certainly be no difference of opinion in regard to the meaning of the verb *tarir*, and yet Mr. Besant has translated (page 122) the line,

"Que sa grace ne soit pour nous tarie,"

"that His grace may not be *tarnished* for us." Again, in the quotation from Rabelais (page 126) we find the words "*chargez vos fusées et tisons*" translated "charge *him home briskly with* your squibs and burning sticks"; but *charger* means *to load*, and is here applied humorously to the only species of fire-arms with which Villon's devils were provided. On page 127, in his outline of the *Petit Testament* of Villon, we read: "He orders that his three children . . . . . shall be provided for, at least *till* winter." The original is: —

"J'ordonne qu'il seront pourveuz
Au moins pour passer cest yver."

Again, in the next line, he shows that he has wholly mistaken the meaning of the eleventh stanza of the same work. It is not Villon's friend who is "in prison for a bill of six sous," but his old sword which is pawned for that amount, and which is to be given up to Maistre Jehan le Cornu, when he has paid for it. Again, a few lines below, we find: "The hospitals may have his *chests* full of spiders' webs." The original is: —

"Item, je laisse aux hospitaux
Mes chassis tissus d'araignée";

which can only mean, "I leave to the hospitals my *window frames* covered with spiders' webs." The *Petit Testament* seems to have occasioned Mr. Besant considerable difficulty; no wonder he finds it "rather dull"; but this is no reason why he should say that it consists of forty-five stanzas, instead of forty. On page 133, following most of the commentators, he translates the line,

"Et m'eust il fait les rains trayner,"

"even if he dragged me along the ground." But a comparison of this passage with the twentieth stanza of the *Petit Testament* shows that *rains* is not another form of *reins*, but, as Mr. P. L. Jacob points out, an old word for *fagots*, and the sense is, "and had he made me carry fagots." Before we leave Villon, it is worth while to remark, that, in saying (page 136), "Franc Gontier had written in praise of a pastoral life," Mr. Besant has simply fallen into the error of La Fontaine's monkey, who mistook Piræus for a man's name: he has mistaken the name of a book for that of its author. The *Dicts de Franc Gontier* were written by Philippe de Vitré, Bishop of Meaux.

We have said that this book may be useful as an introduction to the study of the early French literature; for the study of the early language its typographical errors make it absolutely worthless. Of course, where orthography is so unsettled, the largest allowance must be made for differences of texts, and many of the misprints are such as any stu-

dent familiar with the modern language would readily correct. They are frequent in the citations from recent writers, as well as in those from the poets whom Mr. Besant offers for our study. Here, of course, correctness is of the utmost importance; and yet, in comparing, for example, the extracts given from Christine de Pisan with the most carefully edited text which we have at hand, that given by Bartsch in the first volume of his *Chrestomathie Française*, we have noted in the forty lines quoted on page 51 not less than thirty-five variations, — none of which, indeed, render the sense unintelligible, though many of them transform the words in which they occur from words of the fifteenth century into words of the nineteenth. Very many of the errors in the volume are, however, more serious than these. We can note only a few. In the oaths of "Louis *de* Germanique" and the subjects of Charles the Bald, which are given as a specimen of the language of the ninth century, there are five misprints in nine lines, — two of which may have arisen from manuscript corruptions. They are *Salvan* for *salvar*, *suo* for *sua*, *lo stanit* for *los tanit*, *iner* for *iv er*. On page 82 we have *consté* for *cousté*, and *n* and *u* seem to be used indifferently in a large number of words. In the last line on page 91, —

"Que leur chant étant morts si l'on parle ou non?"

the judge in *Patelin* would be puzzled again to find either rhyme or reason. It becomes clear, when correctly printed, —

"Que leur chault étant morts que l'on en parle ou non?"

On page 109, *Du roy trespassé* is travestied into *Du roy très passé*. On page 138 we find *leste ballade* for *ceste ballade;* on page 172, *chose éternelle en mort en tombe* for *ne tombe;* on page 204, *Que dyable les vous presfera?* for *Qui*, etc.; on page 210, *A Dieu me puiser commander*, for *A Dieu me puisse commander;* on the same page, *Il les a mes vrayement?* for *Il les a eues vrayement?* On the page following, in the couplet *Je n'ay point aprins que je donge Mes draps, en donnant, ne veillant, donnant* is manifestly for *dormant;* and on page 214, in *Il en yra Ainsi qu'il ne pourra aller, ne* should obviously be changed to *en*. The last two lines on page 227 are taken from a corrupt text, and contain a grammatical fault, which, with all his other vices, Octavien de Saint-Gelais would never have committed. They are given thus: —

"De jeune, vieux; de beau, laid suis venu.
En jeunes ans rien n'etait impossible," etc.

The reading of M. A. de Montaiglon is certainly better: —

"De jeune vieux, de joyeux esperdu,
De beau tres lait, et de joyeux taisible
Suis devenu; rien n'estoit impossible," etc.

On page 266 we find *Par la mortbien* for *mortbieu*, the older form of *morbleu*, through which its etymology is traced to *mort* (*de*) *dieu*. On page 267 the unintelligible words "*cueur il me happe saye et bonnet*" are for *encore il me happe*, etc. In the rondeau on page 283 Marot is made to speak of his mistress's breath as "*adorant plus que basme*"; what he did say was *odorant*.

These are by no means all the errors we have noted, and we have collated only a portion of the citations with trustworthy texts, but we have indicated enough to justify our statement that for linguistic study the book cannot be safely used, and to show, that, if it goes, as we hope it will, to a second edition, it should be subjected to a careful revision.

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7. — *The New England Tragedies.* By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. I. *John Endicott.* II. *Giles Corey of the Salem Farms.* Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Company. 1868. 12mo., pp. 179.

WHEN Mr. Browning published "Dramatic Lyrics," or Mr. Tennyson "The Idylls of the King," the title of the book showed to what kind of poetry the author thought its contents belonged. It was therefore pertinent for the reader to apply to the work the rules which define the kind of poetry in question, and to say whether or not the terms were properly employed. But Mr. Longfellow, in calling his new poems "The New England Tragedies," meant to describe his themes, and not his manner of unfolding them. It has been shown a hundred times that the persecution of the Quakers and the Witchcraft delusion were not peculiar to New England:—

> "This sudden burst of wickedness and crime
> Was but the common madness of the time."

But they were tragic here beyond what they were elsewhere, — tragic beyond the violence of individual passion, or the pathos of personal suffering, because they were violence according to law founded upon the beliefs of the people, — the innocent made to suffer by the innocent, in obedience to moral and religious convictions, which are, the world over, as cruel as Fate. Therefore, in whatever way the stories be told, it is right to call them "The New England Tragedies"; and the work is not on that account necessarily to be judged by the canons of tragic writing. "*Sapiens subtilisque lector non debet diversis conferre diversa, sed singula expendere, nec deterius alio putare quod est in suo genere perfectum.*" (Plin. Epist. III. xiv.)

Having fallen upon these fortunate subjects, the poet could have de-

veloped them according to one of several forms of his art. He might have attempted to realize the crude spiritual conceptions of those times, and have brought upon the scene supernatural agents of good and evil in familiar commerce with the historical persons of the drama, as in "Faust," and in the "Golden Legend." He might have cast the incidents into a series of lyrics, like "Maud," or have tried again the manner, twice successful, of "Evangeline" and "Miles Standish." He has chosen a form of narration by means of dialogue, but in the spirit rather of the eclogue than of the drama, and has made the characters of his history types of their time.

We are far enough removed in knowledge and in customs from those periods of persecution, to see the situation without prejudice and to be just to all parties. By blood and temperament, we are near enough to the actors to appreciate their motives, and to pity while we blame them.

> "Therefore it is the author seeks and strives
> To represent the dead as in their lives,
> And lets at times his characters unfold
> Their thoughts in their own language strong and bold.

The historians have not studied the colonial records of New England longer or more intelligently than this poet. And because imagination and charity are indispensable lights to such studies, if Mr. Longfellow's conclusions were not those of the historian's, we should choose to hold with him,— not, of course, on questions of geography, chronology, or politics, but in his views of character, opinions, intentions, motives.

> "Nor let the historian blame the poet here,
> If he, perchance, misdate the day or year,
> And group events together, by his art,
> That in the chronicles lie far apart;
> For as the double stars, though sundered far,
> Seem to the naked eye a single star,
> So facts of history, at a distance seen,
> Into one common point of light convene."

Mr. Longfellow's fair-mindedness and kindness make the reader also fair and kind. We are as sorry for the oppressor as for the oppressed; for we see among the motives mixed in the thoughts of each the wish to do what is right, darkened by want of knowledge that seemed to be knowledge, and by fanaticism that seemed to be religion. He who reads "John Endicott," in the spirit in which that story is told, will be gladder for the troubled Governor at his escape by death from the bitter warfare of heart and mind than at the escape of the Quakers from merely bodily pain by the ending of the persecution.

"He breathes no more! How bright this signet ring
Glitters upon his hand, where he has worn it
Through such long years of trouble, as if Death
Had given him this memento of affection,
And whispered in his ear, 'Remember me'!
How placid and how quiet is his face,
Now that the struggle and the strife are ended!
Only the acrid spirit of the times
Corroded this true steel. O, rest in peace,
Courageous heart! Forever rest in peace!"

Mr. Longfellow has often struck the chords of grief and pain before. Thousands of throbbing hearts and aching brains he has soothed, — he has strengthened thousands of toiling hands and weary feet. Has there sometimes been in his words of consolation something perfunctory, formal, calculated, — something said about sorrow, not spoken to it, — a gesture, an air, which would not lessen the efficacy of his ministrations, though it might catch the eye of the idle spectator? Perhaps there has been nothing of all this in any of his verse. Certainly we seem to detect nothing of it in these poems. It is the same instrument, and the voice is modulated as of old. Is it only a fancy of ours? or has life wrought with him? Has Dante's quality been communicated in a measure to him, — that consciousness, instead of playing about the surface, has penetrated to the centre of his nature, and that he now speaks as one who belongs to the chastened company, no longer by permission, but of right? Once, at least, in "Giles Corey," he touches the deepest note of the true tragedy. It is the idea that pride goeth before a fall, that the gods envy the prosperous, the major premise in the argument of so much history and ethics, — Job, Sardanapalus, Dives, the ring of Polycrates, Tantalus. It is a seemingly joyous note, but makes us certain of the end.

"The Lord hath prospered me. The rising sun
Shines on my hundred acres and my woods
As if he loved them. On a morn like this
I can forgive mine enemies, and thank God
For all his goodness unto me and mine.
My orchard groans with russets and pearmains;
My ripening corn shines golden in the sun;
My barns are crammed with hay; my cattle thrive;
The birds sing blithely on the trees around me;
And blither than the birds my heart within me!
But Satan still goes up and down the earth;
And to protect this house from his assaults,
And keep the powers of darkness from my door,
This horseshoe will I nail upon the threshold.

There, ye night-hags and witches that torment
The neighborhood, ye shall not enter here!"

Who would not recognize Mr. Longfellow in the following lines, so solemn and so sweet?

"As the earth rolls round,
It seems to me a huge Ixion's wheel,
Upon whose whirling spokes we are bound fast,
And must go with it! Ah, how bright the sun
Strikes on the sea, and on the masts of vessels,
That are uplifted in the morning air,
Like crosses of some peaceable crusade!
It makes me long to sail for lands unknown,
No matter whither! Under me, in shadow,
Gloomy and narrow, lies the little town,
Still sleeping, but to wake and toil awhile,
Then sleep again."

See how the Present sat for this picture of the Past, the portrait, as it were, of a dead mother, colored after the daughter's inherited eyes and hair: —

"I know this people, and that underneath
A cold outside there burns a secret fire
That will find vent, and will not be put out,
Till every remnant of the barbarous laws
Shall be to ashes burnt, and blown away."

Here is a picture for your study: —

"The four tall poplar-trees before the door;
The house, the barn, the orchard, and the well,
With its moss-covered bucket and its trough;
The garden with its hedge of currant-bushes;
The woods, the harvest-fields, and, far beyond,
The pleasant landscape stretching to the sea."

But you detect in the description the subtile minor chords, and know already that

"Everything is silent and deserted!
No bleat of flocks, no bellowing of herds,
No sound of flails, that should be beating now,
Nor man nor beast astir."

The structure of the plays is simple, and the language most plain, — the verse often dissolving perilously into prose, owing to the great use which the author has made of Scriptural language, and of the authentic utterances of his leading persons. Landor, in the preface to his "Pericles and Aspasia," claims to have caught the spirit of Athenian society and of its leaders, without using any thought or expression to be found in

the ancient writers. Bekker, on the other hand, makes the contrary claim, that for every fact or sentiment employed by him in "Gallus" or in "Charicles" authority can be given, either direct or implied. Mr. Longfellow, wiser than either, takes a course between them; yet — may we say? — too near the latter. The natural development of his plot sometimes seems to be perverted to admit an historical fact not in artistic congruity with it, and the natural order of the thought to be sacrificed to an authentic expression. Yet much may be said in favor of the poet's method. It may be argued that by it the picture and the language are made the more lifelike; that the homely characters of these histories ought not to speak in the artful perfections of polished verse; that this verse is onomatopoetic of the incidents and the times. The judicious critic will not press the controversy about the ideal and the real in art; for he will not be able to define either so as to exclude the other. He will praise the good examples of each kind, and be thankful for them. Compare Mr. Tennyson's idealism with Mr. Longfellow's realism in the following passages, both of which incidentally depict the tenderest of human relations in almost identical phrase.

ARTHUR, IN GUINEVERE.

"Hereafter in that world where all are pure
We two may meet before high God, and thou
Wilt spring to me, and claim me thine, and know
I am thy husband, — not a smaller soul,
Nor Lancelot, nor another. Leave me that,
I charge thee, my last hope. Now must I hence.
Through the thick night I hear the trumpet blow;
They summon me, their king, to lead mine hosts
Far down to that great battle in the West.
And thou remaining here wilt learn the event;
But hither shall I never come again,
Never lie by thy side, see thee no more."

MARTHA, IN GILES COREY.

"I dreamed that you and I were both in prison;
That we had fetters on our hands and feet;
That we were taken before the magistrates,
And tried for Witchcraft, and condemned to death!
I wished to pray; they would not let me pray;
You tried to comfort me, and they forbade it.
But the most dreadful thing in all my dream
Was, that they made you testify against me!
And then there came a kind of mist between us;
I could not see you; and I woke in terror.
I never was more thankful in my life
Than when I found you sleeping by my side."

8. — *Italian Sculptors. Being a History of Sculpture in Northern, Southern, and Eastern Italy.* By Charles C. Perkins. With Etchings by the Author, and Engravings on Wood from Original Drawings and Photographs. London: Longman, Green, and Company, 1868. 4to. pp. xi., 326.

In the "Italian Sculptors" Mr. Perkins brings to a close the task begun in the "Tuscan Sculptors," noticed in a former number.* Although the title of the present volume is more comprehensive, yet the scope of it is in reality more restricted than that of the former volumes. It is to be looked upon as an appendix to those, and as occupied with tracing the remoter connections and echoes of Tuscan sculpture rather than with any substantially distinct matter. The great men, the Pisani, Andrea Orcagna, Ghiberti, Donatello, Luca della Robbia, Michel Angelo, are all Tuscans; and the only notable achievements in other parts of Italy — e. g. the sculptures of the Doge's Palace at Venice — seem to indicate a direct Tuscan influence, or else belong to a period when that influence had made itself universal. If any other distinct types are to be traced, they are more likely to be Northern than Italian.

To the general reader, accordingly, this volume offers mostly names he has never heard of, — a circumstance which, in one view, adds to the value of the research so liberally bestowed upon it by Mr. Perkins, but, on the other hand, increases the difficulty of keeping up the general *literary* interest at which he partly aims. Hence, perhaps, it is, that, in the lack of other fixed points of attachment, Mr. Perkins has chosen to break up his narrative into a series of local histories, in which Apulia and the Abruzzi, Naples, Rome, Lombardy, Venice, Verona, and Bologna, with the contiguous towns, have each its separate chapter, detailing the good or bad fortunes of the province, in respect of sculpture, from the earliest remains of the Roman or Christian times to the final extinction of the art.

Each of these detached frames presents us with an agreeable sketch, enlivened with abundance of anecdote, and illustrated by a copious learning, which we make no pretensions to gauge, but which seems exhaustive. Whoever has any personal acquaintance with the eloquent loquacity, the leisurely rhetoric, and the ready overflow of patriotism or personal compliment, with which Italian writers on art are wont to deluge their subject, will know how to appreciate the zeal and the labor requisite to fish up out of the placid expanse the pertinent facts brought together by Mr. Perkins for the use of less favored students.

* North American Review, April, 1865, p. 602.

The principal defect of the work, as it seems to us, is the absence of photographs. For purposes such as the present, where so much depends on the discrimination of styles and upon a secure ground of judgment for the various influences at work in the different provinces, it is hardly too much to say, that, where photographs can be had, they alone are of any considerable value. How far, for instance, the antique, or Byzantine, or Saracenic art constituted real elements, and how far they were merely surface modifications of works conceived in a radically different spirit, — whether even in Niccola Pisano the antique was anything more than costume, — how far the affinities to Northern cathedral sculptures are traceable in the Italian pre-Revival work, — these are questions in which a well-selected series of photographs might, on the whole, be of more service than the originals, but in which the best drawing can hardly help us more than the worst. It is, to be sure, more agreeable to look at; but then, on the other hand, we can never escape the feeling that the skill of the draughtsman may have only the more completely obliterated the distinctive traits of his original. Mr. Perkins's drawings are often admirable, — e. g. the frontispiece of this volume, — but a moment's comparison of the Ducal Palace capitals with the photographs of the same subjects will illustrate the difficulty of which we speak. If Mr. Perkins would sometime give us from his abundant stores such a series of photographs as we have above imagined, it would add immensely to the value and the attractiveness of his work, and proportionately increase the weight of obligation he has laid on those who desire to become acquainted with this most interesting, but little explored, region of art history.

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9. — *L'Année Philosophique. Études Critiques sur le Mouvement des Idées Générales dans les divers Ordres de Connaissances.* Par M. F. Pillon. Avec une Introduction par M. Ch. Renouvier. Première Année (1867). Collaborateurs, Félix Henneguy, René Ménard, Alfred Deberle, Louis Ménard. Paris: Germer Baillière. 1868. 12mo. pp. 595.

All the best qualities of French criticism appear in this admirable and instructive volume, — freedom, breadth, acuteness, insight, calmness of tone, with earnestness of conviction, — such criticism as we rarely see in our American Reviews. In France, criticism is at once a science and an art, exact and careful argument with inimitable grace of form. These essays on Inductive Morality, on Independent Morality, on the Theorists of Art and the Historians of Art, on the Science

of Language, on Historical Doctrines in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century, are more than statements of the views of different writers, much more than a literary catalogue. They are treatises based upon the views of these writers, exposing their reasoning where it is weak, vindicating it where it is just, and condensing all of it that is valuable and essential to the understanding of the thought. The Introduction, by Charles Renouvier, on the Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century, is a finished and comprehensive survey of the school of St. Simon, in all its sects and varieties, as developed by Bardin, Thierry, Fourier, Proudhon, Enfantin, De Maistre, Comte and his disciples, Renan, Littré, and the rest, and as influenced by Hegel and the German philosophers. St. Simon is as much the French philosopher of the nineteenth century as Descartes was of the seventeenth, and is as truly the representative man of France as Kant is of Germany, or Bacon of England. But Renouvier does not write as a partisan of this school. He judges it as an impartial judge, and shows where it is lacking, what is false in its premises, and what is lamentable in its tendencies. Still more remarkable are the three essays which follow, on the Moralists, which look at Ethics from every side, from the stand-point of Greek Paganism, of the Roman Law, of Mediæval Scholasticism, of practical utility, of state policy, of materialism, of spiritualism, and of abstract justice, — which discuss morality in its idea and in its sanctions, in its relation to physical life, and in its relation to the life of the soul. It is impossible to praise too highly the candor and the intelligence of this discussion and comparison of the works of so many writers, who differ from each other so widely.

The first of the two essays upon Æsthetics reviews in succession the theories of Art by Levêque, Saisset, Laprade, Taine, Houssaye, Proudhon, Chesneau, and Milsand, the expounder of Ruskin. The combination of these changing views gives to the essay all the light and shade of a picture, at the same time that there is no effort at rhetorical brilliancy. The other essay, on the Historians of Art, aims rather to show the influence of David and the Revolution upon the development of Art in France. The shortest and least satisfactory essay in the volume is that on Linguistics. The most interesting of all is the closing essay, by the Editor, on the theory of Providence in History, the most significant statement of which is given in Napoleon's "Life of Cæsar." This specious plea for the identification of success with Divine right, of human despotism with the Divine purpose, is analyzed and refuted with rare ability. Without vituperation, M. Pillon holds up the Imperial sophistries to the clear sight of common sense, and in their false rendering of historical fact. The absurdity of attempting to

illustrate history, or trace cause to effect, or fact to consequence, by the intrusion of Divine influence and will, has nowhere been more fitly presented. A single paragraph may give an idea of the vigorous style and free handling which are characteristic of the whole essay.

"Historical science is equally incompatible with the concrete providence of mythologies and the abstract providence of philosophies; what it rejects in the prophetisms, the messianisms, and the incarnations is not only the supernatural and miraculous, but the whole idea of finality and of historical destiny; all this, in its view, is purely subjective, that is to say, imaginary. It knows nothing more of the immanent God than of the transcendent God, nothing more of divine fatality than of divine choice. In excluding from its domain the real presence, the real action, of Deity in humanity, it does not distinguish the different ways of conceiving this presence and action. I go even farther, and insist that the old classic providence of Christian theology, with its breaking thunderbolts (*coups de foudre*), such, for instance, as Bossuet understood it, leaves the field freer for the positive science of History than the systematic providence with its general laws and its universal views. The first, in fact, keeps itself within the sphere of religion. Its end is not social progress, but the *post-vital* salvation of a certain number of the elect. It carefully separates sacred from profane history, the course of religion from the course of empires. It voluntarily abandons political order and movement to human activities and responsibilities, that is, to second causes, having no other purpose, outside of what may affect the *true* religion, than to chastise the pride of kings and peoples, and to show in their grand overturning the frailty and vanity of all mortal things."

This first volume of the *Année Philosophique*, full as it is, only half completes the original plan of the work, which is to survey all the sciences. In a second volume, soon to appear, the sciences of logic and psychology, of metaphysics and religion, of physics and biology, will all find place. If the new volume shall be as well finished as the present, this philosophic review of the year will take rank at the head of all publications in this form, of which there are many in France. At the close of the volume, there are notices of a large number of works published in 1867, which are not reviewed in the previous essays. These notices are marked by the same fair and independent spirit that we find in the essays. Notices of all the reviews, too, specially devoted to social, moral, or metaphysical science, are appended. Altogether, *L'Année Philosophique* is one of the most valuable books of the last year.

## LIST OF SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. On Labor: its Wrongful Claims and Rightful Dues; its Actual Present and Possible Future. By William T. Thornton, Author of "A Plea for Peasant Proprietors." London: Macmillan & Co. 1869. 8vo. pp. 439.

2. Force and Nature. Attraction and Repulsion. The Radical Principles of Energy discussed in their Relations to Physical and Morphological Developments. By Charles Frederick Winslow, M. D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869. 8vo. pp. 492.

3. The Chaplet of Pearls. By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 8vo. pp. 331.

4. Phineas Finn, the Irish Member. A Novel. By Anthony Trollope. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1868. 8vo. pp. 235.

5. Annual of Scientific Discovery; or, Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1869. Edited by Samuel Kneeland, A. M., M. D. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1869. 12mo. pp. xvi., 377.

6. The Life and Letters of Fitz Greene Halleck. By James Grant Wilson. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 607.

7. Pre-Historic Nations; or, Inquiries concerning some of the Great Peoples and Civilizations of Antiquity, and their Probable Relation to a still Older Civilization of the Ethiopians or Cushites of Arabia. By John D. Baldwin, A. M. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1869. 12mo. pp. 414.

8. The Blameless Prince, and other Poems. By Edmund Clarence Stedman. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 192.

9. Views from Plymouth Rock: a Sketch of the Early History of the Plymouth Colony. Designed for Young People. By Z. A. Mudge. New York: Carlton and Lanahan. 1869. 12mo. pp. 451.

10. China and the Chinese. By the Rev. John L. Nevius, Ten Years a Missionary in China. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1869. 12mo. pp. 456.

11. My Recollections of Lord Byron; and those of Eye-Witnesses of his Life. By the Countess Guiccioli. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1869. 12mo. pp. 670.

12. The Gain of a Loss. A Novel. By the Author of "The Last of the Cavaliers." New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1869. 12mo. pp. 439.

13. The General; or, Twelve Nights in a Hunter's Camp. A Narrative of Real Life. Illustrated by G. G. White. Boston: Lee and Shepard. 1869. 12mo. pp. 268.

14. The Planet; a Song of a Distant World. By Larry Best. Cambridge: Printed at the Riverside Press. 1869. 12mo. pp. 161.

15. The Study of Languages brought back to its True Principles; or the Art of Thinking in a Foreign Language. By C. Marcel, Knt. Leg. Hon. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 228.

16. Pictures from Prison Life. An Historical Sketch of the Massachusetts State Prison. With Narratives and Incidents, and Suggestions on Discipline. By Gideon Haynes, Warden. Boston: Lee and Shepard. 1869. 12mo. pp. 290.

17. The Law of Love, and Love as a Law; or, Moral Science, Theoretical and Practical. By Mark Hopkins, D. D., LL. D., President of Williams College. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 342.

18. Jesus of Nazareth, his Life and Teachings; founded on the Four Gospels, and illustrated by Reference to the Manners, Customs, Religious Beliefs, and Political Institutions of his Times. By Lyman Abbott. With Designs by Doré and others. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1869. 8vo. pp. 522.

19. A Half-Century with Juvenile Delinquents; or, The New York House of Refuge and its Times. By B. K. Peirce, D. D., Chaplain of the New York House of Refuge. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 8vo. pp. 384.

20. Tribune Essays. Leading Articles contributed to the New York Tribune from 1857 to 1863. By Charles T. Congdon. With an Introduction by Horace Greeley. New York: J. S. Redfield. 1869. 12mo. pp. xxiv., 406.

21. An Introduction to the Study of English Literature. By Henry N. Day. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 539.

22. Treatises on Light, Color, Electricity, and Magnetism. By Johann Ferdinand Jencken, M. D. Translated by Henry D. Jencken, M. R. I., F. R. G. S. London: Trübner & Co. 1869. 8vo. pp. xxxv., 232.

23. Sermons. By the Rev. John Ker, Glasgow. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1869. 12mo. pp. 385.

24. Sermons on the Failure of Protestantism, and on Catholicity. By the Rev. Ferdinand C. Ewer, S. T. D., Rector of Christ Church, New York. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 168.

25. History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861 – 65. Prepared in Compliance with Acts of the Legislature. By Samuel P. Bates, Member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Vol. I. Harrisburg: B. Singerly. 1869. 8vo. pp. 1327.

26. Her Majesty's Tower. By William Hepworth Dixon. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1869. 12mo. pp. 263.

27. He Knew he was Right. By Anthony Trollope. Part I. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1869. 8vo. pp. 172.

28. Cast up by the Sea. By Sir Samuel W. Baker, M. A., F. R. G. S. With Ten Illustrations by Huard. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1869. 12mo. pp. 419.

29. Sacred Lyrics. Hymns, Original, and translated from the German; with Versions of Psalms. By John Guthrie, M. A., Glasgow. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 216.

30. Reunion of Christian Friends and their Infant Children in the Heavenly Kingdom. By William Anderson, LL. D. Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Co. 1868. 16mo. pp. 101.

31. How a Bride was Won; or a Chase across the Pampas. By Frederick Gerstaecker. Translated by Francis Jordan. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 8vo. pp. 274.

32. The Formation of Christendom. Part Second. By T. W. Allies. New York: Catholic Publication House. 1869. 8vo. pp. 495.

33. The Fisher-Maiden. A Norwegian Tale. By Björnstjerne Björn-

son. From the Author's German Edition, by M. E. Niles. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1869. 12mo. pp. 217.

34. Beatrice, and other Poems. By the Hon. Roden Noel. London: Macmillan & Co. 1868. 12mo. pp. 324.

35. Biographical Sketches. By Harriet Martineau. New York: Leypoldt and Holt. 1869. 12mo. pp. 458.

36. Chips from a German Workshop. By Max Müller, M. A. Vol. I. Essays on the Science of Religion. Vol. II. Essays on Mythology, Traditions, and Customs. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 374, 402.

37. Letters of a Sentimental Idler from Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Nubia, and the Holy Land. By Harry Harewood Leech. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 463.

38. Handbook of Natural Philosophy, for School and Home Use. By W. J. Rolfe and J. A. Gillet. Boston: Woolworth, Ainsworth, & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 324.

39. The Story of a Conscript. A Story of the French War of 1813. By MM. Erckmann-Chatrian. Translated from the Twentieth Paris Edition. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 330.

40. A Book about Dominies, being the Reflections and Recollections of a Member of the Profession. Boston: Roberts and Brothers. 1869. 12mo. pp. 265.

41. Christian Epitaphs of the First Six Centuries. By the Rev. John McCaul, LL. D., President of University College. Toronto: W. C. Chewett & Co. 1869. 8vo. pp. xxviii., 72.

42. The Ring and the Book. By Robert Browning, M. A. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 332.

43. Wild Life under the Equator. Narrated for Young People. By Paul Du Chaillu. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1869. 12mo. pp. 231.

44. The Waverley Novels. By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Illustrated with Steel and Wood Engravings. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo.

45. Words of Comfort for Parents bereaved of Little Children. Edited by William Logan. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1868. 12mo. pp. 560.

46. The Old World in its New Face. Impressions of Europe in 1867 – 68. By Henry W. Bellows. Volume II. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1869. 12mo. pp. 528.

47. The Works of Charles Dickens. With Illustrations by Cruikshank, Leech, and Browne. In Six Volumes. Vol. V. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 780.

48. Marryatt's Popular Novels. In Twelve Volumes. Vols. 10, 11, 12. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 399, 411, 407.

49. Pope's Poetical Works. Edited by the Rev. H. F. Cary, M. A. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 485.

50. The Vision; or, Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise of Dante Alighieri. Translated by the Rev. H. F. Cary, M. A. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. 12mo. pp. 587.

51. Nature's Nobleman. By the Author of "Rachel's Secret." New York: Harper and Brothers. 1869. 8vo. pp. 144.

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